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THE

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

No. CLXIII. NEW SERIES.—JULY 1, 1880.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND ATHEISM.

THERE are those who deny or doubt the existence of God. Others again assert that the question of the existence of a deity is a question lying wholly beyond the range of human knowledge, and therefore nothing can be affirmed concerning it. How wide is the difference between such opinions and the belief of Christians, who form the great majority of Englishmen, it is needless to point out. But the question arises whether the Christian majority ought to deprive persons who deny or doubt the existence of a deity of any of those rights or privileges which they would certainly enjoy as English citizens if their opinions concerning the Supreme Being were in accordance with Christian teaching? In some matters no such deprivations are inflicted. If, for instance, an atheist has to give evidence in a court of justice, he is allowed to make a solemn affirmation instead of using the words "So help me, God!" In this case he exercises his rights as a citizen, without being obliged to utter the name of God while denying his existence. Thus our law courts give to the atheist the same measure of civil and religious liberty which is possessed by his Christian fellow-citizens. But if elected to sit in Parliament those same words prevent the atheist taking his seat, unless he be dishonest enough to utter them with his lips while repudiating them in his heart. If he be an honest man the words "So help me, God!" must be as repugnant to his convictions as the word "So help me, Brahma!" would be to a Christian. Would it not, then, be right that Parliament should allow to the atheist what the courts of law allow to him, viz. the permission to make a solemn affirmation instead of using the words "So help me, God"? Would it not be well to give the choice of taking an oath or of making an affirmation to all persons under all circumstances?

As a Christian, not merely by education, but by personal conviction, I am satisfied that such is the course which should be adopted, not only as a matter of policy, but as a matter of principle. In maintaining this opinion I proceed to ask what is the question at

issue between the Christian and the atheist? It is whether or not there is a God. Now this is a purely religious question, the reply to which must come from the convictions of the understanding and the conscience. The Christian affirms, the atheist denies, the existence of God. But has either of them the right to inflict civil deprivations upon the other on account of this difference? Surely not the Christian if he obeys his Saviour's teaching: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." Now the Christian would assuredly complain if his atheistic fellow-citizens deprived him of any of his civil rights or privileges simply because his convictions were opposed to theirs on the question of the existence of God. Obviously, then, if Christians inflict deprivations on the atheist for that very same difference of conviction, they do to him what they would *not* that he should do to them, and they thereby break the command given them by him whom they call Lord and Master. If we turn to the life of Jesus we shall find him teaching his disciples to put in practice the duty of doing to others as they would be done by, while ever discountenancing appeals to force as a means of furthering the cause of Christian truth. One day he came to a certain Samaritan village where they would not receive him, because he was going up to Jerusalem to worship. The bigotry of the Samaritans was roused by this simple fact. The disciples wished to reply by an act equally bigoted and more violent. "Lord," said they, "wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elias did?" But though they sought to strengthen their case by appealing to the example set by a great prophet who lived under the less enlightened teaching of the Mosaic dispensation, Jesus turned and "rebuked them," saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." How many a bloody page has defiled the history of Christendom during the last fifteen centuries because this rebuke of the Saviour's has been habitually disregarded by those who have set up special claims to be his ministers in Church and State. Among the precepts specially sanctioned by Christ, a prominent place is given to the duty of loving our neighbours as ourselves. When in explanation of it the Jewish lawyer asked, "Who is my neighbour?" the Saviour (himself a Jew) answered by the story of the Good Samaritan. Now the Samaritan was to the Jew an alien by birth and a heretic by religion. It was as if, being now on earth, Jesus had held up to a number of Scotch Protestants a French Jesuit as an example of Christian charity when a Presbyterian minister, instead of relieving the distressed, had passed by on the other side; or as if, being surrounded by extreme Romanists, the Saviour had exemplified true charity by the conduct of a Calvinist minister; or, when addressing devoted Anglican priests, Jesus had told them how one of their order turned from those in misery and left them to be cared for by an American Unitarian. Thus

vividly does Christ set forth his rule of Christian charity, of doing to others as we would that others should do to us, to the confusion alike of national and of religious prejudices.

When the people "came by force to make him a king," he at once withdrew himself, for his kingdom was a spiritual one, whose weapons were to be "not carnal," but "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." Thus was it that to do to others as we would be done by, to arouse the conscience, to convert the heart, to rebuke every appeal to force, were not only principles to be found in the Saviour's teaching, but principles which he applied in the daily maintenance and propagation of his religion, "leaving us an example that we should follow his steps." That example and those principles are good for public as well as for private life, for the framers of national laws as well as for individuals in their daily intercourse with their brother men.

For the first three centuries Christians possessed no temporal power which enabled them to apply to non-Christians even the mildest form of disabling or repressive legislation. Indeed, Christianity was the object of frequent and severe persecution. The violence of Roman and of Jewish rulers exerted against it the full force alike of Church and State opposition and repression. Christianity had nothing to support it but its own purity and holiness, the simplicity of its faith, and the divineness of its love. Its weapons were not carnal. Its power and kingdom were not of this world. To its opponents it "rendered not evil for evil, nor railing for railing, but, contrariwise, blessing." Upon its enemies it did not call down "fire from heaven to consume them;" nor did it summon the arm of temporal power, nor the force of law, to its aid. It was supported by no earthly authority, it was strong only "in the Lord, and in the power of his might." Its wealth consisted in "the unsearchable riches of Christ." Its ministers were not "lords over God's heritage, but examples to the flock." In those days did the disciples of Jesus follow in his steps, praying for their enemies, giving blessing for cursing, persuading, enlightening, convincing, and converting. Such were the means by which Christianity mightily prevailed. No temporal power existed to aid, or rather mar and weaken, its work by legislative decrees, civil disabilities, or persecuting laws. After three centuries of such labour the glad tidings of great joy which were to be "unto all nations" had by their own innate power overthrown the systems of a corrupt and worn-out heathendom in the hearts of mankind. At length the holders of temporal power were ranged on the side of Christianity, and the temporal arm was placed at its disposal. Early in the fourth century Christians attained to political rule under Constantine. Then they turned aside from the teaching of Christ, and did to others what they would *not* that others should do to them. Soon the bitter strife of ecclesiastical disputation, not satisfied with metaphysical wrangling which puzzled the head and

hardened the heart, burst out into persecution. Those who called themselves Trinitarians and those who called themselves Arians drove each other into exile or prison, according as the one party or the other had power to do so. Bigotry triumphed, humanity suffered, the precepts and the example of Christ were alike set at naught. The evil precedent thus set was habitually followed with constantly augmenting injustice, oppression, and cruelty. From that fatal time did the fell spirit of force, restraint, civil deprivation, and persecuting violence enter upon the Christian scene, defile the Christian Church, and dishonour the Christian name. Its evil influence predominated in the councils of professedly Christian rulers in Church and State. For fifteen centuries it has borne bitter fruit in every land where any outward Christian body has had temporal power at its command. The stake, the rack, the scaffold, the gibbet, tortures, mutilation, exile, penal codes, civil disabilities, have been for generation after generation the instruments used for maintaining the dogmas of this, that, or the other denomination. The chief upholders of such accursed instrumentality have been the great majority of kings and priests. Did a massacre of St. Bartholomew take place, it was perpetrated by a "most Christian" king, and countenanced by the chief bishop of his Church. Were Covenanters hunted down in Scotland, or Roman Catholics fearfully oppressed in Ireland, Christian rulers carried out the persecuting decrees. Were Jews treated with untold barbarity, all Christendom united in the perpetration of it, and seemed with one voice to shout, "All things whatsoever we would *not* that these men should do to us, that will we do to them; such are our laws and our prophets." Every Philip of Spain has had his Inquisition, every Louis XIV. his dragonnades, every Charles I. his Star Chamber. The history of those Christians who dissented from the Church of Rome in Italy, Germany, and Spain, the history of Huguenots in France, of Roman Catholics in Ireland and elsewhere, of Nonconformists in England, and in their turn of Episcopalians when Independents became for a time possessed of temporal power, is the history of such violence, injustice, and cruelty that the heart of every humane man sickens at the recollection. What, then, must be the feelings of a disciple of Christ, whose law of love, whose gospel of peace and good-will, have thus been outraged and repudiated? Such has been the bitter fruit yielded by systems which sought to uphold the faith of Christ by force of law and civil deprivations; such, too, the degradation into which they plunged the religion of Jesus; and such the dishonour cast thereby upon that "holy name by the which we are called."

It is said, in exculpation of those who thus persecuted, that they were only acting in consonance with the spirit of the age in which they lived. Be it so; but the question remains, Was it in accordance with the teaching of Christ? If not, then they and their age had deteriorated. It was not that they failed to discover something

new, but that they refused to put in practice the principles which he had taught and acted on centuries before throughout his life on earth. Unless, indeed, it be contended that exile or civil disabilities, to say nothing of far worse inflictions, are, by virtue of ecclesiastical sophistry, to be considered a *development* of the precept, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." To impose upon others disabilities which we should proclaim unjust if the same persons imposed them upon us, is a strange mode of doing as we would be done by, or of loving one's neighbour as one's self. If in the past Christian rulers were with the "spirit of the age" when it was one of persecution, at any rate let those of the present day be of "the spirit of the age" now that it is one of toleration.

But it is said that while persecution is wrong, civil disabilities are necessary for the protection of religion. In the first place facts are against this argument. One fact is the history of Christianity during the first three centuries of its existence. No such protection either was or could be used, and yet it triumphed. Another fact is that just one hundred years ago the United States founded within its dominion a system of the most absolute religious equality. No civil disability was permitted to exist, and yet Christianity has completely maintained its ascendancy. Churches, Sunday schools, religious meetings, missionary societies, abound and flourish; indeed, if report be true, there are no more successful missionaries in the world than the American. Yet they have no support whatever in their labours, save that arising from the willing aid of their fellow-Christians and the power of that gospel whose glad tidings they make known. If, forsaking these methods, the professing disciples of Christ inflict civil disabilities on others because they deny the truths of Christianity, they are only refusing to follow the teaching and example of him whom they call Lord and Master, for they are at once doing to others what they would *not* that others should do to them. Christians know that they would be the first to cry out against the injustice of depriving them of any civil rights which they enjoy as the citizens of a free country, because they believe in a God—even "our Father who is in heaven," and in his Son whom he "sanctified and sent into the world," that they "might live through him." This being so, Christians, if true to their own principles, must not then inflict civil disabilities upon any, be they who they may, who differ from or deny the truths taught by Christianity. Example, precept, prayer, the convincing men's judgments, the converting their hearts—not civil deprivations nor legal penalties—are the means which alone can be rightly employed by any Christian, whether ruler or subject, for the maintenance or propagation of the religion of Christ.

Latterly, indeed, great progress has been made throughout Christendom in establishing religious liberty. The sooner this is completely done, the sooner will be carried out in all its fulness

the golden rule of doing to others as we would that others should do to us. When, for instance, a citizen of Belgium or Italy takes his seat as a member of either house of legislature, a declaration of allegiance to the established institutions of the country is read to him, to which he replies simply, "I swear it." The most complete unbeliever would have no scruple in making such a reply. A member of the excellent Society of Friends would no doubt ask to be allowed to say, "I promise it." Nor would any real difficulty arise from the request; it has never been made simply because no member of these legislatures has ever demanded such a change of expression. In this matter, then, these Roman Catholic countries, whether republic or limited monarchy, have granted the most absolute religious liberty to all their citizens. It is indeed to be hoped that Protestant England will not be less tolerant. Nor should it be forgotten that the French republic and the Italian and Belgian monarchies have no offices of State which any of their subjects are forbidden to hold on account of their religion. This fact should be borne in mind by those English Protestants who cry out against such an appointment as that of Lord Ripon to be Governor-General of India simply because he is a Roman Catholic. Do they really wish our free and Protestant land to be less tolerant than countries the overwhelming majority of whose inhabitants are Roman Catholics? That would indeed be a strange comment upon our boasted "freedom of private judgment" and our professed "doing unto others as we would be done by." What would Presbyterian Scotland say if an Italian citizen were excluded from high office under the Government of King Humbert simply because he had left the Roman Church and joined the Waldensian? It is surely much more consistent on the part of English statesmen to make such appointments quite irrespective of religious convictions, as in the case of Mr. Pope Hennessy and of Lord Ripon, the former of whom was appointed by a Conservative and the latter by a Liberal Government.

Civil disabilities, unaccompanied by other penalties, only serve to irritate and annoy, without diminishing the power of those who undergo them. Indeed, such deprivation of civil rights, when used alone, increases the influence of those upon whom such disabilities are inflicted. They become semi-martyrs, with a sufficient grievance for rousing discontent and disaffection. The only effectual persecution is that which is thorough-going. Such was the policy of Philip II. of Spain. He, indeed, succeeded in utterly repressing Jews, Moors, and heretics. If any one desires to see the effects of this barbarous and anti-Christian policy, when pursued to its full and legitimate results, let him read Spanish history from Philip's time to our own. The consequences of that religious intolerance, carried out with pitiless logic, may have redounded to the glory of the Church, but assuredly not to the prosperity of Spain.

It should also be remembered that religious tests are no barriers against the worst description of men, for while they bar the way of the upright man, they are no hindrance to one who has no principle. If a man be honest, but at the same time an atheist, he will recoil from saying "So help me, God;" but if he be dishonest he will use those words without scruple. Let a man, then, be not only an atheist, but also a liar, and his parliamentary seat is secure.

In dealing with atheists the Christian must surely desire above all things to lead them to see and renounce their errors. But is that end likely to be attained by inflicting on them civil disabilities? Is it not much more probable that such proceedings will create a sense of injustice and a spirit of opposition? The atheist naturally feels, when so treated, a strong prejudice against Christians who are thus doing to him what they would not that he should do to them; nor is it to be wondered at if he be thereby more than ever set against their religion. Such a result is all the more certain because the difference between the atheist and the Christian is a purely religious difference. The former will therefore put the disability he has to bear down to the score of religion, against which his antipathy will consequently be excited. In the case of the Roman Catholic it used to be urged that he owned allegiance to a foreign power; in the case of the Jew that he belonged to a foreign nation, and therefore, it was argued, neither the one nor the other could claim the full rights of English citizenship. But such excuses for placing civil disabilities on the English atheist are wholly wanting. Religion therefore, and religion alone, will have to bear the odium of any civil deprivations which he may have to endure. The inevitable result will be to create in his mind a strong aversion to the religion of Christ, which is made the cause of laying upon him such unjust and unwise inflictions.

The fact is that religious conviction is no fit subject for legislative enactment or debate; it cannot be decided, in any sense, by a majority of votes; no decree of State can add to its living power, though such decree has often weakened its hold on the hearts of men by uniting it to disabling, intolerant, or repressive legislation. Nor can the existence of the Almighty and the knowledge of him be rightly maintained, taught, or defended, save by those means of persuasion and conversion which were alone used or sanctioned by Christ. It is just because I believe Christianity to be a light from heaven for our guidance on earth that I am convinced the acceptance or rejection of that light should be left wholly and only to the decision of the conscience and the convictions of the heart. Therefore I desire that whatever liberties are given to me by the laws of my country should be equally given to each one of my fellow-citizens, whatever may be his convictions on the subject of religion, whether his opinions be those of the atheist or the pantheist, the agnostic or the positivist. I ask for him nothing more. I can consent to give him nothing less.

JOHN W. PROBYN.

M. GIMEL ON THE DIVISION OF LAND IN FRANCE.[1]

Of late so many arguments and conclusions have been deduced from facts and conditions of French agriculture unknown on the other side of the Channel, that it might save not a few of us, both disputants and readers, from no inconsiderable waste of time to be correctly informed as to the main points of this department of the land debate in which we are now engaged. The points about France, in respect of which we stand most in need of correct information, are the degree to which landed property is there divided, and the rate at which division is advancing, and the direction it is taking—that is to say, the character it is now assuming. These are questions merely of figures, and are, therefore, quite distinct from inquiries into the debateable points of the cultural, the economic, and the social effects of the French system, which are partly questions of fact and partly of opinion.

With respect to the former class of questions, M. Gimel, *Directeur des Contributions directes*, two years ago presented to the *Société Industrielle du Nord de la France* a memoir on the division of landed property in the *Département du Nord*, in which the exhaustiveness of his method of inquiry and the precision of his statements leave nothing to be desired. He tells us that in the drawing up and calculation of the numerous tables from which his conclusions are deduced, there was involved the necessity of copying out, adding up, recapitulating, verifying, and discussing about 15,000,000 figures. I propose to dispense here, as much as possible, with all his tabular arrays of figures, and to confine myself to indicating his methods of investigation and his conclusions.

To begin, then, with the actual number of proprietors of land in France. The Government has published from time to time returns of all the assessments throughout the country. These general returns are drawn up from the communal assessment books. The returns for 1858, the most recent available for M. Gimel's inquiries on this point, give 13,118,723 as the number of assessments for the whole country at that date. Each head or entry of assessment comprises all the parcels of land in the commune belonging to each proprietor in the commune. Of course the number of parcels is very much greater than the number of heads of assessment, which, again, are greater than the number of proprietors, because many proprietors have property in more than one commune, just as in our modern

(1) *La Division de la Propriété dans le Département du Nord.* Par M. Gimel. Chez Danel, Lille.

Doomsday Book the same landowner figures in more than one county. M. Gimel tells us that the best authorities are agreed that 37 per cent. must be deducted from the aggregate total of all the communal assessments in order to arrive at the precise number of actual individual proprietors for the whole country; that is to say, 37 per cent. of those assessed in the separate communal registers hold land in more than one commune, and to that extent swell the number of assessments for the whole country beyond the number of proprietors for the whole country. The number, then, of assessments above given having been reduced by this percentage, gives as the actual number of individual proprietors of all kinds and degrees for the whole of France in the year 1858 the astonishing figures of 8,264,795. The corresponding figures for the *Département du Nord* are 279,679 entries of assessment in the communal rolls, which, when corrected by the above percentage of reduction, give 172,198 individual proprietors for the whole department.

We next come to the rate at which the number of proprietors is increasing. This may be settled as satisfactorily as the preceding point. A comparison of the returns of 1835 with those of 1858 shows for the whole of France an increase in the twenty-three intervening years of 20·37 per cent., or of ·88 per annum—that is, of not so much as 1 per cent. For the *Département du Nord* the increase for the twenty-three years is 17·59 per cent., or ·76 per annum, just over three-fourths of 1 per cent. This is the increase in the number of assessments, which we have just seen has to the number of proprietors the ratio of 100 to 63.

The third question is that of the character of the division of the land, and of the recent increase in the division. The answer to this is precisely what will enable us to understand the economical, political, and social significance of the two points just ascertained, that, namely, of the number of the landowners, and that of the rate at which they are increasing. M. Gimel's elucidation of this question is the part of his investigations which, while it is entirely his own, is also that which invests them with their chief interest and value. Of course the character of the division of the soil can be shown only by a classification of all the properties according to size. And if such a classification can be obtained at two dates, separated from each other by a sufficient interval, we shall then be able to determine the rate at which estates of each size are increasing or diminishing. It happens that there are no data which would enable us to make this classification for the whole of France, because the Government returns do not give the acreage on which each assessment is levied, but only the amount of the assessment and the number of parcels. The ratio of the assessment to the acreage necessarily varies according as the land has, or has not, buildings upon it, and according to

the character of the buildings, and according to the quality of the land and the nature of its produce—whether garden produce, or corn, or cattle, or wine. Fortunately, however, in the four departments of Le Nord in the north, Le Gers in the south-west, L'Isère in the east, and L'Yonne in the interior, in all of which M. Gimel has acted as *Directeur des Contributions directes*, he had taken care to have entries made of the acreage on which each separate assessment was levied. In these four departments, therefore, the character of the division of the land and of the increase of the division can be ascertained precisely.

To begin with the *Département du Nord*. He goes back to the origin of the *cadastre* in 1826, which he compares with that of 1873. He arranges all estates, according to their size, in twenty categories, or classes, beginning with those under a quarter of an acre, and ending with placing in the twentieth class all above 250 acres. In the third and fourth columns he gives the number of estates of each category or size at the dates of 1826 and 1873; and in columns five and six he gives the increase or the diminution, as the case may be, in the number of estates of each category:—

Class.	Acreage.	Number of Assessments		Increase.	Decrease.
		In 1826.	In 1873.		
1	¼	53,113	93,497	40,384	
2	½	20,803	32,063	11,260	
3	1¼	38,856	52,882	14,026	
4	2½	32,060	39,634	7,574	
5	5	28,747	33,890	5,143	
6	7½	13,957	15,486	1,549	
7	10	8,286	8,835	549	
8	12½	5,372	5,531	159	
9	15	3,902	3,924	22	
10.	17½	2,831	2,969	138	
11	20	2,223	2,195	—	28
12	22½	1,722	1,713	—	9
13	25	1,379	1,444	65	
14	50	6,082	6,055	—	27
15	75	1,818	1,790	—	28
16	100	800	743	—	57
17	125	431	397	—	34
18	187½	498	433	—	65
19	250	179	168	—	11
20	Above 250	267	216	—	51
		223,306	303,865	80,869	310

This table shows that in the forty-seven years that elapsed between 1826 and 1873 the first ten classes, together with the thirteenth,

gained 80,869 assessments, while the last ten, with the exception of the thirteenth (which single exception admits of an interesting explanation), lost 340 assessments. The balance, therefore, on the side of gain was 80,559 additional assessments.

But what is the character of these 80,869 additional assessments? For it is evident we can have no useful or right understanding of the distribution of landed property in France till we are able to answer this question. The area of the *Département du Nord* is 1,331,225 acres. If then these additional assessments were levied on increases of the moderate extent of only 5 acres each they would have absorbed 404,345 acres, or not far from one-third of the whole area of the department. When, however, we get at their exact acreage by ascertaining what is the addition made to each category by the increase that has taken place in it, and then adding together these additions to the first ten and to the thirteenth categories, we find that the actual acreable amount of all the additional assessments is not a third of the whole area, but only 67,535 acres; that is, 5 per cent. of the whole area in forty-seven years, or 0·12 per cent. per annum, which is 1·20 in ten years, or 12 per cent. in a century. At the rate, then, of the last forty-seven years it would take in the *Département du Nord* eight or nine centuries to change the great properties into small and moderate ones. And there is no reason for supposing that the process is advancing at a quicker rate throughout France generally.

What is most striking in the above analysis is the vast disproportion between the number of assessments in the first or lowest category, and their aggregate acreage. In 1873 the first two categories, that under a quarter of an acre, and that from a quarter up to half, give, respectively, 30·8 and 10·6, or together 41·4 per cent. of the whole number of assessments; while in acres they give, respectively, only 0·6 and 0·9, or together 1·5 per cent. of the whole area. This indicates the extent of the error those fall into who argue only from the increase in the number of assessments, without ascertaining the acreage which the increased numbers really represent. The single category of assessments for estates under a quarter of an acre absorbs 30·8 per cent. of the number of all the assessments of the department, but only 0·6 of its area. This demonstrates that more than half of all the increase of the forty-seven years—which is a point of great significance—has no bearing on the cultural effects of the division of land. It only points to a vast increase in the number of those who have purchased land enough for a site for a house of their own, with generally—though far from universally—a small garden attached to it.

The result of the changes effected in these forty-seven years may be still more distinctly apprehended, if the twenty classes lately

tabulated be reduced to the three classes of popular phraseology: that is to say, the small, the moderate, and the large properties; reckoning according to the generally received assumption—from which, however, M. Gimel dissents—that all below 15 acres are small, all from 15 to 125 moderate, and all above 125 large. If the changes of the forty-seven years under consideration be tabulated on this tripartite plan, it will be found that in 1826 the small properties were in possession of 36 per cent. of the area of the department, and in 1873 of 40 per cent.; that the moderate have remained almost absolutely stationary at 44·8 per cent.; and that the large have fallen from 19 to 15 per cent., and so have lost 4 per cent. These insignificant changes in the relative superficial proportions of the three classes have been mainly the results of the successful efforts of the working-classes and of small tradesmen to obtain homes of their own on their own freeholds. The above figures refer only to the *Département du Nord.*

In three other departments—those of Le Gers, L'Isère, and L'Yonne—in which M. Gimel has acted as *Directeur des Contributions directes*, he took care, as he did in Le Nord, that the acreage should be entered over against the amount of the assessment. I need not give his synoptical tables, but they show that the character of the changes has been much the same in them as in Le Nord, only with slightly lower rates of division. In them, however, the relative proportions of the three classes differ from those presented by Le Nord. In them the moderate properties are 40, in Le Nord 44 per cent. of the whole; the great, 29·6 and 15·2 respectively; while the small properties hold in the three other departments 30·4, and in Le Nord 40·8 per cent. of the soil. This is just what might have been anticipated, because in Le Nord are rich and populous manufacturing centres, which contain many operatives, artisans, and well-to-do members of the lower strata of the middle class, who would, in accordance with French ideas, be desirous of becoming possessors of houses and gardens of their own; houses and land being with them, what they are wherever things are allowed to take their own course, the most obvious and trusted bank for the savings of those classes. The soil, too, of this department being all good is a further cause of division, because its fertility enables a smaller area to maintain a family. In L'Isère, however, the soil being for the most part poor, and much of it being also mountain-land, there are properties of 1,000, of 2,000, and even of over 100,000 acres. Acreage, of course, is no absolute measure of comparative value, and estates in Le Nord, though less in extent than estates in L'Isère and other departments, may still be of greater value. This must be borne in mind while we compare the proportion of 15 per cent. of great properties in Le Nord with that of 29 per cent. in the three other departments. The two

distinguishing features of the division of property in Le Nord are the large proportion—44 per cent.—of moderate properties, and the large proportion of house properties which swell the proportion of small estates.

These four departments differ so much in situation, soil, and the occupation of their inhabitants, that they may be taken collectively as no unfair sample of the whole of France. If this be allowed, then forty years ago, the mean of the periods M. Gimel is able to deal with for the four departments, small properties were in possession of 27 per cent. of the soil of France, moderate of 43 per cent., and large of 30 per cent. They now respectively hold 32, 41, and 27 per cent. In other words, moderate properties have lost 2 per cent., and great properties 3 per cent., while small properties have gained 5 per cent. This tripartite classification, however, as I have already noted, goes on the supposition that 15 acres are the limit of the small properties, and 125 of the moderate. But these figures M. Gimel is of opinion have not been well chosen. Fifteen acres, he holds decidedly, are too low a limit for small properties; their limit, he thinks, should be set at 20 acres; and 125 he considers too much for moderate properties: their limit he would, therefore, reduce to 100 acres. If these amended limits be accepted, he arrives at the curious and interesting conclusion that each of the classes of property possesses an almost identically equal proportion of the soil of the departments in which he has been able to classify the estates according to their size; and so, presumably, the departments dealt with being fairly representative ones, in the whole of France. This equality of the shares held respectively by the three classes is, he remarks, very different from what most people imagine, but, he supposes, will be received with very general satisfaction.

Another investigation distinct from the preceding, but necessary for a complete understanding of the subject, is that of the number of parcels of land belonging, on an average, to each proprietor, and of the size of the parcels. In this part of his inquiry he gives one hundred and thirty-nine tables of figures, each occupying a whole page. Here, therefore, I can do no more than indicate the method he adopts, and the results at which he arrives. He classifies all parcels of land under sixty categories. His first class contains all parcels below 1 are: an are is the fortieth part of an acre. He then ascends by steps of 1 are up to 50 ares; that is to say, he makes fifty classes in reaching 50 ares, or $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres. He then advances by steps of 10 ares up to 100 ares, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres: this gives five more classes. And then by 1 hectare, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, up to 4 hectares, or 10 acres. His sixtieth class contains all parcels above 10 acres. The object of this minute classification is threefold:

(1) To ascertain the number of parcels of each size at the dates of the first and of the second *cadastre;* (2) The aggregate acreage of the parcels of each size; and (3) The rate at which each size is either gaining or losing, both in the number of parcels and in its aggregate acreage. For these purposes he analyses and classifies the parcels in thirty-three average communes in the *Département du Nord.* By this method of investigation he shows that in all the categories, or classes, from 1 are up to 47, there has been an increase in the number of parcels, and that in all above 47 there has been a decrease. He calls upon us, however, to be careful in marking the amount of the increase in acreage added to the small categories, and therefore deducted from the larger ones. The categories of less than 47 ares have gained 16,823 parcels. Those of more than 47 ares have lost 479 parcels. These 479 larger parcels have, then, been distributed into 16,823 smaller parcels. The acreage of the gains must be equal to the acreage of the losses, and that his analysis shows amounts to 1,100 hectares, or 2,750 acres. But as the acreage of the thirty-three communes is somewhat above 33,000 hectares, or 82,500 acres, this shows that in forty-five years only 3·3 per cent. has passed through this process of distribution. It would, therefore, at this rate require between twelve and thirteen centuries for all the parcels above 47 ares to be reduced to parcels of less than 47 ares.

M. Gimel observes that his tabulated evidence shows that the aggregate acreage of all his categories below 35 ares amounts only to 7,481 hectares 68 ares, or 18,704 acres; that is to say, 22 per cent. on 33,093 hectares, or 82,732 acres. The parcels, therefore, which contain above 35 ares have 78 per cent., that is nearly four-fifths, of the soil.

What we saw was the case with the assessments is also the case with the parcels; the smallest category of all exercises a preponderant effect on the number of the parcels, while it has a very insignificant share in the aggregate acreage. So much so, indeed, that this increase in the number of the first or lowest category of parcels has hardly any appreciable effect on the cultural conditions of the soil. It is only one-twentieth of the soil that passes into these minute parcels, and that chiefly for building and gardening purposes, among a population increasing in wealth, and in the towns in numbers, and therefore requiring, not less in France than in these days in several other countries, many additional houses. This M. Gimel observes is a highly satisfactory appropriation of a twentieth part of the soil.

Among the fifty categories, each advancing by the step of a single are (the fortieth part of an acre), the one which has appropriated the greatest acreage is the class of 35 ares, or thirty-five fortieths of an acre. This, M. Gimel tells us, supporting his opinion by that of the President of the Agricultural Chamber of Lille, is just about the

quantity of land that can be most advantageously cultivated "by one," M. Gimel adds, in a letter to myself, "with whom the cultivation of a garden is an auxiliary means of support." In his book, this limitation had by some inadvertency been omitted.

If, then, we may argue from these thirty-three communes to the whole of France, the tendency of things is in the direction of greater subdivision of the soil. This tendency, however, acts within very narrow limits, and only for certain foreseen advantages. Four-fifths of the soil, even in the *Département du Nord*, are still in parcels greater than 35 ares, each proprietor, including all grades and the whole country, holding about eleven parcels of varying dimensions. It has also been seen that in the last forty-five years only 5 per cent. of the soil of France has passed from the great and moderate estates to the small. Upon this point M. Gimel reaffirms, what is very generally acknowledged in France, that the well-understood interests of the cultivating proprietors are sufficient to save them from carrying division to a prejudicial extent.

In an inquiry of this kind, we must not lose sight of the different uses to which in different parts of France the soil is put, for these very much affect the character of the division. For instance, in the arrondissement of Avesnes, in the *Département du Nord*, where the land is peculiarly adapted for pasturage and cattle breeding, there is a tendency for peasant properties to rise to, and stop at, 25 acres, that being the extent a single family can work for this purpose most profitably. This accounts for the curious fact noticed in the tabular synopsis given at page 10, from which it appears that in Le Nord all assessments of more than 20 acres had a tendency to decrease in number, with the single exception of those of 25 acres. For the same reason the peasant properties in the vine districts are smaller than those in the corn-growing districts, these latter occupying as respects extent an intermediate position between vineyards and cattle-breeding farms. The density, too, and the wealth of the population, as well as the quality of the soil, very considerably affect the distribution of the land.

Such is the picture M. Gimel draws, with pre-Raphaelite minuteness of detail, of the division of landed property in France. It would be a picture full of interest, if it did no more than present to us for contemplation the land system of a powerful and highly intelligent neighbouring nation. At the present moment, however, it has a higher value, for it suggests the inquiry whether the flourishing condition and recent remarkable growth of the French revenue, which is in its amount very far beyond the shrinking revenue of this country, is in any degree to be attributed to the facilities which exist in France for enabling those to acquire land who have the knowledge, capital, and determination requisite for making the most of it.

F. BARHAM ZINCKE.

THE SULTAN'S HEIRS IN ASIA.

THE unexpected downfall of Lord Beaconsfield's Government and the advent of a Liberal party to power in England open a new chapter in the history of the Oriental question. However sceptical we may be of radical changes in policy coinciding with a change of ministry (and the appointment of Lord Granville to the Foreign Office hardly indicates original or striking action), it is impossible not to recognise the fact that imperialism in Turkey has lost and the cause of national freedom has gained something by the event. The day of liberty may not yet quite have dawned for the populations of Asia, but their night is a little farther spent, and in the applause which has greeted Mr. Gladstone's victory we seem to listen to that first rustle and awakening of the Eastern world which precede its dawn. The sick man, their master, too is awake, and has turned uneasily on his couch. He has an instinct now of his doom, and clings obstinately to each minute as it flies. He may subside again for awhile to sleep, but he knows it cannot be for long. He and we, the least sanguine of us, know that a few more months, a year or two at most, and the Empire will have entered on its agony. Already speculation is busy in the minds of all these populations waiting on the future, and a whisper among them now and then goes round, "Who are to be the Sultan's heirs? Shall we ourselves inherit?"

It is in view of this new position of things, and in concert with the impatience of the patient East, that I venture to draw attention to the past history and present claims of the various nationalities now forming the Asiatic Empire of the Turks, and to suggest their possible future when the Empire itself shall have ceased to be. I would invite, as it were, a glance inside the imperial testament, or rather of the testament which fate and Europe are about to sign independently of the imperial will. It is not too late even now to alter some of its dispositions, and in so complex a case any addition to the general stock of knowledge is an addition to the stock of power possessed by our rulers. The future is always a little in our hands, if we but will it; and every one of us may make or mar something of its dispositions. In these days, especially, of English control in Asia and popular control in England, no Englishman who has the interest of the East at heart, and who knows her wants, and has a tongue to speak, need quite despair of being heard, and, in however small a degree, influencing the event. It is in no vain spirit then of prophecy that I would essay to answer the question propounded thus vaguely by the

nations of the East about their future, but as one to whom that future is dear, and who in the measure of his power would do all things to assist them.

That some such question as this of the inheritance of Asia is being asked of each other by our statesmen cannot well be doubted. Our most Conservative politicians hardly any longer affect a belief in Ottoman regeneration, and, in spite of a continuance by the newspaper press of the old arguments in favour of this and that reform for Turkey, the public feels that the writers are only putting a good face on painful matters, and has ceased seriously to believe. Even Lord Salisbury, if he found himself suddenly recalled to power, would hardly care to take up the skeins of his policy exactly where he dropped them, or reiterate his old political syllogism regarding the Porte. He would, I believe, acknowledge the flaw in his major premiss, and abandon the maintenance of imperial rule in Turkey as the *only* solution of the Eastern question. He might still argue that a reformed Turkey would be strong, and a strong Turkey England's best ally; but he must have long since recognised the fact that Turkey is unreformable, and that her strength is nearly spent. All who have been looking at all beneath the cards in politics during the last six months know this, and it is inconceivable that the new comers at the Foreign Office, be they who they may, are not by this time aware that they have to face an Ottoman collapse, and that, whether or no the Empire was the best ally of England, England must learn to do without it.

The chief danger in English policy at the present moment for Turkey in Asia lies in the fact that there is also a Turkey in Europe with more than rival claims on its attention. The future of Thrace and Macedonia is pressing for a solution, and I confess to an apprehension lest in the hurry of adjusting these the future of Syria and Armenia be overlooked. It is even conceivable that in consideration of speedy justice being done to his subjects in Europe the Sultan may be allowed to deal still more than ever as he wills with his subjects in Asia. The enfranchisement of Roumelia and Epirus would release twenty thousand men for other duties, and put them at the Sultan's disposal for coercive measures on the Arabian frontier. I can even imagine a Liberal chief secretary mildly approving such a plan as one "conducive to order in the provinces;" and I cannot wholly forget that it was Lord Granville who held the clothes of the Turks when they were stoning Arabia in 1872, or that Mr. Gladstone, in the catalogue of misdeeds he drew up last winter against Turkey, omitted altogether her offences against her Mussulman but non-Turkish subjects. It seemed too far a cry from Bagdad to Midlothian.

I enter then a plea for nationalism in Asia as it has been entered for nationalism in Europe—for nationalism as opposed to imperialism,

for liberty as opposed to bondage, for the people of Asia as opposed to their masters, whether those masters call themselves Sultan or Czar; and I do so on the ground that Asia has but this one chance of recovery from the disease of which she is dying, and that the chance is about to be presented to her, and that if she is prevented now from seizing it she must wait, perhaps, another thousand years, and that she cannot afford to wait.

To do this with effect I can hardly begin better than with a sketch of her past history, for this is in truth the clue to all arguments respecting her in the future. No land shows more plainly in the past the causes of its present condition, or suggests its future hopes more conclusively by an appeal to hopes deceived.

The history of Asiatic decline has been magnificently told by Gibbon; but he did not tell all. It began before the days of the Roman Empire, and has been continued after it and during the century which has nearly elapsed since Gibbon's death. For a period, indeed, of nearly three thousand years we may trace at intervals the very agents at work on the prosperity of Western Asia which now in their supreme development are achieving her ruin. There are intervals too in her history at least as significant in which we find the general course of her decay interrupted, and by examining the reasons of which we are able still further to acquire a certainty in determining the law of her decline. *Exceptio probat regulam;* and these last may prove the best rule for our guidance if we would seriously attempt a remedy.

We must go back to very ancient days, nearly a thousand years before Christ, to find the golden age of Asia. At that date the lands now forming the Ottoman Empire were divided amongst a number of autonomous states, each an independent nation and possessed of its own political instincts and social traditions. A few of these we know something of, and one we know well, the rest only by name. Assyria, Troy, and the Greek republics of the West are distinct pictures in history; Judæa is to us a household word; and the names of Armenia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia are associated with early lessons in ancient geography. Assyria alone of these was at that time an empire, and it was shortly after to split up into the kingdoms of Nineveh and Babylon. The rest were small communities territorially, but consisting each of a numerous and thriving population. We know how many fighting men the rugged hills of Palestine could send out, and Palestine was no specially favoured land. We know what cities the Desert boasted—Tadmor, just founded by Solomon, on the road to the Euphrates; and Petra, on the road to the Red Sea. The Desert then, as now, was an index of prosperity for the nations adjoining it. The Euphrates valley was full of thriving towns. Assyria, fertilised by a system of irrigation never since equalled in the world,

outrivalled Egypt as the corn-producing region of the East. Armenia was a flourishing nation extending from the Black Sea to the Chaldean plain, and boasted an older existence as a kingdom than any in Asia, for the dynasty of its kings traced their descent in unbroken line from Noah.[1]

In Syria we find Hadad, King of Damascus, and Hiram, King of the Phœnicians, at Tyre—the latter a nation of merchants spread along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, and carrying their mercantile ventures into every land of the old world, from Spain in the far west to the central deserts of Arabia.

Arabia itself had its kings, who were rich enough to bring presents of gold and spices to Solomon, and whose shepherd rule, the most ancient of existing forms of government, had extended itself in a previous age to Babylon on the one hand, and Egypt on the other.

Lastly, in Asia Minor we find an infinity of small communities existing for the most part as kingdoms, but of which we know little more than the name. Troy alone of the cities of that day has any definite physiognomy in our recollections, but its description by Homer serves us as an example of what the rest may have been. In any case we know that the life of Asia Minor was then free and vigorous; that the whole region now forming Turkey in Asia, from Smyrna, on the Ægean Sea, to the holy city of Echmiazen, near Mount Ararat, and thence southwards to the Persian Gulf, was a densely populated region, the centre of the political life and commerce of the world. At no subsequent period has civilisation reached a higher point east of the Mediterranean; and yet this was nearly three thousand years ago.

It was in the eighth century before Christ that its first misfortunes came to Western Asia. The Assyrian monarchy, which had hitherto satisfied itself with conquests in the direction of India, now spread itself to the north and the west, destroying the independence of Armenia,[2] and later of Syria and Judæa. In 721 B.C. Samaria was taken, the King of Israel was carried away captive to Babylon by Shalmanesar, and whole nations were enslaved by him. Then first appeared in the western world that system of centralised imperial government on a gigantic scale which has been maintained with few interruptions ever since in Asia. Then the nations, subjected for the first time, ceased to govern themselves. They became the servants of a master whose pleasure was their law, and for whose profit they tilled the land which had ceased to be their own. Their wealth was then first drained away in tribute to a distant capital,

(1) An admirable account of ancient Armenia may be read in the March number of the *Contemporary Review*.

(2) Chronology is in doubt respecting the date of Semiramis' conquest of Armenia, some placing it as much as a thousand years earlier than others. It seems, however, most probable that it belongs to the later period of the Assyrian power.

and their sons enlisted to fight not for their liberties, but for their enslavement. In 588 B.C. Jerusalem was destroyed, and Jeremiah could write of his country: "He hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of her palaces. Her gates are sunk in the ground. He hath destroyed and broken her bars. Her king and her princes are among the Gentiles. The law is no more. * * All that pass by clap their hands at her. They hiss and wag their heads, saying, Is this the city that men called the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth?"

The Persian Empire followed, embracing not only the conquests of Assyria, but all Western Asia in its grip. Asia Minor was then first divided into satrapies, the prototypes of the provinces of Rome, the pashaliks of Stamboul. In the year 323 B.C. four centuries of despotism had so far done their work in Asia that Alexander, its third conqueror, could stand upon the site of Nineveh and ask where Nineveh was. The greatest city of the ancient world had disappeared.

The disintegration of Asia, however, was not destined yet to become complete. At the death of Alexander the imperial system broke suddenly in pieces, and the lands so long held in bondage regained a temporary freedom. The nations of Armenia, Cappadocia, and Judæa rose again from their graves, and many a small community of Asia Minor reappeared under a government of its own. The shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea then started into new life, and the Greek colonists rebuilt their decayed and ruined cities. This was the age of the rebuilding of the Temple of Ephesus and of the founding of Nice and Laodicæa. In 166 B.C. Judas Maccabæus drove its Gentile rulers from Jerusalem and purified the temple. It was a brief respite in the political and commercial decline of Asia, the first of those interludes of free life which, as I have said, are the exceptions by which we are to prove the rule of imperial decay. It lasted three hundred years, and then the Romans came.

The Roman system, from the very virtues of which it was in early days the exponent, shows more conclusively than either the Persian or the Ottoman the inherent vice of its rule. In spite of the purity of its agents and the intelligence of its administration, it of a necessity destroyed the moral life of the nations it subdued, and as a consequence, their social and commercial well-being. "The provinces," says Gibbon, "were destitute of any public force or constitutional freedom. It was the first care of the Senate to dissolve those dangerous confederacies which taught mankind that as the Roman arms prevailed by division they might be resisted by union." Here, in a few words, we read the principle which has been the law of its being to each successive phase of imperial rule in Asia, and to Rome's as to the rest—to maintain its unity through others'

division, to be strong through their weakness, to be wise through their unwisdom, to be great by their diminution, and, as an extreme consequence, to live on by their death. The highest expression of the imperial rule of Rome was the maintenance of order given in the term a "Roman peace;" its lowest the condition of which Tacitus speaks in his sentence, "Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant." The power of Rome was from first to last, in her golden age as in her decay, the one end of Roman government, not the welfare of the provinces. This was sometimes a means, but more frequently an obstacle, to that end, and was never an end in itself. It is true that in the day of imperial greatness vast works, ostensibly of public utility, were undertaken by the proconsuls, but these were for the most part also works of conquest. The great high-roads, so striking a feature of Roman administration, were in their essence military. It was not for the advantage of commerce that they were projected in straight lines from camp to camp, turning aside neither for city nor for village. It was not solely for the convenience of merchants that bridges were built and harbours deepened. The speedy and effective assertion of her power wherever disturbance was apprehended by the massing of her legions in fortified positions—this was a first necessity of life for Rome, and the roads she constructed were as much a military measure as the arming of her troops. As long as the provinces were rich they could afford the expenditure, gigantic as it was, but it brought them in the end their ruin. Once in the grip of Rome, through the annihilation of time and space which speedy communication brings, they were impotent to resist her exactions. Tribute and tax were imposed at will, and the drain of their wealth to a foreign capital depended now only on the virtue and moderation of their rulers, things rare at all times in the history of provincial administration. A later age saw corruption and misrule replacing the old Roman justice, and then imperialism, armed to the teeth, worked out its full results, until it in its turn grew weak in the feeble hands of the Byzantine emperors.

In the seventh century the Arabian conquest swept over the regions south of the Taurus, and put an end to the militarism of Rome in Syria and on the Euphrates. A new kind of freedom now for awhile was seen in Asia. The caliphate, established at its commencement by military power, could not long maintain itself, as the Roman power had been maintained, by military means. It soon fell to pieces. The Arab character is essentially opposed to the long continuance of despotic forms, for it is intolerant of system in government and of that administrative mill by which despotisms live. Bound together for an instant by the power of religious fervour, the tribes of the south soon reverted each one to its separate interests. Centralisation was from the first impossible. The

caliphate itself was divided not a hundred years after its institution, and everywhere communities sprang up within it, maintaining a certain measure of independence and self-government. It became the prototype of the feudal system of Europe, and though absolutely unlike the freedoms either of old Greece or of modern America, it was freedom still. The towns of Western Asia once again enjoyed communal life, and the profession of arms became, as it always should be in free communities, a privilege, not a service. In no age since the halcyon days of the Roman Empire was commerce more prosperous on the high-road to India than from 650 to 1150 A.D. Even so late as the twelfth century Benjamin Tudela, the father of Eastern travellers, found all the line of the Euphrates peopled with great towns, living on the trade which passed along its banks. Palmyra alone in his day must have contained a vast population, for he reckons two thousand Jews among its inhabitants. The cities of Chaldæa and the Tigris were at this time rebuilt; and Bagdad, reviving the glories of Babylon and Ctesiphon, became the greatest commercial centre of the world. This was the last period of freedom for Western Asia—her St. Martin's summer of prosperity. Marco Polo, the next European traveller who passed that way, found Bagdad sacked by the Mongols.

I am not writing a history, but pointing a moral. The Turanian conquerors, Mongol, Tartar, and Turk, besides the spirit of destruction (and they destroyed three-fourths of Asia), brought with them once more the spirit of despotic power to all the lands they overran. The last and most persevering, the Ottoman Turk, acquired with the Arabian conquests the rest of the Greek Empire, and with the Empire the fatal inheritance of organized imperialism bequeathed by Rome. Unlike the Arab, in whom commercial instincts predominate, the Turk cared little for the production of wealth. His instinct was essentially military, and adapted itself with ease to the position of command once held by the Roman legionary. The Ottoman Sultan, when he at last found himself established in Cæsar's seat, wielded the selfsame weapons that had been borne by Maximin and Caracalla. He adopted the militarism of the empire *en bloc*, with its system of land-tax and tribute, and its evil tradition of rule, half force, half fraud. The wealth of Syria and Egypt and Mesopotamia now once more drained to Europe, and was expended there on largesses to the Janissaries, as the Roman emperors had given largess to the Roman legions. The land-tax levied on the gross produce and in kind—the cruellest tax ever designed against the labour of man—was continued in full severity; the proconsuls or exarchs of the old Empire reappeared in the pashas of the new; and even the individual agents of the emperors were taken into service by the sultans. Greeks and Armenians still pulled the strings of government at Constantinople, and pulled them with less scruple than

ever, for they were now acting on races and religions foreign to their own. It was the system of Rome without Roman integrity, the system of Byzantium without responsibility in its agents. Never before in her history was Asia so systematically despoiled.

It is outside my present purpose to insist upon the *abuses* of power so notorious under Turkish rule. It is the power itself that is evil. I believe sincerely that the Turk is not a whit less honest than his fellows in the Empire, and that were the Ottoman system transferred into the hand of any nationality in the Levant, it would equally conduce to the ruin of the land. Nay, more, that even European agents would as completely fail. What has made the Turkish tenure of power more rapidly fatal than its predecessors is that it has been at work upon weak and exhausted populations instead of on populations industrious and wealthy. The machinery of imperialism, in a country made up of such a diversity of sects and races, must necessarily be extremely costly, and Asia is no longer able to support its burden. Even if every pasha and every mudir were honest, the weight of taxation alone would continue enough to prevent an increase of population. The military and administrative machinery cannot be reduced if the Empire is to be maintained; and at the present moment it is a race between Government and people which shall outlive the other. The Ottoman Government, like the ichneumon grub in the body of the caterpillar, has exhausted the fatness of its prey; it is now feeding on the vitals, and the wasting of the victim is alarmingly rapid. As I write, famine is at work all over Asia Minor, for the simple reason that the seed corn of the previous year was seized in payment of the taxes. Thus the people grow daily weaker and less able to withstand their oppressors, and whether they shall die first or these is now the only question.

Nor is England wholly blameless for the result. It must not be forgotten that the military strength of Turkey, which is her instrument of oppression, is mainly due to England. In the years following the Crimean War English capitalists provided the loans which reorganized the Sultan's forces, equipped them with arms of precision, and gave them the command of the sea. Never in the history of Turkey has the Sultan's power been so great, *relatively to the power of the people*, as within the last twenty years. Even now, when his army is broken and his treasury empty, he is far stronger than any combination against him in his own house; and though possibly dying, the sick man wields his blows with hardly abated strength on those of his servants who would rebel. *If the sword is sharp in his hand it is England that has whetted the edge.* What the end shall be depends still mainly on England. A few more years of such support as was given by Lord Salisbury, another loan from English capitalists, the construction of military roads and railways through Asia economising the strength of imperial power, and the whole of the Asiatic

provinces of the Sultan will have followed the fate of Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, and the Euphrates valley. They will have fallen out of cultivation. Their population will have disappeared. Can England say that she has had no hand in the death of these people?

I would set it earnestly before the sense of right and justice and mercy, which have been so freely invoked by every member of the present Cabinet while out of office, whether, now they are in office, they will continue to countenance the crime which is every day being committed in Asia. They have not Lord Salisbury's excuse of believing the Turkish military power to be a necessity for England. They have one and all denounced the fallacy. They are not unprepared it seems to give their moral support to Thrace and Macedonia, but will they do nothing for Asia? The Cyprus Treaty is a weapon in their hand if they will but use it. It gives them a right of interference no other European power can claim. Are they to use it only for the purpose of urging reforms on the Porte which the Porte cannot and will not give, and which, if it gave, would be worse than useless to the people of the provinces? Bitter mockery, if all this talk is to end in the organization of an effective police!

But no. I would rather indulge in dreams of a more hopeful future. The nations of Asia, though dying, are not dead, and a little sunshine of liberty would bring them back their health. I would suppose the Sultan's Government, unsupported by any moral or material countenance from without, to cease in some one of the many ways decreed by Providence for political extinction. No man, they say, ever dies merely of old age; and human institutions too have the agents of their doom appointed. It may come by some palace intrigue, by a mutiny of troops, by a simultaneous rising of the people in many provinces—perhaps, too, by the adoption of some quack remedy from Europe—constitutional reforms, parliamentary government, political suicide, who knows? In any case, we may be sure it will not come without a convulsion, and one in which blood will be shed and passion roused. Then it will be well for Asia if some one with authority is at hand to compose the storm, reorganize the chaos, and help the nations to new life under new conditions.

The outlying provinces will be the first to gain their freedom. Arabia waits only for a sign of weakness, for a withdrawal of Turkish troops from Mecca and Katif, to achieve her independence. For her there is no difficulty, and she needs no help. The constitution of her governments is already traced out for her. Mecca and Medina will raise the standard of a new Caliphate in alliance with the confederation of Nejd now forming in Jebel Shammar. Hasa and Katif will revert to Ibn Saoud, or to its older independence. New principalities will arise in Hadramaut and Yemen. In twenty years from the departure of the last Ottoman soldier the Turkish rule will be forgotten in the peninsula as completely as if it had never been.

Arabian communities are as the sands of the desert. They retain no trace of the footsteps of their conquerors.[1]

In connection with Peninsular Arabia, we may expect to see communities founded on similar principles arise in Mesopotamia and Irak. The present Pashalik of Bagdad has this advantage for self-government, that its population in race and religion is singularly homogeneous. There are, it is true, within it distinctions of opinion between the adherents of the Suni and the Shia sects of Islam, but no Christian element exists either at Bagdad or Bussorah worth considering. The few Armenians found in those towns are of foreign, not native extraction, and reside in them on the footing of foreigners. The Jews form a not inconsiderable and an ancient community in Bagdad, but neither they nor the Armenians have anything to fear there from Mussulman bigotry, the Bagdad Sunis being the laxest and least religious of believers. In Kerbela and the other towns west of the Euphrates, where the Shia element predominates, there are neither Jews nor Christians; and in the country districts all alike are Mussulmans. Arabic is the common language of all classes, and Arabian ideas of order and morality prevail throughout. The transition from Turkish law to Arabian custom would be natural and easy, and it must not be forgotten that within living memory the important towns of Meshhed Ali and Kerbela acknowledged no external authority besides that of the Bedouin Ibn Haddals. A return to this state of things would be hailed with enthusiasm by the citizens, who have more than once in the last forty years risen against their Turkish conquerors. Bagdad and Bussorah, as free towns under the protection respectively of the Shammar and Montefik Sheykhs,[2] would enjoy exemption from those dues and restrictions with which the Ottoman Government is extinguishing their trade; and the country districts, relieved from the land-tax, would invite Arab colonists not only from Arabia, but from the Persian province of Arabistan, where tribes of Arab race groan under a fiercer persecution than even that of Turkey. The formation of free Arabian states on the great rivers is the *only* chance for the repeopling of what was once the kingdom of Babylon.

The question of free government in non-Arabian Turkey is more complex. In Armenia and Kurdistan the mixture of races and religions, of manners and prejudices, makes the establishment of free communal life, so easy on the Lower Tigris and Euphrates, a practical impossibility on the Upper. Armenia, if it is once more to be a kingdom, must commence its new life under something stronger than the moral sanction of Europe. The Armenian Christians, still culti-

(1) See May number of the Fortnightly Review—"Recent Events in Arabia."

(2) That this is no fanciful notion the late government of Bussorah by Nasr el Ashgar, the Montefik Sheykh, goes to prove. Under his rule the province enjoyed absolute tranquillity, and the revenue was punctually remitted to Bagdad.

vating the soil unincorporated with Russia, are far from numerous, and are moreover divided by sectarian differences. The Kurdish Beys are everywhere more powerful than these unarmed, unwarlike peasants, and, except under the direct military protection of a European power, they could not maintain themselves or live an hour. Yet for the permanent existence of a free state between Russia and Asia Minor it is essential that that state should be Christian; and the elements for its formation are not wholly wanting. The Armenians of Armenia are indeed weak, but there is a greater Armenia without, which is both numerous and powerful. The Armenians scattered over Asia Minor and the Levant are the boldest and most successful merchants of the Empire. They possess great wealth, and in many places great influence. They are above all intensely national. Of all the races of the East there is none with so wide an intellectual grasp or so firm a political instinct as the Armenian. It has produced in our day more than one statesman who may rank as a man of genius. Nubar, Melikof, and the author of those admirable essays which have appeared lately in our English reviews under the signature of "An Eastern Statesman"—in the presence of such names who shall say that Armenia is incapable of self-government? The present kingdom of Greece, when first launched into being, was hardly in better case. The Greek peasant and the Albanian Pallikar were little more promising than the Armenian and the Kurd. Greece was backed by another Greece from without, and so may Armenia be backed by another Armenia. A European occupation may for some years be necessary to organize and teach and arm the unwarlike Armenian for his self-defence; but the task need be no very costly one, nor one without a limit in time.

To England, as interested in the peace of Western Asia, the existence of a free Christian state interposed between Russia and the Mediterranean would surely be worth some sacrifice to secure. Left as it is under Turkish misgovernment, Armenia must eventually fall wholly to the Czar, who would have a continual and just pretext for interference in the desperate condition of a Christian population on his borders in process of extermination by the infidel. He would sooner or later come forward in Armenia, as he did in Bulgaria, as a liberator, and with better reason. Russian liberation means generally conquest. What the exact form of the new government should be I am not bold enough to determine, nor have I space in the present article for more than the barest statement of possible combinations. In reviewing the analogous case of Syria I shall suggest a few considerations which will equally apply to Armenia, and I leave the rest to be planned by those who may have the power to execute. Neither will I venture to decide what power Europe shall intrust with the guardianship of Armenian infancy. Russia, if

sincere, would be the best and most natural protector; but her interest might not incline her loyally to carry out the task. England, by virtue of her Treaty of Asiatic Protection, might seem to have a prior claim. I should prefer to call it a prior duty.

Asia Minor, being wholly Turkish and wholly Mussulman (for the Greek colonies on the coast would revert to Greece), may possibly still remain under a Sultan's government—a Sultan, but not such a Sultan as we see now, the master of fleets and armies, enthroned in a city of palaces. He would no longer be Caliph or Commander of the Faithful. He would be Commander only of the Turks, and, shorn of wealth and power, he would live at Brusa poorly, and on sufferance. The Turks, if they hold to him as the descendant of Othman, may still acknowledge him as their chief, perhaps still serve him faithfully. If so, he may reign on, and let us hope to better profit. If not, Asia Minor and Islam can do without him. It is to be hoped in any case that a less centralised government than that now visible at Constantinople may take its place at Brusa, or wherever the new capital of the Turks may be placed. Possibly some reproduction of the old feudal system under local Beys, tributary to the Sultan, may appear. The first necessity of Asia Minor is the abolition of the land-tax and the freedom of the agricultural population from levies and imposts of all kinds. With the fall of the Empire an imperial army will not be required, nor an imperial navy—for Turkey too must be content to live by her weakness—and a local police should be sufficient for the few wants of provincial discipline. The Turks are, if industrial at all, an agricultural race, and they will painfully till their land for many years to come, and, the destructive ambition of their masters overthrown, will perhaps once more increase and reoccupy the vacant spaces of Asia Minor. Peace and time may effect this—as time and war have effected their ruin.

I have reserved the future hopes of Syria for a last inquiry. These are the most immediately important to ourselves, the European public, which sends its yearly pilgrimage of tourists to the Holy Land, and which has already established its colonies on her shore, and so acquired an interest.

Of all the provinces of the Empire Syria is the most divided in race and religion, and consequently the most difficult to weld into a homogeneous state. In it the rancorous bitterness of rival creeds gains its full expression, and we find no bond of union between the innumerable sections of society but that of a common language and a common bondage to the Sultan. Once the central authority relaxed, all seems ready to fall asunder in confusion. And this would undoubtedly be the case were Syria left entirely to her own devices on the collapse of Turkey. On the other hand, the Syrians (if by such a name we may speak collectively of the races which intermingle in Syria) are more in sympathy with the lines of European thought

than the other Asiatics of the Empire. The Frankish kingdom of the Crusaders has left more than a trace of its two hundred years' existence. Churches and monasteries are found everywhere, and a vast number of indigenous Christians frequent them. In late years European colonists have been established in more than one locality, and the nature of the soil and climate seems to lend itself to schemes of European settlement. Syria is easily accessible to Europe, being but a narrow strip of country with a long seaboard. In physical features it strongly resembles Algeria, of which the French have made a colony. It is a land of hills, with a mean level above the sea sufficient to make the summer heats endurable; and it is not a little remarkable that the Atlas and the Lebanon are the only two mountain-ranges on which the cedar of Solomon is found. What has been done in Algeria could certainly be done in Syria if Syria were in the possession of a European power. The existence of the shrines of the Holy Land, indeed, seem to point to a close connection in the future between Syria and Christendom.

I think, however, something better might be done for Syria than the French have done for Algeria. Most of us will confess that Jerusalem laid out in boulevards and united with Bethlehem by a *route nationale* fringed with poplars, French blouses in the Lebanon, the Code Napoléon at Nazareth, and a taste for absinthe everywhere, are not the highest form of civilisation a Holy Land might aspire to. Neither would one wish for the rowdyism there of English colonial life, nor for the spectacled officialdom of Germany. Something of Europe I fear there must be, but something short of this. Syria requires protection, possibly for some years occupation, by a European power; but let it be protection and temporary occupation only—let the plan of her future government be drawn for her on Oriental lines. The instinct of communal life introduced by the Arabs exists among nearly all classes of Syrians, and should be sedulously fostered. Central government should not aspire to be administrative. Its end should be order, not administration. Above all, let us hope that Syria will be governed for the Syrians, and not treated as a penal settlement for Europe. Algeria has suffered in this way, and to this may be attributed its financial failure. But I am indulging in the dreams of El Feshar with his basket of glass bottles—and details well may wait.

One thing, however, I would point out, that in any scheme for protection which may be agreed upon for Syria between the European powers, it will be well if that protection is limited to the line of the Jordan and Orontes. Beyond that, a protecting power would be launching itself on a sea of trouble. Eastern Syria contains no Christian population, and its traditions are wholly Arabian. It may well be left to self-government on the Arabian plan. The vain ambition of ruling the Sahara has entailed an endless expense

on France without appreciable advantage; and a poor country such as Syria must be can have no pretension of controlling its Bedouin neighbours. The folly of the Turkish Government has been that instead of living on terms of alliance with the Sheykhs, they have sought to coerce them. As friends they would have increased the commercial wealth of Syria; as enemies they only entail a vast expenditure of military force.

Of Egypt I have said nothing. She is not quite Asia, though Asiatic, and I feel that in suggesting her independence with that of the rest I should be treading on too dangerous ground—the toes of the bondholders. Nor have I urged the re-establishment of the Greeks at Constantinople. This would be opening a still wider and still more dangerous question. I believe, however, in the practicability and policy of both these schemes of justice, and it is not from lack of argument that I am silent.

Of my scheme for Asia I have still something to add. In order that it should be practical, the consent of Europe to England's new protectorate must be gained. Something too must be allowed to the vanities and the ambitions of those powers which have claims on the Ottoman inheritance. Protection for many years from foreign aggression will be required for the new states which I am proposing to establish, and protection, to be effective, must have a personal quality. The protection of all by all is no protection at all, and a joint guarantee of Asiatic independence signed by the whole of Europe would break down at the first necessity of its enforcement. I would suggest rather that in default of England's undertaking the sole responsibility, others of the Powers be invited to join her in the task. Let Russia be invited to protect Armenia, France Syria, and Austria Asia Minor. England could reserve to herself a special protectorate over Egypt and Arabia, for the latter will require moral support against Persian aggression.

The future of the Turkish capital cannot be quite passed over here. Constantinople is probably too big a house at present for any one of the new-formed states of Europe to occupy. Its immediate future is that of a free town where, with full freedom of the Bosphorus for the ships of every power, it need no longer be an object of jealousy between them. The Greek towns of Asia Minor also should be free if they prefer freedom; if not, being all on the sea-coast, they may be joined to Greece. I would insist once more on the fact that it is by their weakness, not their strength, that all these states must live. What is necessary for them is not strength, but repose—repose from taxation, from conscription, and from the constant burden of officialdom. As states modelled on European methods they will be for many years too poor. They cannot support armies, military or civil, and must be content with simpler conditions of existence than our statecraft is likely to suggest for them. Like persons brought low by long illness,

their best chance lies in nature. Relieve them from the influences which have brought them to their present desperate case and watch them carefully, but leave the rest to time—time and the pure air of liberty.

I know that to many minds the plan thus sketched of a free Asia working out her own salvation in her own way will seem a little Utopian. It is the fashion of the day to scoff at liberty, and to treat its worshippers as enthusiasts rather than as serious thinkers. Yet the time was, and not so long ago, when the happiness of small states, self-governed and self-sufficient, was the merest truism of philosophical writers. If the present generation finds sympathy only for vast agglomerations of men—United Germanies and United Italies—the generation of our fathers was loud in exalting the truly higher position of modest independence. Switzerland was then the ideal with political writers of a civilised community, living, not on the barbaric strength of armies, but on the moral greatness of its freedom, the practical wisdom of its commercial life, and its contempt of ambitions. I confess to a preference for this older creed. I am not ashamed to say that, in spite of the crimes committed in her name, I still hold by Liberty as the best and noblest gift of man, the truest source of happiness and well-being to a people. I urge it, then, once more upon the Liberal Government, upon the Liberal party of England, to follow the true instincts and traditions of their faith. It is their highest boast that they have for generations encouraged liberty throughout the world. Let them encourage liberty now in Asia. Let them abandon that old labour of the damned—the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire—and prepare a way for the new life which shall succeed it. Let them treat their guardianship of Western Asia not as a burden, but a trust. The Cyprus Treaty, I repeat, is a weapon in their hands, forged it may be for another purpose in an evil interest, but now an instrument for good. If it was understood by those who signed it as a personal pledge to the Sultan, the people of Asia understand it otherwise. They read in it a declaration of England's interest in themselves, and it would be the bitterest drop in the cup of their humiliation if, through impatience at the misdeeds of the Sultan, England should solemnly wash her hands, and declaring herself innocent of their righteous blood, hand them over to new slavery and the Czar —for this is the fate which awaits them as certainly as it awaits all unprotected Asia if no one stands between it and them in the birth-throes of their freedom.

Construed as the support of free governments against foreign despotisms, the Cyprus Treaty would cease to be an insane convention. Its execution would become for England a great and ennobling duty, and for the unhappy populations of Western Asia an unmixed blessing.

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT.

A NEW POET.[1]

It is at least ten years since a real unmistakable poet has revealed himself in England. Mr. Swinburne's *Atalanta* was published in 1865, Mr. Morris's *Jason* in 1868, Mr. Rossetti's poems were published for the world in 1870, and even then the most precious of them were not exactly new. A year ago one might have said, without any disrespect to many accomplished writers whose work is often praiseworthy and sometimes enjoyable, that one lost little or nothing in neglecting any living English poet except the three already named and Mr. Tennyson and Mr. Browning, whose fame has been safe and sealed these twenty years.

A pessimist might think it of evil omen that we should have had to wait so long for a new poet; of worse omen that he should be a pessimist himself, who dedicates his work "to Giacomo Leopardi, the younger brother of Dante;" of worse omen still that he should be a relapsed pessimist who has struggled into daylight and gone back into the darkness, who draws his latest and truest inspiration from the "cold rage" that—

> "Seizes one at whiles,
> To show the bitter, old, and wrinkled truth,
> Stripped naked of all vesture that beguiles,
> False dreams, false hopes, false masks, and modes of youth:
> Because it gives some sense of power and passion
> In helpless impotence to try to fashion
> Our woe in living words, howe'er uncouth."

Mr. Thomson has had the rare and commendable courage to date all the poems of fifteen years which he thought it well to publish, with two insignificant exceptions; he has had also the commendable temperance to leave much unprinted and probably unwritten. The whole of his original poems might be printed at length in fifty or sixty pages of the Fortnightly Review, and yet there are quite enough to conduct the old tragi-comedy of a large nature with small opportunities to an inevitable catastrophe of ideal despair. Like Byron and Lamartine, Mr. Thomson finds his principal subject in the vicissitudes of the spiritual life of a transfigured self. No man quite knows for himself which is the truest, his spiritual life or his temporal life; no man quite knows for himself which is the truest, the ideal or the actual; and it is absolutely impossible for any man to know either of another. Byron was very much better and saner upon the whole than *Childe Harold*, and *Jocelyn* and *Raphael* were no better than Lamartine when he imagined them.

(1) *The City of Dreadful Night and Other Poems.* By James Thomson (B.V.). Reeves and Turner, 196, Strand. 1880.

Even Lamartine hardly imagined that he was *Raphael*, and Mr. Thomson, a manlier and simpler writer, knows that he never reigned in the *Castle of Indolence;* but after all nothing tells us so much of the young Lamartine as *Raphael*, and we pity the denizen of the *City of Dreadful Night* more when we recognise the gracious traits of what he must have been "*nella sua vita nuova*" in the *Lord of the Castle of Indolence*, written in 1859.

The poem is a musical hymn to spontaneity, a panegyric on the sweet arrogance of untried powers which turns comrades into willing captives, and takes easy possession of an imaginary omnipotence which seems eternal till the first call for unwelcome exertion comes. Such arrogance is saner and pleasanter than the other form of the pride of youth before the world has rubbed off its angles and its lustre together. It is more reasonable to think everything will come if we wait, than to rail at everybody for being less impatient than ourselves to hasten the day after to-morrow. Our author sees the folly of such impatience very clearly.

"How men will strain to row against the tide
Which yet must sweep them down in its career!
Or if some win their way and crown their pride,
What do they win? The desert wild and drear,
The savage rocks, the icy waste austere,
Wherefrom the river's turbid rills downflow.
But he upon the waters broad and clear,
In harmony with all the winds that blow,
'Mid cities, fields, and farms went floating to and fro.

* * * * * * *

"Thus could he laugh those great and generous laughs
Which made us love ourselves, the world, and him;
And while they rang we felt as one who quaffs
Some potent winecup dowered to the brim,
And straightway all things seem to reel and swim—
Suns, moons, earth, stars sweep through the vast profound,
Wrapt in a golden mist, light, warm, and dim,
Rolled in a volume of triumphant sound:
So in that laughter's joy the whole world carolled round."

There is much more in the same vein: like Hindoo Rishis and Persian Sufis, the Lord of the Castle of Indolence is not merely the crown of the life of the world, but its source. "He reigned by servitude all effortless." He asked nothing for himself of the world which he blessed and sustained by inhabiting it. Unluckily, though we may consider the lilies of the field with profit, we have to toil and spin till our wings grow. And apart from this necessity unused powers soon become a burden even when inaction is not due to outward hindrance.

Within two years the author has sounded the depths of despair. The hymn to *Our Ladies of Death* is suggested by Our Ladies of

Sorrow in De Quincy's *Suspiria de Profundis*. Entire originality of invention is not exactly Mr. Thomson's forte. But this does not matter much; the splendid symbolism with which he invests what he borrows is all his own. If the poem has a fault it is that the scheme of it is hardly strong enough to support its imagery. The poet wishes for death and dare not call upon our Lady of Beatitudes, he will not call upon our Lady of Annihilation, and so he resolves to call upon our Lady of Oblivion. Our Lady of Beatitudes confers immortal life on those who die in their innocency, and her sorrow is that those who live innocently on earth cling to life. One scarcely sees why she is invoked as "first Self-conqueror." The description is better:—

> "Thou standest garmented in purest white;
> But from thy shoulders wings of power half-spread
> Invest thy form with such miraculous light
> As dawn may clothe the earth with; and instead
> Of any jewel-kindled golden crown,
> The glory of thy long hair flowing down
> Is dazzling noonday sunshine round thy head."

That is a picture of the right kind for poetry, a picture which could not possibly be painted. One cares less for the sword and palm branch and olive, and the winged feet with knotted cords round them, in the next stanza: such properties are not unworthy of an Albert Dürer, but they are not impossible to a Quarles. Nor is our Lady of Annihilation particularly impressive; in her "actual form" she is a daughter of Milton's Satan; what those whom she sways see is better painted in the Proverbs of Solomon. Here is the list of her victims:—

> "The selfish, factious, proud, and pitiless,
> All who have falsified life's royal trust,
> The strong whose strength hath basked in idleness,
> The great heart given up to worldly lust,
> The great mind destitute of moral faith,
> Thou scourgest down to Night and utter Death,
> Or penal spheres of retribution just."

Such a crude didactic stanza is rare in Mr. Thomson. One would admire it in the *Purgatory of Suicides*, and pardon bald candour like this:—

> "The evil passions which may make me thine
> Are not yet irrepressible in me."

But if our Lady of Annihilation cannot bear comparison with *Dolores*, our Lady of Oblivion need not shrink from the presence of *Hesperia*, or the lady of *Il Penseroso* who has been more clearly in the writer's thought:—

"Last Thou, retirèd nun and throneless queen,
Our Lady of Oblivion, last Thou;
Of human stature, of abstracted mien,
Upon whose pallid face and drooping brow
Are shadowed melancholy dreams of Doom,
And deep absorption into silent gloom,
And weary bearing of the heavy Now.

"Thou art all shrouded in a gauzy veil,
Sombrous and cloudlike, all, except that face
Of subtle loveliness, though weirdly pale;
Thy soft, slow-gliding footsteps leave no trace,
And stir no sound. Thy drooping hands infold
Their frail white fingers, and, unconscious, hold
A poppy-wreath, thine anodyne of grace.

"Thy hair is like a twilight round thy head:
Thine eyes are shadowed wells from Lethe's stream,
With drowsy subterranean waters fed,
Obscurely deep, without a stir or gleam;
The gazer drinks in from them with his gaze
An opiate charm to curtain all his days,
A passive languor of oblivious dream.

"Thou hauntest twilight regions, and the trance
Of moonless nights when stars are few and wan;
Within black woods; or over the expanse
Of desert seas abysmal; or upon
Old solitary shores where populous graves
Are rocked in rest by ever-moaning waves;
Or through vast ruined cities still and lone.
* * * * * * *
"Take me and lull me into perfect sleep,
Down, down, far-hidden in thy duskiest cave,
While all the clamorous years above me sweep
Unheard, or, like the voice of seas that rave
On far-off coasts, but murmuring o'er my trance
A dim vast monotone that shall enhance
The restful rapture of the inviolate grave."

In *Our Ladies of Death*, written in 1861, we find an anticipation of almost everything which is afterwards expressed with added power and more concentrated bitterness in *The City of Dreadful Night*. In the *Three that shall be One* despair is passing away into tender melancholy: Love is betrothed to Death and is seduced by Life; when his true bride claims him he returns to his allegiance at once, only as they leave earth together he prays his bride to comfort his paramour:—

"Faint on the ground she lay;
Love kissed the swoon away;
Death then bent over her—
Death, the sweet comforter!
Whispered with tearful smile,
Wait but a little while,
Then I will come for thee;
We are one family."

Under the same date we have a quite objective study of the recklessness of a Polish Insurgent, good enough perhaps to fill up a gap in one of Mr. Browning's later volumes. One can trace the influence of what is sweetest and simplest in Browning, of what is richest in *Maud*, as well as the influence of Heine, in two very fresh idyls of Cockaigne called *Sunday at Hampstead* and *Sunday up the River*. They date from 1863 to 1865, and open the series of the author's brightest, sanest, and most varied work. What strikes one first, perhaps, is the writer's absolute and courageous content with circumstances which have a sordid side to them. It does not require much courage to think that Hampstead (as it was a dozen years ago) and the Thames are some of the most beautiful things in Europe; but it takes a great deal of courage to boast of one's class in words like these—

"On Sunday we're lord and lady,
With ten times the love and glee
Of those pale and languid rich ones
Who are always and never free.
* * * * *
"We can laugh out loud when merry,
We can romp at kiss-in-the-ring,
We can take our beer at a public,
We can loll on the grass and sing—"

and live with friends open to this kind of comment—

"Mary and Dick so grandly
Parade suburban streets;
His waistcoat and her bonnet
Proving the best of treats.
* * * * * *
"Mary is going to chapel;
And what takes her there do you guess?
Her sweet little duck of a bonnet
And her new second-hand silk dress."

Especially does this require courage from a writer who naturally breaks into a note like this—

"Day after day of this azure May
The blood of the Spring has swelled in my veins;
Night after night of broad moonlight
A mystical dream has dazzled my brains.

"A seething night, a fierce delight,
The blood of the Spring is the wine of the world;
My brains run fire and fierce delight,
Every leaf of my heart's red rose uncurled.

"A sad, sweet calm, a tearful balm,
The light of the moon is the trance of the world;
My brain is fraught with yearning thought,
And the rose is pale and its leaves are furled.

"O speed the day, thou dear, dear May!
And hasten the night, I charge thee, O June!
When the trance divine will burn with the wine,
And the red rose unfurl all its fire to the moon."

There are no such sharp contrasts in *Sunday up the River*, though many readers who will admire a picture like this—

"The sky was pale with fervour,
The distant trees were grey,
The hill-lines drawn like waves of dawn
Dissolving in the day"—

will shudder dutifully (as Mr. Thomson doubtless knows) at

"My shirt is of the soft red wool,
My cap is azure-braided
By two white hands so beautiful,
My tie mauve purple-shaded.

"Your hat with long blue streamers decked,
Your pure throat crimson-banded,
White-robed, my own white dove unflecked,
Dove-footed, lilac-handed."

Of course there is an intentional—and unwelcome—irony in the obtrusion of Tim Boyland and his pocket-pistol of Jameson's whisky. One does not mind the hero glorifying boating as hard exercise, and then explaining that the best part of it is lying still upon one's oars, especially when we learn from *Sunday at Hampstead* that the hero answers to the nickname of Lazy in private life. Nor is it surprising that Lazy is a philosopher, and lectures his friends upon the cycle of changes which Hampstead underwent in the course of fifty thousand years, which seems an enormous period to his audience. The epilogue to the lecture is—

"'Come on; we'll go and do the very beers
We did this night was fifty thousand years.'
Thou prophet, thou deep sage, we'll go, we'll go!
The ring is round, life naught, the world an O.
This night is fifty thousand years ago."

His private philosophy is more severe; a poem of 1866 sums up the story of the author's deliverance for a season from our Ladies of Death, and shows how brave, how difficult, how doubtful a victory his brief content was—

"He felt himself a king bereft of crown,
Defrauded from his birthright of renown,
Bred up in littleness with churl and clown.

"How could he vindicate himself? His eyes,
That found not anywhere their proper prize,
Looked through and through the specious earth and skies;"

and naturally saw everything that is best out of sight and nothing worth seeing until—

> "A certain fair form came before his sight,
> Responding to him as the day to night:
> To yearning, love; to cold and gloom, warm light."

and then—

> "His eyes drew back their beams to kindle fire
> In his own heart, whose masterful desire
> *Scorned all beyond its aim, lower or higher.*[1]
>
> "This fire flung lustre upon grace and bloom,
> Gave warmth and brightness to a little room,
> Burnt Thought to ashes in its fight with gloom."

For the time he receives the gospel preached to Dipsychus by Cosmocrator.

> "'Solid as ocean-foam,' quoth ocean-foam."
>
> "If Midge will pine and curse its hours away,
> Because Midge is not Everything For Aye,
> Poor Midge thus loses its one summer day;
> Loses its all, and winneth what, I pray?"

There is the same touch of cynicism in some distichs on Art, written in 1865.

> "Singing is sweet, but be sure of this,
> Lips only sing when they cannot kiss.
> * * * * *
> Who gives the fine report of the feast?
> He who got none, and enjoyed it least."

The quatrains under the same heading which come before on the thesis that passion leaves no room for prettiness or skill, have more of Heine's charm and subtlety than most translations of Heine, including Mr. Thomson's.

Hebe (1866) and *The Naked Goddess* (1867-1868) are more objective but not very cheerful. Hebe offers us all her cup in our youth, and it turns to poison, whether we dilute it with wine, or milk, or honey. The natural man dilutes it with water, and is safe. The philosopher and the poet kiss the cupbearer; the philosopher refuses the cup, and the poet drinks it unmixed, and gives it back fuller than he took it. The naked Goddess of Nature departs in wrath from a city whose people would clothe her in the forms of piety or science, and leaves her curse upon them and their land, and her blessing upon the little children who are able to understand and follow her.

(1) The Italics are mine.

Perhaps it is part of the allegory that it is only to an old country from which she is ready to depart that Nature reveals herself naked.

In the Room, a poem of the same date as *The Naked Goddess*, takes us back to the old despair by a very quaint and unexpected route. The little room that love glorified is empty; its mistress is gone and its master is dead. She used to work and keep the room tidy, and he used to read and write at night and sleep all day, while the room got bare and cold, till at last he lighted a fire to burn his papers before he took poison. We learn all this from the conversation of the different pieces of furniture who discuss "our man," with his body on the bed—

> "It lay and preached, as dumb things do,
> More powerfully than tongue can prate;
> Though life be torture through and through,
> Man is but weak to plain of fate.
> The drear path crawls on drearier still
> To wounded feet and hopeless breast.
> Well, he can lie down when he will,
> And straight all ends in endless rest."

As the author says himself—

> "Poor wretch! who once hath paced that dolent city,
> Shall pace it often, doomed beyond all pity,
> With horror ever deepening from the first.
>
> "Though he possess sweet babes and loving wife,
> A home of peace, by loyal friendships cheered,
> And love them more than death and happy life,
> They shall avail not: he must dree his weird."

The City of Dreadful Night is not a poem, nor a series of poems; it seems as if the writer had intended at one time to compose a continuous poem in stanzas of seven lines, like those of *Our Ladies of Death* (except that the fifth and sixth lines are always written upon double rhymes, managed with rare and admirable ease), and at another had contemplated a series of poems on his own experience and observations there, in which the narrative should be written in stanzas of six lines, a quatrain followed by a distich, while the words of other speakers are thrown into simpler and more emphatic metres. The fragments of each scheme are exquisitely finished; there is no redundancy or weakness in any single poem; but the attempt to fuse two incomplete schemes is not a complete success. The author repeats himself, and he interrupts himself; more than once the narrative poem suffers from the insertion of a fragment of the descriptive poem.

In the proem (which belongs to the descriptive scheme) the author assures us with unnecessary emphasis that none who are not in a morbid state themselves can appreciate the musical expression of its

feelings; and then we have a metaphysical and geographical description of the city, which is curiously like London as it might seem to any one who wandered there after midnight, if there were a colossal statue of Dürer's Melancolia set up on Primrose Hill; at night we could fancy the country to the north of Highgate and Hampstead might seem a trackless wilderness full of

> "Savannahs, savage woods, enormous mountains,
> Bleak uplands, black ravines, with torrent fountains."

The city is a city builded in a sleepless dream; the moon and stars may shine there, but when day comes the city

> "Dissolveth like a dream of night away,
> Though present in distempered gloom of thought,
> And deadly weariness of heart all day.
> But when a dream night after night is brought
> Throughout a week, and such weeks, few or many,
> Recur each year for several years, can any
> Discern that dream from real life in aught?
>
> "To reach it is as dying fever-stricken;
> To leave it, slow faint birth intense pangs quicken,
> And memory swoons in both the tragic acts."

The citizens of that city are mostly in the prime of life—few young and few old, few women, "here and there a child,"—upon whom the author's pity is rather wasted. One thinks of the little girl in *Punch* who wished to be a nun because the world was hollow and her doll was stuffed with sawdust. Such a delusion is dangerous in later life. When men keep their energies and lose their ideals they are necessarily condemned to a belief that their ideals were illusions; and then they hate

> "This Time, which crawleth like a monstrous snake,
> Wounded and slow and very venomous,
> Which creeps blindwormlike round the earth,
> Distilling poison at each painful motion,
> And seems condemned to circle ever thus,"

and rail in good set terms at the inconsistency of the majority who wish each stage of life over before it is begun, and yet claim an endless hereafter; being impatient of the road out of eagerness for the goal where they imagine everlasting rest.

> "They have much wisdom, yet they are not wise;
> They have much goodness, but they do not well
> (The fools, we know, have their own Paradise,
> The wicked also have their proper Hell);
> They have much strength, but still their doom is stronger;
> Much patience, but their time endureth longer;
> Much valour, but life mocks it with some spell;"

Who say—

> "We yearn for speedy death in full fruition,
> Dateless oblivion and divine repose."

In the first of the narrative poems the poet follows one who goes on an endless pilgrimage to ruined shrines—the graveyard where faith died, the villa where love died of indulgence, the alley where hope died of starvation—and asks—

> "When Faith and Love and Hope are dead indeed,
> Can Life still live? By what doth it proceed?
>
> "As one whom his intense thought overpowers,
> He answered coldly, 'Take a watch, erase
> The signs and figure of the circling hours,
> Detach the hands, remove the dial face.
> The works proceed until run down; although
> Bereft of purpose, void of use, still go."

In another poem he traces the story of a love that turned to hate. The murderer tells how he wandered through all manner of horrors, fearless as hopeless, till his dead love came with her burning heart for a lamp in her hand, and then he was

> "Two selves distinct that cannot join again;
> One stood apart, and knew, but could not stir,
> And watched the other stark in swoon, and her."

As the tide rises

> "She clasped that corpselike me, and they were borne
> Away, and this vile me was left forlorn.
> I know the whole sea cannot quench that heart,
> Or cleanse that brow, or wash those two apart.
> They love; their doom is drear;
> Yet they nor hope nor fear.
> But I, what do I here?"

Other remarkable poems treat of an encounter with a dotard who is trying to find the clue that leads back to innocence and infancy—a hope which has met us already in our Lady of Oblivion;—a very weird scene at Hell Gate, whence the pilgrim is turned back because he has no hopes to leave at the gate, and not one of the damned will offer him any fragment of his own—

> "Though knowing that in instants three or four
> He must resign the whole for evermore;"

and a sermon on the non-existence of God and Hell, preached in the cathedral to a congregation each of whom proves his title to enter by naming the day-dream from which he wakes to real night. One hearer remonstrates that, as this life, which *may* be so much, is all, it is the harder to be unfit for it from birth. The series closes with

a very impressive allegory of Spirit and Nature. Spirit reveals itself first as a winged and armed angel, then as an armed warrior, then as an unarmed suppliant, at last as a crushed heap of ruins at the feet of Nature, the Sphinx who confronts us unchanged from first to last. Despair takes a manlier tone in the allegory of Culture, founded upon the imaginary statue of Dürer's Melancolia—

"Unvanquished in defeat and desolation,
Undaunted in the hopeless conflagration,
Of the day setting on her baffled prime.

"Baffled and beaten back she works on still,
Weary and sick of soul she works the more,
Sustained by her indomitable will.
The hands shall fashion and the brain shall pore,
And all her sorrow shall be turned to labour,
Till Death, the friend-foe, piercing with his sabre
That mighty heart of hearts, ends bitter war.

"But as if blacker night could dawn on night,
With twofold gloom on moonless night unstarred,
A sense more tragic than defeat and blight,
More desperate than strife with hope debarred,
More final than the adamantine never
Encompassing her passionate endeavour,
Dawns glooming in her tenebrous regard:

"The sense that every struggle brings defeat,
Because fate holds no prize to crown success,
That all the oracles are dumb, or cheat,
Because they have no secret to express,
That none can pierce the vast black veil uncertain,
Because there is no light beyond the curtain,
That all is vanity and nothingness.
* * * * * * *
"The moving moon and stars from east to west
Circle before her in the sea afar,
Shadows and gleams glide round her solemn rest,
Her subjects often gaze up to her there.
The strong to drink new strength and iron endurance,
The weak now terrors—all renewed assurance
And confirmation of the old despair."

G. A. Simcox.

STATE EDUCATION: A HELP OR HINDRANCE?

For ten years we have been busy organizing National Education. A vigorous use of bricks and mortar is not generally accompanied by a careful examination of first principles,[1] but now that we have built our buildings and spent our millions of public money, and civilised our children in as speedy a fashion as that in which the great Frank christianised his soldiers, we may perhaps find time to ask a question which is waiting to be discussed by every nation that is free enough to think, whether a State education is or is not favourable to progress?[2]

It may seem rash at first sight to attack an institution so newly created and so strong in the support which it receives. But there are some persons at all events whom one need not remind, that no external grandeur and influence, no hosts of worshippers can turn wrong principles into right principles, or prevent the discovery by those who are determined to see the truth at any cost that the principles are wrong. Sooner or later every institution has to answer the challenge, "Are you founded on justice? Are you for or against the liberty of men?" And to this challenge the answer must be simple and straightforward; it must not be in the nature of an outburst of indignation that such a question should be asked; or a mere plea of sentiment; or the putting forward of usefulness of another kind. These questions of justice and liberty stand first; they cannot take second rank behind any other considerations, and if in our hurry we throw them on one side, unconsidered and unanswered, in time they will find their revenge in the imperfections and failure of our work.

National education is a measure carried out in the supposed interest of the workmen and the lower middle class, and it is they especially—the men on whose behalf the institution exists—whom I wish to persuade that the inherent evils of the system more than counterbalance the conveniences belonging to it.

I would first of all remind them of that principle which many of us have learnt to accept, that no man or class accepts the position of receiving favours without learning, in the end, that these favours become disadvantages. The small wealthy class which once ruled this country helped themselves to favours of many kinds. It would

(1) Has Mr. Leslie Stephen said somewhere, that it is easier to build churches than to think about what is to be taught inside of them?

(2) I ought to say that I have changed my opinions as regards the action of the State since 1870. I could not have made this change without the assistance of Mr. Herbert Spencer's writings.

be easy to show that all these favours, whether they were laws in protection of corn, or laws favouring the entail of estates, creating sinecures, or limiting political power to themselves, have become in the due course of time unpleasant and dangerous burdens tied round their own necks. Now, is State education of the nature of a political favour?

It is necessary, if discussion is in any way to help us, to speak the truth in the plainest fashion, and therefore I have no hesitation in affirming that it is so. Whenever one set of people pay for what they do not use themselves, but what is used by another set of people, their payment is and must be of the nature of a favour, and does and must create a sort of dependence. All those of us who like living surrounded with a slight mental fog, and are not over-anxious to see too clearly, may indignantly deny this; but if we honestly care to follow Dr. Johnson's advice, and clear our minds of cant, we shall perceive that the statement is true, and if true, ought to be frankly acknowledged. The one thing to be got rid of at any cost is cant, whether it be employed on behalf of the many or the few.

Now, what are the results of this particular favour? The most striking result is that the wealthier class think that it is their right and their duty to direct the education of the people. They deserve no blame. As long as they pay by rate and tax for a part of this education, they undoubtedly possess a corresponding right of direction. But having the right they use it; and in consequence the workman of to-day finds that he does not count for much in the education of his children. The richer classes, the disputing churches, the political organizers are too powerful for him. If he wishes to realise the fact for himself let him read over the names of those who make up the school boards of this country. Let him first count the ministers of all denominations, then of the merchants, manufacturers, and squires. There is something abnormal here. These ministers and gentlemen do not place the workmen on committees to manage the education of their children. How, then, comes it about that they are directing the education of the workmen's children? The answer is plain. The workman is selling his birthright for the mess of pottage. Because he accepts the rate and tax paid by others, he must accept the intrusion of these others into his own home affairs—the management and education of his children. Remember, I am not urging, as some do, the workmen to organize themselves into a separate class, and return only their own representatives as members of school boards; such action would not mend the unprofitable bargain. To take away money from other classes, and not to concede to them any direction in the spending of it, would be simply unjust—would be an unscrupulous use of voting power. No, the remedy must be looked for in another direction. It lies in the one real form of inde-

pendence—the renunciation of all obligations. The course that will restore to the workmen a father's duties and responsibilities, between which and themselves the State has now stepped, is for them to reject all forced contributions from others, and to do their own work through their own voluntary combinations. Until that is done no workman has more, or has a claim to have more, than half rights over his own children. He is stripped of one-half of the thought, care, anxiety, affection, responsibility, and need of judgment which belong to other parents.

I used the expression, the forced contributions of the rich. There are some persons who hold that the more money you can extract by legislation from the richer classes for the benefit of the poorer classes the better are your arrangements. I entirely dissent from such a view. It is fatal to any clear perception of justice. Justice requires that you should not place the burdens of one man on the shoulders of another man, even though he is better able to bear them. In plainer words, that you should not make one set of men pay for what is used by another set of men. If this law be once disregarded it simply reduces politics to a universal scramble, in which the most selfish will have the most success. It turns might into right, and proclaims that each man may rightfully possess whatever he can vote into his pocket. Whoever is intent on justice must be as just to the rich man as to the poor man; and because so-called national education is not for the children of the rich man, it is simply not just to take by compulsion one penny from him. No columns of sophistry can alter this fact. And yet, when once the obligation disappears, and the grace of free-giving is restored, it is a channel in which the money of the richer classes may most worthily flow. Whatever the faults are of our richer classes, there is no lack amongst them of generous giving. Take any newspaper and you will find that although by unwise legislation we are closing many of the great channels existing for their gifts, yet the quality persists. The endowment of colleges at one period, the endowment of grammar schools at another period, gifts to religious institutions, and the support given to that narrow, partial, vexatious, and official-minded system of education which prevailed up to 1870, are all evidence of what the richer people are ready to do as long as you do not withhold the opportunities. It may, however, be said, "Do not rich gifts bring obligations, and with them their mischievous consequences?" It is plain that the most healthy state of education will exist when the workmen, dividing themselves into natural groups according to their own tastes and feelings, organize the education of their children without help, or need of help, from outside. But between obligatory and voluntary contributions there is the widest distinction. There is but slight moral hurt to the giver or receiver

in the voluntary gift, provided only that the spirit on both sides be one of friendly equality. It is the forced contribution, bringing neither grace to the giver nor to the receiver, which has the evil savour about it, and brings the evil consequence. The contribution taken forcibly from the rich is justified on the ground that the thing to be provided is a necessity for which the poorer man cannot pay. Thus the workman is placed in the odious position of putting forward the pauper's plea, and two statements equally deficient in truth are made for him: one, that book-education is a necessity of life—a statement which for those who look for an exact meaning in words that are used is simply not true—and the other, that our people cannot provide it for themselves if left to do so in their own fashion.[1]

I wish to push still further the question of how much real power the workman possesses over the education of his children. I maintain that, setting aside the interference of ministers, merchants, manufacturers, doctors, lawyers, and squires in his affairs, he has only the shadow and semblance of power, and that he never will possess anything more substantial under a political system. Let us see for what purposes political organization can be usefully applied. It is well adapted to those occasions when some definite reply has to be made to a simple question. Shall there be peace or war? shall political power be extended to a certain class? shall certain punishments follow certain crimes? shall the form of government be republican or monarchical? shall taxes be levied by direct or indirect taxation? these are all questions which can be fairly answered by Yes or No, and on which every man enrolled in a party can fairly express his opinion if he has once decided to affirm or deny. But whenever you call upon part of the nation to administer some great institution the case becomes wholly different. Here all the various and personal views of men cannot be represented by a simple Yes or No. A mixed mass of men, like a nation, can only administer by suppressing differences and disregarding convictions. Take some simple instance. Suppose a town of 50,000 electors should elect a representative to assist in administering some large and complicated institution. Let us observe what happens. It is only possible to represent these 50,000 people, who will be of many different mental kinds and conditions, by some principle which readily commands their assent. It will probably be some principle which, from its connection with other matters, is already familiar to their mind,—made familiar by preceding controversies. For example, the electors may be well represented on such questions as "Shall the

(1) At the same time a thorough and radical re-adjustment of our educational endowments is required in the interest of the workmen, who, though in most cases having the first claim, derive little or no advantage from them.

institution be open or closed on Sundays? shall it be open to women? shall the people be obliged to support it by rate? and, when rate-supported, to make use of it?" But it will at once be seen that these are principles which do not specially apply to any one institution but to many institutions. They are principles of common political application,—they are, in fact, external to the institution itself, and distinct from its own special principles and methods. The effect then will be that the representative will be chosen on principles that are already familiar to the minds of the electors, and not on principles that peculiarly and specially affect the institution in question. Existing controversies will influence the minds of the electors, and the constituency will be divided according to the lines of existing party divisions. Both school boards and municipal government yield an example that popular elections must be fought out on simple and familiar questions. The existing political grooves are cut too deeply to allow of any escape from them.

"But," it may be replied, "as intelligence increases, and certain great political questions which are always protruding themselves are definitely settled, the electorate may become capable of conducting their contests simply with regard to the principles which really belong to the matter itself." Another difficulty arises here. Without discussing the possible settlement of these ever-recurring political questions, it ought to be remembered that, in the case of increased intelligence, we should have an increase in the number of different views affecting the principles and methods of the institution in question; and, as we should still have only one representative to represent us, it would be less possible for him than before to represent our individual convictions. If he represent A he cannot represent B, nor C, nor any of those that come after C; that is to say, if A, B, C, and the others are all thinking units, and, therefore, do not accept submissively whatever is offered to them. He can only represent one section, and must leave other sections unrepresented. But as these individual differences are both the accompaniment and sign of increasing intelligence, this unhappy result follows, that the more intelligent a nation becomes, the greater pain it must suffer from a system which forces its various parts to think and act alike when they would naturally be thinking and acting differently.

"But if this is so, then there is no such thing possible as representation. If one person cannot represent many persons, then administration of all kinds fails equally in fulfilling a common purpose. All united effort therefore becomes impossible."

No doubt effective personal representation is under any circumstances a matter of difficulty; but political organization admits only of the most imperfect form of it, voluntary organization of the most

perfect. Under political organization you mix everybody together, like and unlike, and compel them to speak and act through the same representative; under voluntary organization like attracts like, and those who share the same views form groups and act together, leaving any dissident free to transfer his action and energy elsewhere. The consequence is that under voluntary systems there is continual progress, the constant development of new views, and the action necessary for their practical application; under political systems, immobility on the part of the administrators, discontented helplessness on the part of those for whom they administer.

"But still there remain certain things which, however much you may desire to respect personal differences, the State must administer; such, for example, as civil and criminal law, or the defence of the country."

The reason why the nation should administer a system of law, or should provide for external defence, and yet abstain from interference in religion and education, will not be recognised until men study with more care the foundations on which the principle of liberty rests. Many persons talk as if the mere fact of men acting together as a nation gave them unlimited rights over each other; and that they might concede as much or as little liberty as they liked one to the other. The instinct of worship is still so strong upon us that, having nearly worn out our capacity for treating kings and such kind of persons as sacred, we are ready to invest a majority of our own selves with the same kind of reverence. Without perceiving how absurd is the contradiction in which we are involved, we are ready to assign to a mass of human beings unlimited rights, whilst we acknowledge none for the individuals of whom the mass is made up. We owe to Mr. Herbert Spencer—the truth of whose writings the world will one day be more prepared to acknowledge, after it has travelled a certain number of times from Bismarckism to Communism, and back from Communism to Bismarckism—the one complete and defensible view as to the relations of the State and the individual. He holds that the great condition regulating human intercourse is the widest possible liberty for all. Happiness is the aim that we must suppose attached to human existence; and therefore each man must be free—within those limits which the like freedom of others imposes on him—to judge for himself in what consists his happiness. As soon as this view is once clearly seen, we then see what the State has to do and from what it has to abstain. It has to make such arrangements as are necessary to insure the enjoyment of this liberty by all, and to restrain aggressions upon it. Wherever it undertakes duties outside this special trust belonging to it, it is simply exaggerating the rights of some who make up the nation and diminishing the rights of others. Being itself the creature of liberty, that is to

say, called into existence for the purposes of liberty, it becomes organized against its own end whenever it deprives men of the rights of free judgment and free action for the sake of other objects, however useful or desirable they may be.

It is on account of our continued failure to recognise this law of liberty that we still live, like the old border chieftains, in a state of mutual suspicion and terror. Far the larger amount of intolerance that exists in the world is the result of our own political arrangements, by which we compel ourselves to struggle, man against man, like beasts of different kinds bound together by a cord, each trying to destroy the other out of a sense of self-preservation. It is evident that the most fair-minded man must become intolerant if you place him in a position where he has only the unpleasant choice either to eat or be eaten, either to submit to his neighbour's views or force his own views upon his neighbour. Cut the cord, give us full freedom for differing amongst ourselves, and it at once becomes possible for a man to hold by his own convictions and yet be completely tolerant of what his neighbour says and does.

I come now to another great evil belonging to our system. The effort to provide for the education of children is a great moral and mental stimulus. It is the great natural opportunity of forethought and self-denial; it is the one daily lesson of unselfishness which men will learn when they will pay heed to none other. There is no factor that has played so large a part in the civilisation of men as the slow formation in parents of those qualities which lead them to provide for their children. In this early care and forethought are probably to be found the roots of those things which we value so highly,—affection, sympathy, and restraint of the graspings of self for the good of others. We may be uncertain about many of the agents that have helped to civilise men, but here we can hardly doubt. What, then, is likely to be the effect when, heedless of the slow and painful influences under which character is formed, you intrude a huge all-powerful something, you call the State, between parents and children, and allow it to say to the former, "You need trouble yourself no more about the education of your children. There is no longer any occasion for that patience and unselfishness which you were beginning to acquire, and under the influence of which you were learning to forego the advantage of their labour, that they might get the advantage of education. We will give you henceforth free dispensation from all such painful efforts. You shall at once be made virtuous and unselfish by a special clause in our act. You shall be placed under legal obligations, under penalty and fine, to have all the proper feelings of a parent. Why toil by the slow irksome process of voluntary efforts and your own growing sense of right to do your duty, when we can do it so easily for you in five

minutes? We will provide all for you—masters, standards, examinations, subjects, and hours. You need have no strong convictions, and need make no efforts of your own, as you did when you organized your chapels, your benefit societies, your trade societies, or your co-operative institutions. We are the brain that thinks; you are but the bone and muscles that are moved. Should you desire some occupation, we will throw you an old bare bone or two of theological dispute. You may settle for yourselves which dogmas of the religious bodies you prefer; and whilst you are fighting over these things our department shall see to the rest for you. Lastly, we will make no distinctions between you all. The good and the bad parent shall stand on the same footing, and our statutes shall assume with perfect impartiality that every parent intends to defraud his child, and can only be supplied with a conscience at the police-court." This cynical assumption of the weakness and selfishness of parents, this disbelief in the power of better motives, this faith in the inspector and the policeman, can have but one result. Treat the people as unworthy of trust, and they will justify your expectation. Tell them that you do not expect them to possess a sense of responsibility, to think or act for themselves, withhold from them the most natural and the most important opportunities for such things, and in due time they will passively accept the mental and moral condition you have made for them. I repeat that the great natural duties are the great natural opportunities of improvement for all of us. We can see every day how the wealthy man, who strips himself entirely of the care of his children, and leaves them wholly in the hands of tutors, governesses, and schoolmasters, how little his life is influenced by them, how little he ends by learning from them. Whereas to the man whose thoughts are much occupied with what is best for them, who is busied with the delicate problems which they are ever suggesting to him, they are a constant means of both moral and mental change. I repeat that no man's character, be he rich or poor, can afford the intrusion of a great power like the State between himself and his thoughts for his children. Observe the corresponding effect in another of our great State institutions. The effect of the Poor Law—which undertakes the care in the last resort of the old and helpless—has been to break down to a great extent the family feelings and affections of our people. It is simply and solely on account of this great machine that our people, naturally so generous, recognise much less the duty of providing for an old parent than is the case either in France or Germany. With us, each man unconsciously reasons, "Why should I do that which the State will do for me?" All such institutions possess a philanthropical outside, but inwardly they are full of moral helplessness and selfishness.

These, then, are the first charges that I bring against State education: that the forced payments taken from other classes place the workman under an obligation; that, in consequence, the upper and middle classes interfere in the education of his children; that under a political system there is no place for his personal views, but that practically the only course of action left open to him is to join one of the two parties who are already organized in opposition to each other, and record a vote in favour of one of them once in three years. I do not mean to make the extreme statement that it is impossible to persuade either one party or both parties to adopt some educational reform, but I mean to say that one body acting for a whole country or a whole town can only pursue one method, and, therefore, must act to the exclusion of all views which are not in accordance with that one method; and that bodies which are organized for fighting purposes, and whose first great object is to defeat other great bodies nearly as powerful as themselves, are bound by the law of their own condition not to be easily moved by considerations which do not increase their fighting efficiency.

I have just touched upon the evils of uniformity in education; but there is more to say on the matter. At present we have one system of education applied to the whole of England. The local character of school boards deceives us, and makes us believe that some variety and freedom of action exist. In reality they have only the power to apply an established system. They must use the same class of teachers; they must submit to the same inspectors; the children must be prepared for the same examinations, and pass in the same standards. There are some slight differences, but they are few and of little value. Now, if any one wishes to realise the full mischief which this uniformity works, let him think of what would be the result of a uniform method being established everywhere—in religion, art, science, or any trade or profession. Let him remember that canon of Mr. Herbert Spencer, so pregnant with meaning, that progress is difference. Therefore, if you desire progress, you must not make it difficult for men to think and act differently; you must not dull their senses with routine or stamp their imagination with the official pattern of some great department. If you desire progress, you must remove all obstacles that impede for each man the exercise of his reasoning and imaginative faculties in his own way; and you must do nothing to lessen the rewards which he expects in return for his exertions. And in what does this reward consist? Often in the simple triumph of the truth of some opinion. It is marvellous how much toil men will undergo for the sake of their ideas; how cheerfully they will devote life, strength, and enjoyment to the work of convincing others of the existence of some fact or the truth of some view. But if such forces are to be placed at the service of

society, it must be on the condition that society should not throw artificial and almost insuperable obstacles in the way of those reformers who search for better methods. If, for example, a man holding new views about education can at once address himself to those in sympathy with him, can at once collect funds and proceed to try his experiment, he sees his goal in front of him, and labours in the expectation of obtaining some practical result to his labour. But if some great official system blocks the way, if he has to overcome the stolid resistance of a department, to persuade a political party, which has no sympathy with views holding out no promise of political advantage, to satisfy inspectors, whose eyes are trained to see perfection of only one kind, and who may summarily condemn his school as "inefficient," and therefore disallowed by law, if in the meantime he is obliged by rates and taxes to support a system to which he is opposed, it becomes unlikely that his energy and confidence in his own views will be sufficient to inspire a successful resistance to such obstacles. It may be said that a great official department, if quickened by an active public opinion, will be ready to take up the ideas urged on it from outside. But there are reasons why this should not be so. When a State department becomes charged with some great undertaking, there accumulates so much technical knowledge round its proceedings, that without much labour and favourable opportunities it becomes exceedingly difficult to criticize successfully its action. It is a serious study in itself to follow the minutes and the history of a great department, either like the Local Board or the Education Department. And if a discussion should arise, the same reason makes it difficult for the public to form a judgment in the matter. A great office which is attacked envelopes itself, like a cuttle-fish, in a cloud of technical statements which successfully confuses the public, until its attention is drawn off in some other direction. It is for this reason, I think, that State departments escape so easily from all control, and that such astounding cases of recklessness and mismanagement come periodically to light, making a crash which startles everybody for the moment. The history of our State departments is like that of some continental governments, unintelligent endurance through long periods on the part of the people, tempered by spasmodic outbursts of indignation and ineffectual reorganization of the institutions themselves. It must also be remembered that the manner in which new ideas produce the most favourable results is not by a system under which many persons are engaged in suggesting and inventing, and one person only in the work of practical application. Clearly the most progressive method is that whoever perceives new facts should possess free opportunities to apply and experiment upon them.

Add one more consideration. A great department must be by the law of its own condition unfavourable to new ideas. To make a change it must make a revolution. Our Education Department, for example, cannot issue an edict which applies to certain school boards and not to others. It knows and can know of no exceptions. Our bastard system of half-central half-local government is contrived with great ingenuity to render all such experiments impossible. If the centre were completely autocratic (which Heaven forbid) it could try such experiments as it chose; if the localities were independent, each could act for itself. At present our arrangements permit of only intolerable uniformity. Follow still further the awkward attempts of a department at improvement. Influenced by a long-continued public pressure, or moved by some new mind that has taken direction of it, it determines to introduce a change, and it issues in consequence a wholesale edict to its thousands of subordinates. But the conditions required for the successful application of a new idea are, that it should be only tentatively applied; that it should be applied by those persons who have some mental or moral affinity with it, who in applying it, work intelligently and with the grain, not mechanically and against the grain. No wonder, therefore, that departments are so shy of new ideas, and by a sort of instinct become aware of their own unfitness to deal with them. If any one wishes to realise why officialism is what it is, let him imagine himself at the centre of some great department which directs an operation in every part of the country. Whoever he was he must become possessed with the idea of perfect regularity and uniformity. His waking and sleeping thought would be the desire that each wheel should perform in its own place exactly the same rotation in the same time. His life would simply become intolerable to him if any of his thousands of wheels began to show signs of consciousness, and to make independent movements of their own.

But suppose that a man of fresh mind and personal energy were to be placed at the head of our Education Department who perceived the mischievous effect of uniformity, could not this official tendency be counteracted? It might for a short space of time, just as the muscles of a strong man can for some hours defeat the pull of gravitation, but gravitation wins in the end. Such changes would be only spasmodic; they would not be the natural outcome of the system, and therefore could not last. Moreover, for those who understand the value of liberty and of responsibility, it is needless to point out how utterly false the system must be which makes the nation depend upon the intelligence of a minister, and not upon the free movement of the different minds within itself.

I come now to another great evil which accompanies an official system. In granting public money for education you must either

give it on the judgment of certain public officers, which exposes you to different standards of distribution and to personal caprice, or you must give it according to some such system of results as exists at present with us. Payment by results has the merit, as a system, of being simple, easy to administer, and fairly equal; but it necessarily restricts and vulgarises our conceptions of education. It reduces everybody concerned, managers, teachers, pupils, to the one aim and object of satisfying certain regulations made for them, of considering success in passing standards and success in education as the same thing. It is one long unbroken grind.[1] From boyhood to manhood the teacher himself is undergoing examinations; for the rest of his life he is reproducing on others what he himself has gone through. It is needless to say that the higher aims of the teacher, methods of arousing the imagination and developing the reasoning powers, which only bear fruit slowly and cannot be tested by a yearly examination of an inspector—whose fly will be waiting at the school-door during the few hours at the disposal of himself or his subordinate—new attempts to connect the meaning of what is being learnt with life itself, and to create an interest in work for work's own sake instead of for the inspector's sake, above all, the personal influences of men who have chosen teaching as their vocation, because the real outcome of their nature is sympathy with the young, and have not been drilled into it through a series of examinations owing to some accident of early days, all these things must be laid aside as subordinate to the one great aim of driving large batches successfully through the standards and making large hauls of public money. In our ignorant and unreasoning belief in examinations we have not perceived how fatal the system is to all original talent and strong personality in the teacher. Whether it be a professor at a university or a master in a board school, this modern exaggeration of the use of examinations makes it impossible for him to treat his subjects of teaching from that point of view which is real and living to himself, or to follow his own methods of influencing his pupils. In all cases he must subdue his strongest tastes and feelings, and recast and remodel himself until he is a sufficiently humble copy of the inspector or examiner, upon whose verdict his success depends. Any plan better fitted to reduce managers, teachers, and pupils to one level of commonplace and stupidity could scarcely be found. The State rules a great copy-book, and the nation simply copies what it finds between the lines.

I cannot escape a few words on the much-vexed religious question. Under our present system the Nonconformists are putting a grievous strain upon their own principles. Whoever fairly faces the question

(1) See an article bearing on this point by Mr. Fitch. I have not the reference by me at this moment.

must admit that the same set of arguments which condemns a national religion also condemns a national system of education. It is hard to pronounce sentence on the one and absolve the other. Does a national Church compel some to support a system to which they are opposed? So does a national system of education. Does the one exalt the principle of majorities over the individual conscience? So does the other. Does a national Church imply a distrust of the people, of their willingness to make sacrifices, of their capacity to manage their own affairs? So does a national system of education. Does the one chill and repress the higher meanings and produce formalism? So does the other. But everywhere Nonconformists are being drawn into supporting the present school system, into obtaining popular influence by means of it, and, what is most inconsistent and undesirable, into using it as an instrument for spreading their own religious teaching. It is rapidly becoming their established Church, and it will have, we may safely predict, the same narrowing effect upon their mind, it will beget the same inability to perceive the injustice of a political advantage, which the national Church has had upon its supporters. Such a result is matter for much regret. First, because there is already but little steady adherence to principle in politics; and where a large body of influential men put themselves in a position which is inconsistent with the application of their own principles there is a sensible national deterioration. Secondly, if school boards are to be instruments of authoritatively teaching subjects of common dispute amongst us, such as the inspiration of the Bible and the performance of miracles, the struggle between the supporters of revealed religion and the different schools of free-thought must be embittered. It is the question of political advantage and disadvantage which fans these disputes into red heat. Should this be the case, much of the better side of the present religious teaching will be lost sight of by a large part of the nation under the irritation of the political injustice, and its influence lost at a moment when its influence is specially wanted in shaping the new beliefs.

It may be said that secular education will prevent such antagonism, and that every year brings us nearer to the establishment of it. But secular education, even if it be the most just arrangement of trying to meet the injustice which a State system necessarily brings with it, is at best a miserable expedient. It is as if everybody agreed by common contract to tie up their right hand in doing a special piece of work in which they were most interested. Far healthier would it be for each section in the nation, from the Catholic to the Materialist, to regain perfect freedom, and to do his best to place before children the scheme of life as he himself sees and feels it. If the common argument, that such separate teaching will produce

narrowness of mind and sectarian jealousy, is to be regarded, it should be carried a step further, and the children on Sundays should not be permitted to go to their own churches and chapels, but the State should provide a universal temple with ceremonies adapted for all. I confess, for my own part, that I prefer to see intensity of conviction, even if joined with some narrowness, to a state of moral and intellectual sleepiness, and children waiting to be fed with such scanty crumbs as fall from official tables.

It only wants an effort to shake off the thraldom of familiar ideas and to see with fresh eyes, and then the monstrous fact that all England is placing itself under official restraints as regards that which it cares most about, would be enough to show us that there must be something radically wrong in a system which necessarily carries with it such a disqualification.

"But what are we to do?" is the impatient exclamation of many persons who feel both the pretentions and the poverty-stricken character of our present system? "Could education be supplied without official assistance?" My answer is that it could; that the combining and co-operative power of our people would provide for this great want, as it is providing for their religious and social wants; that money is waiting to flow from some of the richer people, if so plain and good an outlet were left open—money which is at present doing harm by creating scholarships and increasing the power of examinations;—that good citizenship essentially consists in those who have learnt to value some gift of civilisation, awakening the same sense in those who remain indifferent. "But why did not education spread quicker in the earlier part of the century?" No truly great thing grows like a mushroom. An intelligent value for education can only spread slowly like civilisation itself. In our hurry to act we have not seen how much life and movement is sacrificed to make place for an official system. Those who administer such systems wish to get the flower ready-made without any process of growth. They do not recognise in the early and imperfect efforts the first stage of growth from which the better form will spring, but they wish to start at once with that which will satisfy their own rather prudish eyes. A certain uniform standard is fixed, and all that falls short of it is declared infamous. Of course it is always possible to smear education, religion, or anything else over a country, as you might smear paint, by departments or boards, and in five years be able to glorify your great work and to cram your speeches with statistics of what you have done. Every autocrat with ideas in his head has done the same thing, but he has also left it to his successors to moralise over the results of his work. Education when still left to itself did spread, perhaps too rapidly, in the beginning of the century. Pre-

sented to the English people by Lancaster, it was received like a gospel of good news; and although many of the early schools were of exceedingly humble and imperfect form, yet the want was beginning to be felt, and the supply was following. Then came the unwise, if well-intentioned, assistance of Government. As usual, the political philanthropists could not endure to see a movement taking its own direction and shaping itself. As soon as the idea of Government responsibility had taken root the evil was done. It is a mistake to suppose that Government effort and individual effort can live side by side. The habits of mind which belong to each are so different that one must destroy the other. In the course of time there fell alike over everybody concerned the shadow of coming changes, and work which would have been done resolutely and manfully, if no idea of Government interference had existed, remained undone, because the constant tendency of Government to enlarge its operations was felt everywhere. The history of our race shows us that men will not do things for themselves or for others if they once believe that such things can come without exertion on their own part. There is not sufficient motive. As long as the hope endures that the shoulders of some second person are available, who will offer his own shoulders for the burden? It must also be remembered that unless men are left to their own resources they do not know what is or what is not possible for them. If Government half a century ago had provided us all with dinners and breakfasts, it would be the practice of our orators to-day to assume the impossibility of our providing for ourselves.

And now, leaving much unsaid, I must ask what practical steps should be taken by those workmen who suspect that State education is but a part of that coercive drill which one half the human race delights to inflict upon the other half. First of all get rid of compulsion. It has been made the instrument of endless petty persecutions. It is fatal to the free growth of an intelligent love of education; to that moral influence which those of us who have learnt the value of education ought to be exerting over others; to a true respect of man for man; for each man's right to judge what is morally best for himself and for those intrusted to him. It is an attempt to make one of those short cuts to progress which end by making the goal recede from us. It is an exaggerated idea—as exaggerated, ill-considered, and probably as short-lived as some other ideas of the present moment—of the value of book-education, founded on a rigid and official idea that home duties and labours must in all cases be put aside before the official requirements. It is a copy of a continental institution, taken from a nation that, living under a paternal Government, has not yet learnt to spell the letters of the word Liberty. The example of Germany and its highly organized State

education is not alluring. In no country perhaps is there less respect of one class for the other class, or greater extremes of violent feeling. Where you subject people to strong official restraint, you seem fated to produce on the one side rigidity of thought and pedantry of feeling, on the other side those violent schemes against the possessions and the personal rights of the rich which we call socialism. Careful respect for the rights of others, vigorous and consistent defence of one's own rights, a deeply rooted love of freedom in thought, word, and action—these things are simply impossible wherever you intrust great powers to a Government, and allow it to use them not simply within a sphere of strictly defined rights, but as supreme judge of what the momentary convenience requires.

Secondly, get rid of all dependence upon the central department. If you do not as yet perceive that public money cannot wisely, in any shape, be taken for education, still refuse the grant that the central department offers as a bribe for the acceptance of its mischievous interference. Until individual self-reliance has grown amongst us, let each town administer education in its own way. So, at least, we shall get local life and energy and variety thrown into the work, not the mere mechanical carrying out of regulations of two or three gentlemen sitting at their desks at Whitehall. But do not believe that you will get the highest results in this way. More freedom for action and experiment is wanted than you can get under any local board. Accustom yourselves to the idea that men will act better in voluntary groups than if forced into union by external power. Many boards acting freely in a town, and learning gradually to co-operate together to some extent and for some purposes, is what we should look forward to. Perhaps the best step in advance, and in preparation for a purely free system, is to obtain powers from Parliament under which any considerable number of electors, say from one-sixth to one-tenth, according to the size of the town, might elect, and pay their rate to, their own board. Under such a plan there would be imperfections and possible evasions; but it would cast off the swaddling-clothes imposed by the Privy Council, and would give a life to the work which would far more than compensate for the loss of mechanical regularity. It is always difficult to introduce freedom into a system that is founded on authority and officialism. You can only escape from anomalies and contradictions by being either rigidly despotic or completely free. But a little life and light are worth getting at almost any price, and will make us wish for more. The final step will be to render the rate purely voluntary, and to give full freedom and responsibility of action, for which the people will never be fit as long as they are persuaded to subject each other to official regulations under the much-abused name of self-government.

AUBERON HERBERT.

PARTIES AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.

When the late general election was in progress it was often said by those whose predictions had been falsified that the Liberal success was due to the small boroughs. The statement is singularly incorrect, but it suggests an inquiry of considerable interest. What is the effect of the present distribution of seats on the fortune of parties? The public in a dim way recognises that there is great inequality, but few persons have a distinct conception of the extent of the inequality, and of its precise effect on the composition of the House of Commons. The object of this article is to substitute for the vague notions that prevail on these points accurate and precise knowledge. It is a topic upon which *à priori* reasoning throws no light. We can conceive that a preponderance of small constituencies might have no effect whatever on the position of parties. If both parties were represented in small places in the same proportion as in large places the over-representation of little towns and villages would remain an anomaly, but would do no practical mischief. On the other hand, it is conceivable that sometimes the small boroughs would throw their weight into one scale and sometimes into the other, and that thus both parties in turn would feel the advantage and disadvantage of our electoral system. If the majority of the House of Commons corresponds to a majority of electors, and if the majority in the House keeps a due proportion to the majority in the country, then the House fulfils its function. It is a true mirror. But if a party is less strong in the House than in the country, and, still more, if the majority in the House represents a minority of the electors, the moral authority of Parliament is impaired, and occasions might easily arise that would be full of danger to the peace of the nation. Until household suffrage is extended to the counties this danger will not be seriously felt. An inequality in the distribution of seats is not so glaring when it is accompanied and, in a sense, compensated by an unequal franchise. But when in every constituency the same qualification exists, when the electors in one place are precisely the same as the electors in another place, then inequality in the representation will be felt as an injustice for which no excuse can be offered. To this point we are rapidly coming. The electors thoroughly understand the use of the franchise. They know that they are the ultimate repositories of power. In each constituency the victory is to the majority, and by the majority of such majorities is the composition of the Government determined. It is not likely that the majority of electors in the country will long submit to be governed by a minority of the electors.

The first question to be determined is whether the present system tells in favour of one of the two great political parties, or sometimes helps one, sometimes the other, or whether it is wholly neutral. In endeavouring to answer this question it is advisable, in the first instance, to leave Ireland and the universities out of account, and to confine our attention to the boroughs and counties of England, Wales, and Scotland. In Ireland there are not two parties, but three, and the third and largest party in Ireland has few, if any, representatives in the United Kingdom. Again, in the Irish boroughs a restricted franchise prevails, and no fair comparison can be instituted, on the basis of the electorate, between the Irish and English or Scotch constituencies. For the purpose of such an inquiry as that now proposed the number of electors, and not the number of the population, is the just basis of comparison. It is the electors alone who are to be reckoned in making or unmaking governments. The suggestion that the electors should have a larger number of members in places where the non-electors are unusually numerous is on a par with the contention of the Southern States of America before the civil war to vote for their slaves as well as for themselves. But in reality, whether we take population or the register of electors, the difference is not great. A minister introducing a redistribution bill would probably have to consider both elements, but for the limited purpose of this inquiry there is one conclusive reason for preferring the electoral roll to the census. The numbers are much smaller and more convenient to deal with. The registers are not always to be relied upon; but the extent to which they deviate from strict accuracy is on the average not considerable. Scotland possesses an almost perfect system of registration, and we find that the proportion of registered electors is almost the same in Scotland and in England. In Scotland there are 10 electors to every 72 of the population; in England the number is 10 in every 68.

Taking the registers upon which the late general election was fought we find that if we had equal electoral districts there would be in round numbers 1 member for every 5,000 electors in the United Kingdom. If a constituency has fewer than 5,000 electors and returns a member it is over-represented; if a constituency exceeds 5,000 electors, it is under-represented unless it has 1 member for every 5,000 electors. But this average of 5,000, which may be called the electoral unit for 1880, is reached through some startling variations. The following table shows the average number of electors for each member, distinguishing boroughs from counties:—

	Boroughs.	Counties.
England	5,381	4,853
Wales	4,488	4,595
Scotland	7,649	2,965
	17,518	12,413

From this table it appears that the counties in the United Kingdom are over-represented. While 12,413 county voters return three members, it requires 17,518 borough voters to return the same number. If household suffrage were extended to the counties this proportion would be altered, but at present the counties have more than a fair share of members. In Scotland the difference is startling. A county voter has more than twice the electoral power of a borough voter in Scotland. By this ingenious fraud the Liberalism of Scotland was long stifled; for until within the last few years the landlords were all-powerful in county elections, and the landlords were for the most part Tories. Scotland has never had its fair proportion of members; it is under-represented to the extent of 17 per cent.; but even its miserably inadequate number of members was given to small Tory counties at the expense of the electors in the large towns.

Taking 5,000 electors as the unit of representation, we may apply the test to the general election of 1880. Are the constituencies that return Conservatives over-represented, and, if so, to what extent? In determining this question every constituency returning Conservatives only is credited to the Conservatives; every constituency returning Liberals only is credited to the Liberals, and those constituencies that are divided in representation are credited to each side in proportion to the number of members returned for the respective parties. Generally that is one and one; in the three-cornered constituencies it is one and two; in the City of London it is one and three. In the first table attention is confined to the boroughs. The boroughs are arranged in classes. In the first group not one of the boroughs has 5,000 electors, and consequently, on the principle of equality, not one of them would be entitled to separate representation. In the second class are boroughs each of which is entitled to one member, but not to two, and so on, reckoning one member for every 5,000 electors.

GENERAL ELECTION OF 1880.—BOROUGHS IN ENGLAND, WALES, AND SCOTLAND.

	Present Distribution.			Number of Seats, if equally represented.		
	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Total.	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Total.
Under 5,000 . . .	113	52	165	40	13	53
Between 5,000 and 10,000 .	52	10	62	46	8	54
Between 10,000 and 15,000	24	3	27	40	4	44
Between 15,000 and 20,000	11	4	15	20	7	27
Above 20,000 . . .	43	11	54	140	31	171
	243	80	323	286	63	349

The Liberal borough vote as it stood at the general election was 243; but if the Liberal constituencies had been represented in proportion to their electoral strength the number would have been 286. But while the Liberals are thus under-represented to the extent of 43 votes, the Conservatives are over-represented. They have 80

seats; they should have only 63. A comparison of the two extreme groups is highly instructive. Boroughs under 5,000 electors return 165 members; they would be fully represented by 53 members; boroughs having more than 20,000 electors return 54 members; they ought to return 171 members. The relative position of parties in those two classes is significant. In the largest constituencies, in spite of the disturbing element of the minority representation, the Liberal vote exceeds the Conservative vote in the proportion nearly of 4 to 1; but in the petty constituencies the proportion is scarcely more than 2 to 1. The strength of the Conservatives in the smaller places appears still more distinctly if we divide the constituencies under 5,000 electors into three groups as follows:—

	Liberal.	Conservative.
Under 1,250 electors . . .	22	23
Between 1,250 and 2,500 . .	46	14
Between 2,500 and 5,000 . .	45	15
	113	52

The Conservatives had an absolute majority in constituencies so small that not one of them was entitled to a fourth share of a member. If the Liberals had been as successful in these insignificant places as they were in the large boroughs, their majority in Parliament would have been increased by 20 votes. The power wielded by such places is startling. Boroughs having less than 2,500 electors return 105 members to Parliament; they would be fully and adequately represented by 23.

In every class of boroughs the Liberals suffer by inequality in the representation. The following table brings out that fact in a very clear light. For the sake of comparison, I take the proportion of Liberals to Conservatives at the general election, and along with that the proportion that Liberals would stand to Conservatives if the constituencies won by each party were fairly and equally represented.

	In 1880, Liberals to Conservatives.	With equal representation the proportion of Liberals to Conservatives would be
Under 2,500	1·8 to 1	2·3 to 1
Between 2,500 and 5,000 . .	3 to 1	4 to 1
Between 5,000 and 10,000 . .	5·2 to 1	5·7 to 1
Between 10,000 and 20,000 . .	5 to 1	5·5 to 1
Above 20,000	3·9 to 1	4·5 to 1

From these figures it appears that in whatever manner we may look at the facts, the plain result is that not in one but in every class of borough constituencies the Liberal party is robbed of its legitimate representation, and the Conservative party, small though it be, is unduly favoured. Before attempting to estimate the bearing of these facts upon the party majority in the House of Commons, it will be convenient to inquire whether the injustice that Liberals

suffer in the boroughs is in any degree neutralised or compensated by any corresponding injustice to the Conservatives in the counties.

GENERAL ELECTION OF 1880.—COUNTIES IN ENGLAND, WALES, AND SCOTLAND.

	Existing Distribution.			Number of Seats upon equal representation		
	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Total.	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Total
Under 5,000 electors . .	31	17	48	21	7	28
Between 5,000 and 10,000 .	34	72	106	26	51	77
Between 10,000 and 15,000 .	19	26	45	22	27	49
Between 15,000 and 20,000 .		6	6		10	10
Above 20,000 . . .	9	5	14	20	13	33
	93	126	219	89	108	197

The Liberals were in a majority in the smallest and the largest counties, a fact that admits a simple explanation. Scotch and Welsh counties contribute the majority in the small counties; Yorkshire gives the Liberal strength in the largest. As with the present suffrage the counties are over-represented, both sides, if there were equal representation, would be diminished; but while the Liberal vote would be reduced from 93 to 89, only by 4, the Conservative vote would fall off from 126 to 108, or a reduction of 18. Thus the injustice suffered by the Liberals in the boroughs is aggravated by additional injustice in the counties. This fact is a striking proof of the skill with which the redistribution of seats has been manipulated in the Conservative interest.

Taking counties and boroughs together, the broad result is that the Liberal vote would, if the constituencies were equally and fairly represented, be increased from 336 to 375, while the Conservative vote would fall from 206 to 171. The Liberal majority in the boroughs and counties of England, Wales, and Scotland, instead of 130 would be 204. With such a majority the Liberals could afford to give the Conservatives the whole of Ireland, and yet have a splendid majority of nearly one hundred.

It may be suggested that the general election of 1880 may have been exceptional; and that the inequality of representation, although it has operated at this time to prevent the Conservative defeat being converted into a rout, may at other times act in favour of the Liberals. To test this suggestion we need not go farther than the general election of 1874; if we find that the inequality of seats aggravated the disaster of 1874, as it has marred the victory of 1880, we need have no hesitation in affirming that an unequal distribution is a force permanently hostile to Liberalism, and that every step towards equality gives strength to Liberal principles. In tabulating the results of the general election of 1874, it will be convenient to take the boroughs and counties in groups corresponding to those given for 1880. It is necessary, however, to remember that the

electoral unit was smaller in 1874. At that time 4,500 electors were entitled to one member, whereas owing to the growth of population, the number is now 5,000.

GENERAL ELECTION OF 1874.—BOROUGHS IN ENGLAND, WALES, AND SCOTLAND.

	Number of Members actually returned.			Number of Members to which the Constituencies were entitled.		
	Liberal.	Conservative.	Total.	Liberal.	Conservative.	Total.
Under 4,500 electors . .	89	81	170	32	25	57
Between 4,500 and 9,000 .	37	25	62	39	19	58
Between 9,000 and 18,000 .	22	13	35	39	18	57
Above 18,000 . . .	33	23	56	106	59	165
	181	142	323	216	121	337

Here again it appears that the Liberals lost 35 votes and the Conservatives gained 21 by the present distribution of seats. The Liberal majority in the boroughs was only 39 to confront the Conservative majority in the counties, whereas it ought to have been 95. The strength of the Conservatives again appears in the smallest constituencies.

BOROUGH ELECTIONS OF 1874.

	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Total.
Under 1,125 . . .	16	26	42
Between 1,125 and 2,250	35	29	64
Between 2,250 and 4,500	38	26	64
	89	81	170

In the counties the Liberals were badly beaten in 1874, and curiously enough they neither lost nor gained owing to the inequality of seats.

ELECTION OF 1874.—COUNTIES IN ENGLAND, WALES, AND SCOTLAND.

	Members actually returned.			Number, if representation were equal.		
	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Total.	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Total.
Under 4,500 electors .	17	27	44	9	13	22
Between 4,500 and 9,000	16	84	100	12	64	76
Between 9,000 and 18,000	14	47	61	14	57	71
Above 18,000 . . .	3	11	14	6	26	32
	50	169	219	41	160	201

In 1874 the Conservatives returned 311 as against 231 Liberals, but if the constituencies had been equally represented the Conservative vote would have fallen to 281 and the Liberal vote been increased to 257. The Conservative majority of 80 would thus have been reduced to 24. A majority of 24 would have wholly disappeared if the Home Rulers had supported the Liberal Government. But that is not all. This majority of 24 is the exact number of seats gained by the Conservatives in constituencies where they were in a mino-

rity, but where they succeeded through divisions among their opponents. Those seats were Chelsea, Southwark, Bradford, Leeds, Cricklade, Stoke-upon-Trent, Glasgow, Nottingham (2), Northampton (2), and Tower Hamlets. With the exception of the last, all those seats have been regained in the general election of 1880. The fact is thus demonstrated that the whole Conservative majority of 1874 was derived from two defects in our electoral system—the misrepresentation of the majority in the constituencies through an unjust apportionment of seats, and the misrepresentation of certain constituencies by a minority of the electors. Nothing can be more unfair to a constituency or more injurious to the authority of Parliament than the election of a member by a minority of voters. Such a member holds his seat with a notice to quit hanging over his head. He is an element of weakness and not of strength in an assembly representing the opinion of the country. It is strange that after such an experience nothing is heard of the plan of a second ballot, by which in France this mischief is prevented. In France, suppose three candidates go to the poll, and the result is—

A. Bonapartist	501
B. Left Centre	500
C. Radical	100

In England A. would be elected and continue to misrepresent a Republican constituency until the next general election. But in France, as A. has not an absolute majority of the voters who went to the poll, he has to face the ordeal of a second ballot after an interval of a fortnight, and he generally finds himself then confronted by a single Republican candidate, and is easily beaten. There can be little doubt that nearly all the seats that were lost through divisions among Liberals in 1874 would have been saved if we had resorted to the plan of a double ballot.

An attempt has been made to disparage the Liberal victory of 1880 by enumerating constituencies in which seats were won by small majorities. The force of that remark is considerably diminished by the reflection that in many, if not the great majority, of those cases, the constituencies in question would under a just system have no separate representation. If we look to the large boroughs, to those containing more than 10,000 electors, a different tale may be told. Leaving out of account constituencies returning 2 members where the representation is divided, we find that the Conservatives carried 5 seats with an average majority of 2,000, but the Liberals triumphed in 31 such cases with an average majority of 4,700. Indeed, if we compare the figures of the elections in 1874 and 1880, we shall find that the Liberal success is of a very solid character. If we examine the Liberal gains in the different classes of boroughs and counties, and compare them with the total number of members in each class, we shall find that the percentage of gain is highly

satisfactory. In the boroughs containing over 5,000 electors, the success of the Liberals is three times as great as in the constituencies under that number. A gain is shown all along the line, but the gain is least among the over-represented boroughs and is greatest among the under-represented boroughs.

COMPARISON BETWEEN 1874 AND 1880.

	1874. Liberals.	1874. Conservatives.	1880. Liberals.	1880. Conservatives.	Liberal gains.	Per-centage of increase to whole number of Members.
BOROUGHS.						
Under 5,000 electors .	98	92	113	52	15	9
Between 5,000 and 10,000 .	31	17	52	10	21	33
Between 10,000 and 20,000	23	16	35	7	12	28
Above 20,000 . . .	29	17	43	11	14	26
COUNTIES.						
Under 5,000 electors .	18	32	31	17	13	27
Between 5,000 and 10,000 .	23	103	34	72	11	10
Between 10,000 and 20,000	9	26	19	32	10	20
Above 20,000 . . .		8	9	5	9	64

A consideration of these figures at once disposes of the wild suggestion that household suffrage, a fickle and inscrutable power, has the credit of defeating Lord Beaconsfield's Government. There is no household suffrage in the counties, but the Liberal progress is as marked and decided in the counties as it is in the boroughs. It is, therefore, somewhat premature to talk of inventing chains to bind the democracy of household suffrage. The true lesson of the election of 1880 is that the course pursued by the Government of Lord Beaconsfield lost him the confidence of all classes and conditions of men. If there had been no household suffrage at all, there is no reason to suppose that his defeat would have been less overwhelming.

The question of redistribution will demand the attention of the present Government before another general election. It will be their fault if the Liberal party should ever again have to face such heavy odds in a general election. Perfect equality is not to be expected; that is doubtless the goal towards which we are moving, but it will be reached more probably by successive steps than at a single leap. What the next step will be no one can at present foretell, but our ignorance upon that point need not deter us from measuring precisely the dimensions of the evil to be grappled with and ascertaining what extent of disturbance is necessary to produce electoral equilibrium. It may be assumed that no attempt will be made to redistribute seats until after household suffrage is extended to the counties. So far as our present information indicates, we should probably come near the mark if we estimate that the effect of extending the borough franchise to the counties would be to double the county constituencies. The counties would then be under-represented, to what extent will presently appear. The number of electors for each member would be increased from 5,000 to 7,000. With household suffrage in the counties, a

constituency would not be entitled to one member unless it had 7,000 electors, nor to two members unless it had 14,000 electors, and so on in proportion.

The process of redistribution will be greatly facilitated by the extension of household suffrage to the counties. With the difference in franchise between borough and county, it is impossible to take away the representation of small boroughs without depriving half the constituency of the right to vote. The process of redistribution at present is narrowing and restrictive in its operation. One can hardly blame the small constituencies for objecting to redistribution on those terms. But with an extended suffrage that difficulty will disappear. In few cases will it be necessary to destroy the continuity of life even in the smallest boroughs. They may be made the centres of county divisions. The elector will vote in the borough for the division, and the political organizations in the borough will remain as before. Such an enlargement of small boroughs is a process essentially different from disfranchisement, and as it is founded upon the plain dictates of justice, it is one to which no reasonable opposition can be offered.

Between strict electoral equality and the existing gross inequality a hundred intermediate stages may be suggested. For the purpose of clearly bringing out the exact problem to be solved, I have prepared two tables, one for boroughs, the other for counties, showing how far the existing inequality might be removed if Parliament were to follow two rules in setting seats free for the purpose of redistribution. If it were resolved that no borough having fewer than 1,250 electors should be allowed to retain separate representation, and that no borough having fewer than 7,000 should be allowed to send two members, 96 seats would be available for the large boroughs and counties. It seems very unreasonable that a constituency with less than 7,000 electors should have two members, when, if strict justice were measured out, it would not be entitled even to one member. To deprive such constituencies of one of their members leaves the constituency in other respects unchanged. The electoral organization is unaffected; all that is done is to take away an excess of representation that the constituency possesses to the prejudice and at the expense of others. A much lower limit is named for the disfranchisement of boroughs returning only one member; 1,250 is the fourth of 5,000, the number at present required for a single member on the principle of equal justice. When the suffrage is extended and the unit of representation is 7,000, the number indicated will be a still smaller fraction. No one could object to the exclusion of such small boroughs on the ground of harshness; a more valid objection would be that the line of exclusion is drawn too low. In the following tables are given (1) the number of members at present returned in each class; (2) the number of members that ought to be

allowed if equality were the rule; (3) the number in excess of just representation; and (4) the number falling short of just representation. In the second division are given (1) the numbers that might be allowed on the above scheme of distribution; (2) the excess; and (3) the deficiency still existing after that modified plan of redistribution. This table is framed on the assumption that household suffrage has been extended to the counties.

BOROUGHS.

	Existing Distribution of Seats.				Redistribution suggested		
	Actual Number.	Proper Number.	Excess.	Deficit.	Proposed Number.	Excess.	Deficit
Under 5,000 electors	165	39	126	—	81	45	—
Between 5,000 and 10,000	62	39	23	—	47	8	—
Between 10,000 and 15,000	27	33	—	6	31	—	2
Between 15,000 and 20,000	15	20	—	5	19	—	1
Between 20,000 and 30,000	27	43	—	16	37	—	6
Above 30,000	27	76	—	49	57	—	19
			149	76		53	28

COUNTIES.

Under 5,000 electors	48	40	8	—	48	8	—
Between 5,000 and 10,000	106	112	—	6	110	—	2
Between 10,000 and 15,000	45	70	—	25	61	—	9
Between 15,000 and 20,000	6	15	—	9	12	—	3
Above 20,000	14	47	—	33	36	—	11
			8	73		8	25

These tables show at a glance what groups of constituencies are misrepresented. Boroughs under 5,000 electors are over-represented by 126 votes. By adopting the two rules already stated one-half of those seats would be taken away, leaving 81 seats, which would still allow them more than twice their fair share of power. Out of 96 seats obtained for redistribution in the above table, 48 are assigned to the boroughs, and 48 to the counties. The result is that the excess of representation in the smallest boroughs would be reduced from 149 to 53, or by nearly two-thirds. On the other hand, the deficiency in the larger boroughs would be reduced to a similar extent; from 76 it would fall to 28. The counties, instead of being under-represented to the extent of 73 votes, would have only 25 fewer than their proper number, and that deficiency occurs among the constituencies exceeding 10,000 electors.

It may not be without interest, from the party point of view, to show how the number of 96 seats is obtained.

Constituencies returning one member and having	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Divided.
fewer than 1,250 electors	22	23	
Constituencies under 7,000 returning two members	26	6	
Constituencies under 7,000 where the representation is divided			19
	48	29	19

In 10 of those 19 constituencies returning one member to each party the Liberal was at the head of the poll; in the other 9, the Conservative. The probable result of the disfranchisement would be that 58 Liberal seats and 38 Conservative seats would be taken away. Taking the election of 1880 as the measure, the probability is that among the redistributed seats the proportion would be 72 Liberals and 24 Conservatives. The Liberals, by this imperfect approach to equality, might confidently hope to better their position to the extent of at least 30 votes.

The party point of view is not the highest; but in this case it happens that the Liberal party suffers from the present inequality, and that an increase of Liberals is an inevitable result of electoral justice. There is, however, another aspect of the question that deserves the most serious attention of those who do not join themselves to the Liberal party, and even to staunch Conservatives. The cause of electoral justice happens also to be the cause of electoral purity. By a law, which is perhaps not incapable of explanation, over-representation and political corruption go hand in hand. Of the 96 constituencies that would be disfranchised under the above scheme, no fewer than 33 occupy a dishonourable place in the Black Calendar of elections, and other 9, whose bad character has not hitherto been asserted, are now petitioned against. Unfortunately we cannot assume of all the corrupt boroughs that their sins have found them out. In some cases the very corruptness of a borough prevents its exposure. Its misdeeds are so gross that were they to see the light of day the borough would unquestionably be disfranchised and a source of occasional income to the voters be dried up. The representation of small boroughs by two members presents an almost irresistible temptation to the hungry voter. By dividing his support between the two parties he is able impartially to fleece both. A political party has little inducement to incur the expense and odium of an election petition, when it can count with certainty upon one seat, and knows that the other cannot be won. Not the least of the arguments in favour of redistribution of seats is, that it is a transfer of power from the unclean to the clean constituencies. I do not, of course, impute corruption to all the boroughs that are excessively over-represented, but it is undeniable that an inordinate share of political powers offers temptation as a marketable commodity, and that in too many instances the virtue of the electors is not proof against the temptation. The best of all bills that can be introduced to suppress corrupt practices is a sweeping measure of redistribution.

W. A. Hunter.

"A DISSOLUTE fantastic writer, died at Baltimore in consequence of fits of intoxication." Such is the summary of Poe's character and career in a popular American encyclopædia, and it represents very fairly the general conception of the man which has been current since his death on both sides of the Atlantic. Alongside of this conception there has been from the first another and a more accurate conception, vehemently insisted upon by high authority long before Mr. Ingram systematically set himself to free Poe's memory from certain personal slanders, but the truth has not had a chance in the competition for popular favour. The unfortunate American poet has been seized upon in popular fancy as a type of the moody, idle, discontented worker by fits and starts; the perfect example of the kind of artist whom George Eliot satirised as a foil to the patient, laborious, contented, and prosperous Stradiuarius. The few who had looked at his work critically knew otherwise; but the many who read *The Raven*, or *The Mystery of Marie Roget*, believed them to be the weird fancies of a brain distempered by wild fits of drinking, thrown out in semi-delirious intervals; and supposed, if they gave a thought to the author's literary principles, that they were those enunciated by the Bohemian Naldo—

> "Higher arts
> Subsist on freedom—eccentricity—
> Uncounted inspirations—influence
> That comes with drinking, gambling, talk turned wild,
> Then moody misery and lack of food—
> With every dithyrambic fine excess.
> These make at last a storm which flashes out
> In lightning revelations. Steady work
> Turns genius to a loom; the soul must lie,
> Like grapes beneath the sun, till ripeness comes
> And mellow vintage."

Now, seeing that Poe was at immense pains to explain his literary method; seeing that no man of his time set up a more exacting standard of excellence or laboured harder to fulfil its exigencies; seeing that it is much more true that he worked himself to death than that he drank himself to death; seeing that even Baudelaire's charitable assumption that he drank to stimulate his working power and bring back marvellous or awful visions which would not come when his imagination was in its normal state, has been again and again since his death denied by those who knew him intimately—seeing this, it is not a little strange that Poe should have been fixed upon as a type of the irregular, impulsive artist; his name quoted by moralists as a warning, and as a justification by ambitious but

self-indulgent youths, waiting for the inspiration which shall enable them to turn out masterpieces without conscious effort. We all know how the mistake about Poe's character is supposed to have originated—in the malice of a biographer who had suffered from the poet's criticism, and who obtained possession of his papers after his death from a confiding relative for the deliberate purpose of taking revenge. But why did the mistake take so deep a root? It is true that Griswold's slanders, which were at once contradicted, had the start, and they had also the advantage of being prefixed to an edition of the poet's works. But this alone would not account for the enduring hold of the misrepresentation upon the public mind.

Another principle of explanation has to be called in. There can be no doubt that a simple theory of a man's character, or any other complicated phenomenon, has an enormous advantage over a theory which tries to take account of all the facts. Griswold's picture of Poe was not only strongly coloured, but it was simple and consistent. The facts of his life as given by this biographer were not only consistent with themselves and with the gloomy despairing tones of his most famous poems, but they followed naturally upon the circumstances of his birth and his boyhood. His father, a man of good family, had married an actress, and left his home to go upon the stage with her. The pair died young, and their orphan boy was adopted by a childless wealthy merchant, whose wife indulged him in every caprice, and stimulated his vanity by making him exhibit his precocious talents before her friends. A child thus born and nurtured seemed predestined to an irregular and profligate manhood; and, according to Griswold, he lost no time in fulfilling his destiny. He was sent to the University of Charlottesville, but "a reckless course of dissipation led to his expulsion." He quarrelled with his adopted father, Mr. Allan, because he would not pay his gambling debts. A reconciliation was effected, and he was entered as a cadet at West Point, but "his wayward and reckless habits and impracticable mind were so much at war with the institution that he was compelled to retire from it within a year." He was received again at Mr. Allan's house, but "doubtless from gross misconduct on his part, was soon compelled to leave it for ever." Then he tried to make a living by literature, but his connection with various magazines and newspapers, one after another, was "severed by his irregularities." He married a cousin, a girl of fourteen, and it is hinted that her death was caused by his irregularities. Much pity was felt for him, and many efforts were made to lift him out of the mire into which he sank deeper and deeper; but his evil habits were confirmed, and he waywardly threw away every chance. The Boston Lyceum invited him to lecture; he went in a state of intoxication, stuttered through one of his juvenile poems, and afterwards insulted his entertainers by saying that it was good enough for the

literati of Boston, abusing them as "Frog-pondians." In spite of all his excesses, an amiable lady of good position and a poetess was willing to marry him, and their wedding day was fixed, but a few days before he presented himself at her house in a state of violent intoxication, and made a disturbance, and the match was broken off. It was a fitting conclusion to such a life that one day in Baltimore, the city of his birth, the poet should have "fallen into one of his frequently recurring fits of intoxication, been carried from the street to the hospital, and there died on Sunday morning."

Against a malignant myth like this, so naturally impressive, so simple and complete in its explanation of the poet's life, so harmonious in its details, the complicated truth fights at a hopeless disadvantage. The truth, unfortunately, is complicated. Poe's defenders cannot give the lie direct to all the malicious misrepresentations and insinuations of his biographer; they have to admit ugly facts, and then palliate them or explain them away. A great part of their defence consists in pleading extenuating circumstances—a plea upon which the general mind very properly looks with suspicion. The vindicatory testimony which Mr. Ingram has collected shows conclusively that Griswold's memoir gave a grossly distorted view of Poe's life as a whole, but it cannot be denied that there was an element of truth in many of the alleged incidents. It is not true that Poe was expelled from the University of Charlottesville. It is as far as possible from the truth that he began even then to undermine his constitution by riotous excesses. Mr. Ingram has collected the testimony of Poe's schoolfellows, classfellows, and Professors, and they all agree in describing him as a quiet, orderly, studious youth, successful in carrying off college distinctions. The feature which seems most to have struck his classfellows was a certain melancholy pride and reserve, which Mr. Ingram accounts for as partly constitutional, and partly due to his position as an adopted orphan. That he did not indulge in riotous excesses is sufficiently proved by the fact that he excelled as an athlete, and performed feats of leaping, running, and swimming, with which such excesses are physically incompatible. But it seems to be true that he indulged in gambling; that his gambling debts reached the considerable total of 2,000 dollars, that Mr. Allan refused to pay them, and that he quarrelled with Mr. Allan, and did not return to the University. Further, the records of West Point show that he was expelled from that institution. As against this fact, Mr. Ingram can only argue from internal evidence, which certainly favours his supposition, that for some reason Poe was tired of the institution and the prospect of a military career, and deliberately brought about his expulsion by absenting himself from parades and roll-calls. There is abundant evidence that there was nothing else conspicuously irregular in his conduct, and that all the time he was a great reader of books. When, after this, he quarrelled

with Mr. Allan, in consequence apparently of no misconduct more gross than wayward pride, and threw himself upon literature as a profession, there is still no evidence of extraordinary irregularities, and there is abundant evidence of hard work. That prolonged fits of debauchery or negligent execution of duties had anything to do with his giving up editorial work on the Richmond *Southern Literary Messenger*, or the Philadelphia *Gentleman's Magazine*, or *Graham's Magazine*, was conclusively refuted, as soon as the charge was made, by the proprietors with whom he had co-operated. There remains the fact that he did frequently change his employment, and that he did, after some eight years of laborious struggle in his profession, begin to yield to the temptation to drink, which gained such a hold upon him in the later years of his life, when he was the mere wreck of what he had been, when his home was broken up by the death of his wife, and his dreams of ambition were threatened with the same doom as his dreams of domestic happiness. But for the fact that Griswold's insinuation that Poe's habits of dissipation were the cause of his misfortunes has been so often repeated since the truth was made known, one could not have believed it possible that such a slander once established, could have survived the exposure of its falsehood by Mr. Graham, the proprietor of the magazine with which the poet was connected :—

"I shall never forget," Mr. Graham wrote in 1850, soon after Griswold's Memoir appeared, "how solicitous of the happiness of his wife and mother-in-law he was, whilst one of the editors of *Graham's Magazine;* his whole efforts seemed to be to procure the comfort and welfare of his home. Except for their happiness, and the natural ambition of having a magazine of his own, I never heard him deplore the want of wealth. The truth is, he cared little for money, and knew less of its value, for he seemed to have no personal expenses. What he received from me in regular monthly instalments went directly into the hands of his mother-in-law for family comforts; and *twice* only I remember his purchasing some rather expensive luxuries for his house, and then he was nervous to the degree of misery until he had, by extra articles, covered what he considered an imprudent indebtedness. His love for his wife was a sort of rapturous worship of the spirit of beauty, which he felt was fading before his eyes. I have seen him hovering around her when she was ill, with all the fond fear and tender anxiety of a mother for her first-born—her slightest cough causing in him a shudder and heart-chill that was visible. I rode out one summer evening with them, and the remembrance of his watchful eyes, eagerly bent upon the slightest change of hue in that loved face, haunts me yet as the memory of a sad strain!"

This was the wife whom Poe's biographer, with unspeakable malignity, accused him of neglecting and ill-treating. Mr. Ingram has done well to put on record the poet's own confession and explanation of the "irregularities" into which he fell during his wife's protracted illness.

"Six years ago," Poe wrote to a friend in 1848, "a wife whom I loved as no man ever loved before, ruptured a blood-vessel in singing. Her life was

despaired of. I took leave of her for ever, and underwent all the agonies of her death. She recovered partially, and I again hoped. At the end of a year the vessel broke again. I went through precisely the same scene. . . . . Then again—again—and even once again, at varying intervals. Each time I felt all the agonies of her death, and at each accession of the disorder I loved her more dearly, and clung to her life with more desperate pertinacity. But I am constitutionally sensitive—nervous in a very unusual degree. I became insane, with long intervals of horrible sanity. During those fits of absolute unconsciousness, I drank—God knows how often or how much. As a matter of course, my enemies referred the insanity to the drink, rather than the drink to the insanity. I had, indeed, nearly abandoned all hope of a permanent cure, when I found one in the *death* of my wife. This I can and do endure as becomes a man. It was the horrible never-ending oscillation between hope and despair, which I could not longer have endured without total loss of reason. In the death of what was my life, then, I received a new, but—O God!—how melancholy an existence."

This explanation, wrung from the heart of a proud, high-spirited man, to whom such explanation must have been torture, is a sufficient answer to the degrading charges of vulgar profligacy and dissipation which have been affixed to his name, and the knowledge of the truth ought to consign his traducer to everlasting infamy. No one who has inquired into the painful story of Poe's latter days can doubt for a moment that his irregularities were the result and not the cause of his misfortunes. More than this: no one can help feeling that squabbling or hair-splitting over the question of his indulgence in strong drink is unworthy of the dignity of his figure in literature, and pitifully out of keeping with the tragic interest of his career. Still, the question of his personal habits having been raised, it may be doubted whether the poet's defenders have not been betrayed into a line of defence which is in itself unfortunate and misleading. In pleading the unhappy circumstances of his life as an explanation of the malady to which he succumbed, they find themselves face to face with the question why his circumstances were so unhappy; why with all his genius and unremitting labour, his writings were so unremunerative, that when his powers were in their prime, he fought a losing battle with poverty. The answer which Mr. Ingram suggests to this question—that Poe made so many enemies by his critical onslaughts on writers of whom the American people were proud, that the doors of the market were closed against him—is not satisfactory. But the truth is, that the question may be answered fully and completely without supposing Poe to have been the victim of spite and resentment, and without supposing that the American public were too stupid to understand him till after his death, and that they were much to blame in allowing one of their most extraordinary men of genius to starve during his lifetime. The main cause of Poe's failure to maintain himself was not the malice of aggrieved mediocrities; and it is putting him altogether into too vulgar a category to class him among misappreciated and underrated men of genius. The original fault lay as little with rivals, with the

public, or with the publishers, as with the poet's alleged habits of intemperance. The causes of his failure are to be found in his mental habits and methods of work, and without attempting anything like a complete analysis of his genius, it may be worth while to consider some of his more salient peculiarities, and to show how they inevitably limited the amount of his literary production.

In the first place, then, Poe was an intellectual voluptuary, though the exercises of mind in which he sought pleasure are as far removed as possible from the ordinary idea of enjoyment. Analysis, which to most minds is a synonym for all that is dry and repugnant, was his master passion. Not a little of the misapprehension which has darkened his memory has arisen, as in the case of Byron, from confounding him with his own fictitious characters. Griswold's calumnies would probably have been much more easily dispossessed if they had not found support in the narrative of the profligate youth of William Wilson, who has been generally identified with the author himself. We should therefore be cautious about identifying him with any of the personages in his stories, every trait in whose characters was skilfully fashioned to support an artistic aim. But there can be little doubt that in the emphasis which he constantly laid upon the pleasure to be derived from analysis, he spoke from personal experience, and that the youth who took delight in the German moralists, "not from any ill-advised admiration of their eloquent madness, but from the ease with which his habits of thought enabled him to detect their falsities," was an adumbration of himself.

"The analytical faculties," he says in his description of the character of Dupin, the amateur detective in *The Murders of the Rue Morgue*, "are always to their possessor, when inordinately possessed, a source of the liveliest enjoyment. As the strong man exults in his physical ability, delighting in such exercises as call his muscles into action, so glories the analyst in that mental activity which *disentangles*. He derives pleasure from even the most trivial occupations bringing his talent into play. He is fond of enigmas, of conundrums, of hieroglyphics; exhibiting in his solution of each a degree of acumen which appears to the ordinary apprehension preternatural. His results brought about by the very soul and essence of method have, in truth, the whole air of intuition."

In this passage Poe described his own besetting pleasure, the pleasure which drew him irresistibly after it whenever opportunity offered, and which is mainly responsible for the unprofitable dissipation of his energies. In the strength of this intellectual propensity and not in any loose hankering after vulgar vice, we have probably the true explanation, or a large part of the explanation, of his gambling fit at the University. One of his favourite theories was, that by close observation of an opponent in any game of cards, and searching analysis of the meaning of his looks, it was possible to tell his hand as accurately as if one saw it. The reduction of

chance to a working mathematical formula was another problem which forcibly challenged his intellect. But while it is possible that it was by these intellectual provocations to gamble that the young student was led astray, it must also be admitted as possible that such an apology is as wide of the mark as it would be in the case of any other scapegrace, and that Poe gambled, as other young men have gambled, from mere love of excitement. In using his ungovernable delight and pride in feats of analysis, his inability to leave any problem which accident threw in his way till he had sifted it to the bottom, as an explanation of his difficulty in making a living by literature, we stand upon surer ground. Every admirer of Poe's genius must have marvelled and sorrowed over the time which he gave to the solution of cryptographs. In an article on Cryptography he had committed himself to the theory that the human intellect was incapable of devising any cipher which the human intellect could not unravel. Immediately the magazine in which the article appeared was besieged by crowds of correspondents, each of whom believed himself to be in possession of a cipher which no human being could read without the key. Although Poe's proposition did not imply that his was the human intellect which could solve any cipher, he at once took up the challenge, and triumphantly solved every cipher that was sent in—a feat which was neither in his day's work nor in his day's wages.

And this is only a type of the habit by which Poe squandered his intellectual force. Much of his work for the *Southern Messenger* and *Graham's Magazine* consisted in reviewing books. Mr. Ingram deplores this, not only because he thereby made enemies—a belief with which reviewers of books often console themselves when their own productions are ill-treated—but also because he ought to have been employed in work more worthy of his genius. He does not, however, it seems to me, bring out with sufficient emphasis how much of his force Poe wasted in this labour, viewed simply as a means of livelihood. Poe did his work too thoroughly, both for the amount paid and for the purposes of the periodical. The feat which he performed in reviewing the first number of *Barnaby Rudge* shows the spirit in which he approached his duties. He gave in that review a speculative account of the course that the plot ought to follow, and solved in advance the mystery of Haredale's murder with such exactitude that Dickens wrote in astonishment to ask whether his reviewer had dealings with the Devil. If Poe had examined only masterpieces with the microscopic completeness with which he analyzed *Barnaby Rudge*, the labour might have paid him in furnishing hints for his own creative work. But every book that was submitted to him underwent the same process of exhaustive scrutiny. Every book presented itself to his analytic faculty as a problem to be attacked and solved; he analyzed the writer's aims

and his method, and set himself to consider how the subject ought to have been treated. The reviewer who can supply five lines on a book in five minutes is the reviewer who can hope to make reviewing a profitable trade. Poe could not or would not do this; every book, good or bad, was a challenge to his powers of analysis, and he could not part with it till he had dissected it out. Perhaps we may ask whether work of this kind ought not to have been better paid and more highly appreciated. Poe's employers would probably have answered this question by saying that the public, whom they were trying to induce to buy their periodicals, did not care for this kind of thoroughness. They were not catering for an audience of artists who might have found profit as well as pleasure in a masterly analysis of the mechanism of a book. Their audience only cared to know whether a book was interesting, worth reading, or worth buying; how it might have been made more interesting, and whether it satisfied exacting canons of construction, were matters in which they had a languid concern or no concern at all. What chiefly struck Poe's employers about his reviews was that they were "classical and scholarlike," and they were aware also that he wrote with "fastidious difficulty." Into the secret of his difficulty they did not inquire. They probably considered it a defect in him that he was not a more ready writer. And they measured the value of his articles on the sound commercial principle that, except when he chanced to make a sensation by exposing the weak points of celebrities, they could get reviews equally, or perhaps more, suited to the requirements of the general reader at the same price.

But, it may be asked, why did Poe's employers allow him to waste his time in analytic criticisms, stipulating only for the introduction of "spice" into his analysis, a requirement which he fulfilled by a not very happy imitation of the humour of De Quincey? Why, instead of keeping him drudging at book-reviewing, did they not urge him to supply them with tales and poems? Surely this implied a certain dulness of appreciation. It may be doubted, however, whether in this matter either the publishers were to blame. They could not have been unaware of the value—the commercial value—of Poe's tales; for chiefly by means of them the circulation of *Graham's Magazine* was raised in one year from two or three thousand to twenty-five thousand. Mr. Graham, we may be sure, would have been glad of a supply of such tales as the *Murders in the Rue Morgue*, though it appears that he was not prepared to pay more than fifty dollars for *The Gold Bug*. But the truth is that the supply was not forthcoming in plentiful quantity. In writing tales, as in writing reviews, Poe composed with "fastidious difficulty," and the secret of the difficulty is again to be found in his passion for scrupulous, exhaustive analysis. The exacting scrutiny of artistic

aims and artistic mechanism which he applied to the productions of others, he applied with even greater rigour to his own.

Poe let the world into the secret of his *Philosophy of Composition* in what purported to be a frank confession of the various steps by which his poem of *The Raven* attained its ultimate point of completion. The revelation, as we shall see, left much to be revealed; but, as far as it went, it was such a shock to received notions that there is an all but universal consent to regard Poe's *Philosophy of Composition* as a joke. Mr. Ingram speaks of it as a "half-hoaxing, half-serious" essay, and apparently numbers it among the evidences of the poet's love of mystification. There is, indeed, a ghastly attempt at humour in one passage, that in which he dismisses as irrelevant to the poem *per se* "the circumstances—or say the necessity"— of composing a poem which should suit at once the popular and the critical taste. But as regards the substance of Poe's revelation, he was no more jesting about this than Newton was when he propounded his theory of gravitation. Whether Poe was right in supposing that all poems ought to be composed in the same way, is another question; but that the basis of *The Raven* was laid after the method which he describes, there is not the least occasion to doubt. Not only so, but any one who looks analytically at Poe's tales will see that all the best of them, from the *MS. Found in a Bottle* downwards, bear every mark of having been constructed on the same plan. And the wearing, worrying labour imposed upon his imagination by the stringent subjection of its activity to analytic fetters, goes far to explain the premature breakdown of his powers.

Let us see what the process was that Poe described. His essay on the *Philosophy of Composition* starts from a question asked him by Dickens, "Are you aware that Godwin wrote his *Caleb Williams* backwards?" In answer to this Poe maintains that "every plot worth the name must be elaborated to its dénouement before anything is attempted with the pen. It is only with the dénouement constantly in view that we can give a plot its indispensable air of consequence or causation by making the incidents, and especially the tone at all points, tend to the development of the intention." The dullest person may be defied to see anything humorous in this. Poe took Dickens to task for having—indefatigable artist though he was—written *Barnaby Rudge* without a fixed determination as to where the plot was to lead him, and detected unmistakable signs of wandering intention, details here and there impressively introduced as for a purpose, and left stranded, as it were, in the tale, having no purpose to fulfil, because the purpose for which they had been introduced had been abandoned. It was Poe's theory that in order to secure the highest possible effect, no detail should be irrelevant, every incident, however trivial, should be in harmony with the impression designed to be left at the end by the com-

pleted work. The theory is by no means peculiar to him, but it may be doubted whether anybody ever strove with such indomitable effort to make his invention comply with this hard condition. In order to the perfect realisation of such an ideal, it was not necessary —as he said—that the artist should work backwards; there would, indeed, be no obvious advantage in such a mode of proceeding; but it was necessary that the artist should have in his eye from the first the goal of his endeavour, and that he should settle upon this before starting. Nobody, it may safely be presumed, would deny that this was not merely Poe's philosophy, but his actual method of composition in the case of his tales. "I prefer," he says in his essay, "instead of taking a theme from historical or contemporary incident, commencing with the consideration of an effect. Keeping originality always in view—for he is false to himself who ventures to dispense with so obvious and so easily obtainable a source of interest—I say to myself, in the first place, 'Of the innumerable effects, or impressions, of which the heart, the intellect, or (more generally) the soul is susceptible, what one shall I, on the present occasion, select?' Having chosen a novel, first, and secondly a vivid effect, I consider whether it can be best wrought by incident or tone—whether by ordinary incidents and peculiar tone, or the converse, or by peculiarity both of incident and tone—afterward looking about me (or rather within) for such combinations of event, or tone, as shall best aid me in the construction of the effect."

There is something repugnant in this dry analytic way of expressing an artist's designs upon his readers. We should not refuse our credence to such a confession from an actor, a stage artist, because we go to a theatre resigned to the knowledge that illusions are to be practised on our feelings. But we have a deep-rooted belief in the novelist as being more a creature of impulse. Still, whether Poe is to be called theatrical or not for his pains, few persons who have examined the mechanism of his tales will refuse to believe that they were conceived and constructed in this way, that the themes did not rise in his mind incidentally or accidentally, but were deliberately sought for and chosen for their suitability to the production of certain preconceived impressions. But when we come to a poem so weird, so fantastic, so overcharged apparently with personal spontaneous impulse, as *The Raven*, the poet's cold-blooded retrospective analysis of the stages through which it took shape in his brain is so paradoxical that there is much excuse for receiving it with incredulous laughter. After telling us how he decided that the poem must be short—it was one of his theories that a long poem is a contradiction in terms, no mind being capable of sustaining itself in the exaltation proper to poetry through a long poem—and that its effect must be sad—the tone of sadness belonging to the highest manifestation of beauty, Poe proceeds to say—

"The length, the province, and the tone being thus determined, I betook myself to ordinary induction with the view of obtaining some artistic piquancy which might serve me as a keynote in the construction of the poem—some pivot upon which the whole structure might turn. In carefully thinking over all the usual artistic effects—or, more properly, points in the theatrical sense—I did not fail to perceive immediately that no one had been so universally employed as that of the *refrain*. The universality of its employment sufficed to assure me of its intrinsic value, and spared me the necessity of submitting it to analysis. I considered it, however, with regard to its susceptibility of improvement, and soon saw it to be in a primitive condition. As commonly used, the *refrain*, or burden, not only is limited to lyric verse, but depends for its impression upon the force of monotone—both in sound and thought. The pleasure is deduced solely from the sense of identity—of repetition. I resolved to diversify, and so heighten, the effect, by adhering, in general, to the monotone of sound, while I continually varied that of thought: that is to say, I determined to produce continuously novel effects, by the variation *of the application* of the *refrain*—the *refrain* itself remaining, for the most part, unvaried.

"These points being settled, I next bethought me of the *nature* of my *refrain*. Since its application was to be repeatedly varied, it was clear that the *refrain* itself must be brief, for there would have been an insurmountable difficulty in frequent variations of application in any sentence of length. In proportion to the brevity of the sentence, would, of course, be the facility of the variation. This led me at once to a single word as the best *refrain*.

"The question now arose as to the *character* of the word. Having made up my mind to a *refrain*, the division of the poem into stanzas was, of course, a corollary: the *refrain* forming the close to each stanza. That such a close, to have force, must be sonorous and susceptible of protracted emphasis, admitted no doubt: and these considerations inevitably led me to the long *o* as the most sonorous vowel, in connection with *r* as the most producible consonant.

"The sound of the *refrain* being thus determined, it became necessary to select a word embodying this sound, and at the same time in the fullest possible keeping with that melancholy which I had predetermined as the tone of the poem. In such a search it would have been absolutely impossible to overlook the word 'Nevermore.' In fact, it was the very first which presented itself.

"The next *desideratum* was a pretext for the continuous use of the one word 'nevermore.' In observing the difficulty which I at once found in inventing a sufficiently plausible reason for its continuous repetition, I did not fail to perceive that this difficulty arose solely from the pre-assumption that the word was to be so continuously or monotonously spoken by a *human* being—I did not fail to perceive, in short, that the difficulty lay in the reconciliation of this monotony with the exercise of reason on the part of the creature repeating the word. Here, then, immediately arose the idea of a *non*-reasoning creature capable of speech; and, very naturally, a parrot, in the first instance, suggested itself, but was superseded forthwith by a Raven, as equally capable of speech, and infinitely more in keeping with the intended *tone*.

"I had now gone so far as the conception of a Raven—the bird of ill-omen—monotonously repeating the one word, 'Nevermore,' at the conclusion of each stanza, in a poem of melancholy tone, and in length about one hundred lines. Now, never losing sight of the object *supremeness*, or perfection, at all points, I asked myself—'Of all melancholy topics, what, according to the *universal* understanding of mankind, is the *most* melancholy?' Death—was the obvious reply. 'And when,' I said, 'is this most melancholy of topics most poetical?' From what I have already explained at some length, the answer, here also, is obvious—'When it most closely allies itself to *Beauty*: the death, then, of a beautiful woman is, unquestionably, the most poetical topic in the world—and equally is it beyond doubt that the lips best suited for such topic are those of a bereaved lover.'

"I had now to combine the two ideas, of a lover lamenting his deceased mistress and a Raven continuously repeating the word 'Nevermore.'—I had to combine these, bearing in mind my design of varying, at every turn, the *application* of the word repeated; but the only intelligible mode of such combination is that of imagining the Raven employing the word in answer to the queries of the lover. And here it was that I saw at once the opportunity afforded for the effect on which I had been depending—that is to say, the effect of the *variation of application*. I saw that I could make the first query propounded by the lover—the first query to which the Raven should reply 'Nevermore'—that I could make this first query a commonplace one—the second less so—the third still less, and so on—until at length the lover, startled from his original *nonchalance* by the melancholy character of the word itself—by its frequent repetition—and by a consideration of the ominous reputation of the fowl that uttered it—is at length excited to superstition, and wildly propounds queries of a far different character—queries whose solution he has passionately at heart—propounds them half in superstition and half in that species of despair which delights in self-torture—propounds them not altogether because he believes in the prophetic or demoniac character of the bird (which, reason assures him, is merely repeating a lesson learned by rote), but because he experiences a frenzied pleasure in so modelling his question as to receive from the *expected* 'Nevermore' the most delicious because the most intolerable of sorrow. Perceiving the opportunity thus afforded me—or, more strictly, thus forced upon me in the progress of the construction—I first established in my mind the climax, or concluding query—that query to which 'Nevermore' should be in the last place an answer—that query in reply to which this word 'Nevermore' should involve the utmost conceivable amount of sorrow and despair.

"Here, then, the poem may be said to have had its beginning—at the end, where all works of art should begin—for it was here, at this point of my preconsiderations, that I first put pen to paper."

There is something irresistibly ludicrous in this matter-of-fact statement about combining the two ideas of the despairing Lover and the monotonous Raven, and the fun seems to get more fast and furious as the poet proceeds to tell how he discussed with himself various ways of bringing the Lover and the Raven together, and for what reasons, founded on profound analysis of emotional effect, he resolved to bring them together as he did. The poem has impressed us as a cry from a stricken heart, and it is disenchanting to be told that it was a deliberately planned assault, step by step, upon our feelings. We feel as if we had been deceived, and we naturally prefer to believe that the poet is only in jest, that he is making an attempt, which we can easily see through, to mystify us. Yet that Poe should have laid the groundwork of his poem in this way, and sifted and tested every plank in the structure as he explains, is in thorough accordance with the critical theories which we find perpetually recurring in his writings, theories propounded and argued with a uniform persistency which leaves no room for the suspicion of a jest.

One may safely say that the belief that Poe was serious in the Philosophy of Composition which he illustrated from his own construction of *The Raven* would commend itself generally more to his detractors than to his admirers. To take it seriously seems at first

sight to deny all his claims to genius and imagination, to represent him as a cold, mechanical, artificial worker by rule and compass, building up by slow, calculating effort what the man of genius does by easy, unconscious instinct. We should, indeed, have reached a glaringly absurd conclusion if we had involved ourselves by following any theory in the denial of Poe's possession of creative power. Patent facts would confute us. But the truth is that the poet in what he calls his reconstruction of *The Raven*, his recollection of the processes followed in the original construction, does not let us so deep into the secret of the composition as we might suppose if we did not pause and reflect. An inconsiderate reader might jump to the conclusion that Poe had here laid bare the whole process of the making of the poem, that he had given as it were a recipe by observing which any man of ordinary intellect might produce such another poem. Some such conclusion as this does perhaps lie in the minds of those who cannot bring themselves to believe that he was in earnest. But what he really does in this essay is to show the limits which he voluntarily imposed upon his imagination, the course which, by previous analytic effort, he marked out for it, and within which he constrained it to run. He explains that he began by resolving to produce certain effects; but we are not brought by this explanation any the nearer to the imaginative process by which he produced them. He shows us how he tested by analytic processes the materials which his imagination brought at the summons of his will; it does not follow that anybody who can understand the justness of the tests, could order their imagination to bring them similar materials with any likelihood of being obeyed. If Poe was serious in his *Philosophy of Composition*, and if he did construct his poems after the method which he describes, the fact is not a proof of poverty of imagination; on the contrary, no higher proof could be afforded of the fertility of his imagination than that it should have been able to bring him from its stores what he wanted to satisfy his exacting critical standard.

Among other circumstances which may have favoured the idea that Poe's account of his method of construction was a jest or a satire on plodding rhymesters, we may reckon the idea that this is not the way in which great poems generally are composed. Poe fully recognised this; his pride lay in being an artist, working consciously with all his powers of analysis, imagination, and will for the realisation of definitely conceived aims. Other poets have not taken the world so much into their confidence, whether in jest or in earnest; but the outsider's conception of the ordinary genesis of a poem is that it is produced rather by a process of growth than of deliberately motived construction; that it develops in the poet's mind, by gradual expansion of which he is imperfectly conscious, by steps which he

could not recall if he tried, from germ to complete creation. The outside critic may be permitted to believe that except in peculiarly happy cases the imagination cannot safely be left unchecked, if its luxuriance is to be brought within the limits of art, and that the happiest genius is compelled sometimes to practise the chilling process of self-criticism. In one of his numerous discourses on the analytic faculty, Poe laid down the paradox that the constructive faculty is much less rare than is commonly supposed, and that it is nowhere found more active than in idiots. That is to say, any fool can construct; the test of wisdom, of sanity, of genius lies in being able to adapt construction to definite ends, whether in practical invention or in poetry. Whatever amount of truth there may be in this paradox—there is generally a solid substratum of truth in Poe's paradoxes—whether or not it be true, as he maintained, that the analytic faculty is so far from being incompatible with the imaginative faculty that neither can exist in their highest development apart—we can all easily understand what happens when, as in his case, the analytic faculty is paramount and imperious, and insists that the imaginative faculty shall not stir a step except in obedience to its behests. If Poe had possessed less powers of analysis and a more easily satisfied judgment, there can be no doubt that he would have been a much more joyous and prosperous worker. He may have been right or he may have been wrong in his assumption that most writers, and especially poets, would shudder at the idea of telling the secrets of their art—if he had been alive now, the reception of his own confessions might have convinced him that revelations of the kind are as distasteful to the readers of poets as to the poets themselves—but it is readily intelligible that an imaginative artist, working under such conditions as he imposed on himself, must have suffered tortures in the act of composition from the impediments to an easy flow of matter which he specifies—"elaborate and vacillating crudities of thought, true purposes seized only at the last moment, innumerable glimpses of idea that arrived not at the maturity of full view, fully matured fancies discarded in despair as unmanageable, cautious selections and rejections, painful evasions and interpolations." The torture must have been all the more keen and exasperating in proportion to the fiery impatience, the eager, far-reaching ambition, of his temperament; confinement is more deadly to an animal raging under impulses for freedom than to an animal with a torpid predisposition to contentment. To understand Poe's method of work is to understand the reason why he produced so little, why he did not produce enough to furnish himself with a means of living, and why, circumstanced as he was, his restless, sensitive mind was chafed and fretted into insanity. He broke himself on a wheel of his own making.

WILLIAM MINTO.

THE RAILROADS OF THE UNITED STATES:

THEIR EFFECTS ON FARMING AND PRODUCTION IN THAT COUNTRY AND IN GREAT BRITAIN.

In the report of one of the recent speeches of Mr. Gladstone, reference is made to information sent him by an English correspondent in this country in regard to the prices of certain farmlands in Massachusetts, by which it appears that he has been misled in his inference that Western competition has depressed Eastern farming in the United States; his correspondent having formed a general conclusion upon very insufficient data.

As a right understanding of the true effects and results of Western competition in the production of grain and meat may become of the greatest importance in the settlement of the grave questions in reference to land-tenure now pending in Great Britain, it may not be unsuitable for an American to submit some considerations on the great changes that have in fact been brought about in the Eastern United States by the construction of railroads to the West, to which public attention has not been much directed even yet.

The object of this paper is to prove,—

1. The vast saving of labour that has been effected in the eastern portion of the United States by the extension of the railway system to the West in procuring bread and meat at less and less cost.

2. That the art of agriculture in the Eastern States has in recent years made a great advance in respect to method of work and in variety of products; in some sections of the Eastern States there has also been a considerable increase in the value of agricultural products, such progress having been promoted and made possible by the changed relations of the two sections of the country growing out of the railway system.

3. That, under the unrestricted action of natural laws, like effects will be produced in Great Britain.

4. That, under the working of the new force represented by the modern railway system and the steamship, the present relations of landlord and tenant peculiar to Great Britain must and will be so entirely changed as to result practically in the almost entire disappearance or abatement of the element of rent in respect to land devoted to purposes of agriculture.

5. That, in place of the present division of agricultural produce or its value among three classes—labourers, tenants, and landlords—in the proportion of the minimum needed for subsistence to the first, an uncertain and at present negative quantity to the second, and a maximum to the third, a new division of an increased, varied, and

more valuable product will occur between two classes, labourers and freehold farmers.

6. That, in this new division, the same facts will be observed that are found in other occupations; to wit, that, as the product increases in variety and in value, a larger share and a better subsistence accrue to each of the two classes, labourers and employers, wherever distribution is unaffected by restrictive statutes.

In pursuance of this subject, in respect to the eastern part of the United States, Massachusetts, on the whole one of the most sterile States, will be chosen as an example.[1]

It is admitted that there are many deserted farms in Massachusetts; that the rural population has not increased, but has in many places decreased; and that there is much land, once under cultivation, that would not now bring the cost of the stone walls with which it is enclosed.

But these farms are in the more sterile sections of the State, or are remote from railroads, and have been given up because improvement in agriculture compasses larger product on less land with less labour elsewhere, even in the same State.

There is another class of farms of an intermediate kind, that have been sold by their original Yankee owners because their descendants did not find scope for their ability upon them: they needed a larger field and a greater opportunity. These farms have been taken up in very many cases by Irish, many of whom have passed from the textile factories or other occupations to the ownership of land purchased with the savings which the universal custom of depositing in savings banks (especially among the Irish in New England) has enabled them to accumulate.

Yet, despite all this giving up of farm-land formerly cultivated, and this change of ownership, the more fertile lands of Massachusetts are now worth more, because more productive, than they were when we were much more dependent upon our own labour for grain and meat of home production than we now are. The aggregate value of the farm-products of Massachusetts increases annually. Between 1865 and 1875 the cost of moving Western farm-products to Massachusetts was reduced in greater ratio than at any previous period, yet the value of the agricultural products of the State was nearly

(1) Massachusetts is a small State, only 7,800 square miles in area. Her typical natural products are commonly said to be granite and ice. Her people, about one-fourth of whom are foreign-born, are mainly engaged in the manufacturing and mechanic arts of every kind; but in 1875 there were in the State 44,549 separate farms, of which only 1,054 were held under leases, 43,495 being carried on by their owners. They contained 3,402,000 acres of land, valued, with buildings, at $182,600,000, at an average of $4,100 each. Not quite one-third of the land is under cultivation. The total amount of wages paid for hired labour was $5,600,000. The value of the domestic and agricultural product of these farms in 1875 was $41,522,000.—*Vide Census of Mass.*, 1875, Carroll D. Wright, *Supt.*

eight million dollars more in the latter than in the former year, notwithstanding the very great reduction in prices which accompanied the appreciation of the paper dollar, from an average discount of thirty-six per cent. in 1865 to only ten per cent. in 1875.

Before the use of the railway, and even down to a later date,—before the great railway systems of the country were consolidated, and worked at the low rates that now prevail,—it was necessary for the people of New England to work arduously for bread alone. Brown bread made of Indian-corn constituted the staple food in many farmers' families; white or wheat bread was a luxury.

There are, within twenty miles of Boston, hundreds of acres of land which, half a century since, would of necessity have been devoted to the production of grain and potatoes, of which the gross product per acre is now worth five hundred or a thousand dollars a year. Nothing strikes a New England man with more amazement, on the first approach to London, than to see the proximity of the wheat-fields to the suburbs of the city, where he would expect to find very small farms under high cultivation in market-gardening.

Again: it is but a few years since a wood-lot was as essential to the farm as the corn-field or the pasture. New England possesses no available beds of coal, and the whole supply of fuel came from the forest. It could not be moved long distances, and the farmer was obliged to go to the forest or to its proximity, since the forest could not come to him.

The hillsides were cleared, and great temporary injury was done; but at the present time the anthracite coal of Pennsylvania furnishes the cheapest fuel in very remote parts of the New England States. The forest is being restored on the hills; and many farms, which were only occupied because the supply of fuel was ample, may now be left for pasture, or even may be covered with wood on the arable land. In many cases this "sprout-land," so called, retains its value for the supply of railway-sleepers and other purposes.

The same rule of increased product and value applies to most of the farm-lands of Central New York in and around the Mohawk and Genesee valleys, formerly the very centre of the best wheat-cultivation of the United States, but where but a moderate quantity of wheat is now raised. These farms, temporarily affected in value by the competition of Western grain, are now in many places more valuable than ever before; and, as the mode of cultivation and the character of the crops become adjusted to the new conditions, a higher degree of prosperity ensues.

There is still a considerable quantity of maize, or Indian-corn, produced in New England, because the varieties grown on our soil and in our climate are harder, sweeter, and more nutritious than the kinds raised upon the prairies of the West; but, on the whole, it may

be said that maize and wheat are the *pioneer* crops of easiest cultivation in this country, and not—as wheat is in Great Britain—the product of high farming under a system of cultivation carefully prescribed in the lease of the land.

Thus it happens that, although these crops have passed more and more to the West, their migration does not mark decay, but rather progress, in the art of agriculture in the East. Since we can get the staple elements of subsistence from what may be called the great *manufactories* of grain and meat in the West, our own farmers are engaged in producing roots, hay, and fruits in great abundance, in raising poultry, or in dairy-farming. In witness of this statement, the data of the last national census (which were quite inadequate in respect to the products of agriculture of Massachusetts) disclosed the fact that Worcester County, Massachusetts, stood only third among the county divisions of the whole country in the value of the products of agriculture. The first was Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; the second, the great dairy-county of St. Lawrence, New York; the fourth was Hartford County, Connecticut; not until the fifth did we reach the corn-country, La Salle County, Illinois; sixth, the wheat-country, Oakland County, Michigan; and next we come back to Burlington County, in New Jersey.

In 1870 the value of the products of agriculture of the five counties of Lancaster, Penn.; St. Lawrence, N.Y.; Worcester, Mass.; Hartford, Conn.; and Burlington, N.J.,—all situated in the far East,—was $38,804,240. Yet the area of improved land on which this value was produced was only 3,058 square miles.

The value of the farms of the five Eastern counties was in 1870 $182,786,611. The value of all the improved lands in the great corn State of Illinois was only five times as great; the value of all the farms in the great wheat State of Minnesota a little more than one-half as much; and in the great cotton State of Mississippi less than one-half.

It is true that a great period of depression has occurred since 1870, which has affected the East a little more than the West; but it has passed by, and it cannot now be gainsaid that, although we have not in the East any great workers of hundreds and thousands of acres, who make corn or maize and wheat by machinery, there are yet more thrifty, prosperous farmers who own and cultivate moderate quantities of land in New England and the Middle States than there are in the Western States; the reason, of course, being that the more dense population of the towns and cities of the East, engaged in commerce or in the manufacturing and mechanic arts, affords a quicker market for the variety of products that cannot be moved over very long distances, but which constitute a far greater proportion of the cost and also of the comfort of household

consumption than is represented by the mere consumption of bread. It is not intended to affirm that there are not many richer men engaged in agriculture in the West than in the East—men who have grown rich both by farming on a large scale and by the rise in the value of their land; but in proportion to numbers it is very certain that there is a higher standard of comfort and thrift in many of the farming counties of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and in portions of New England, than prevails at the present time in the Western States.

The same changes in variety and value of products will occur, or have doubtless occurred, in the neighbourhood of the great Western towns and cities which are so rapidly becoming the centres of various manufactures; and they have also occurred in the vicinity of Southern seaboard cities—Charleston, Savannah, and Norfolk—where thousands of acres of land are devoted to market-gardening Northern supply, and are witnesses of the industry and thrift of the free coloured labourers, by whom most of the work is done; even long distance being offset by the high prices obtained for early vegetables and fruits.

The same rule seems to apply to these great staple and necessary products of agriculture—corn and meat—that applies to staple textile fabrics and to other factory-work; namely, that, as they become more and more the product of machinery, employing relatively but few hands, they find their special place or district, and the work of that district is concentrated upon them. An ever-increasing proportion of the population elsewhere is thus relieved from arduous drudgery, and is enabled to spend more time and work on the comforts and luxuries of life, and in more varied occupations.

Machinery not only aggregates people in manufactories of fabrics, and also in districts devoted to wheat and to grazing, but it segregates as well, by enabling great numbers of men to do other work, requiring manual dexterity rather than machinery, for which there would otherwise be no time or opportunity, and which may be carried on wherever men choose to live in communities of moderate size.

The application of machinery to the staple products of maize and wheat is producing the same result—less human labour and more food to be consumed. In this essay maize and pork may be considered synonymous terms, the "hog-products" being the conversion of maize into meat.

The secret of these changes in the sources of our agricultural supplies is that the railroad has eliminated distance. A barrel of flour, and a barrel of pork or its equivalent, constitute the substance of Western farm products needed by each adult in the East. The

two barrels are equal to 500 lbs., or a quarter of the net ton in which our railway traffic is computed. This quantity is now brought from Chicago to Boston, one thousand miles, at an average of $1½—sometimes for less—or at the rate of $5, or £1 sterling, per ton of 2,000 lbs.

We might therefore state an economic equation in these terms:—

The movement of one year's subsistence of grain and meat for an adult working-man a distance of one thousand miles is equal to a dollar and 25 cents, or 5s., which sum is equal to one day's wages of a common workman, or half the daily wages of a good carpenter or mason.

Half of one day's wages, one thousand miles, and the movement of one year's subsistence, are synonymous terms. One day's pay places the mechanic of Massachusetts next door to the Western prairies a thousand miles away.

The same terms of the equation may soon be applied to the distances beyond Chicago towards Minnesota, Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, because grades are easier, fuel is more abundant, and, as population and traffic increase, *two* days' work of a common labourer in Massachusetts will soon move a year's subsistence of corn and meat fifteen hundred or two thousand miles from far Dakota and from the plains of Nebraska; one name still designating a Territory, the other the last but one among the States admitted to the Union. At the present time the rates of freight west of Chicago are much higher than between Chicago and the seaboard.

In Dakota, on the Red River of the North, wheat is *manufactured* in some fields, where each single furrow of the plough is said to take a day to run without once turning; and from these fields the wheat is now brought in millions of bushels, upon which there has been no manual labour, except to direct the machinery, from the time the seed was planted in the field until the bread is cut upon the table of the factory operative in Lowell.

As Daniel Webster once replied to the objection made to the importation of the product of pauper labour from abroad, "We cannot afford to do for ourselves what foreign paupers can do so well for us," so we may now say in the East, that we cannot afford to work with our hands on crops which Western farm-machinery can produce so cheaply for us. This mechanism can only be applied with economy on a large scale, and where the soil is in a very comminuted condition, free from loose stones, boulders, ledges, or stumps of trees.

Such is the character of the prairie-soil,—in fact, of the arable land extending east and west from Central Ohio to Colorado, and north and south from Manitoba to Mississippi; this whole valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries now being assigned by some geologists to the loess formation.

Such having been the changes that the railroad has worked in the East in enabling us to spare our labour from that which used to be our most arduous work, and apply it to occupations which give us more comfort, more wealth, and more prosperity; and since the railroad can be worked profitably at much less than one cent, or a half-penny, a ton per mile, and on these bulky products of corn and meat at half a cent, or one farthing, per ton per mile,—it may now be asked, what is to be the permanent effect of the steamship in enlarging the area of cheap transportation on the English production of corn and meat? In California the rains last only four months; in that State and in Colorado, by irrigation, crops of wheat are made exceeding the English average product per acre. Elsewhere our average crop per acre may not be over one-half or three-fifths; but the area on which this production is possible is subject to no limit for many generations.

An American observer may not pronounce dogmatically upon the possible effect of the competition between those lands and the wheat-fields of Great Britain. But it may be asked, Can any system of high farming under restrictions compete with these conditions? Can any land, subject to any rent whatever, compete in the production of wheat and meat with these conditions of unlimited areas of land at a cost of $2 to $3, or 8s. to 12s., an acre, and rates of transportation at half a cent a ton, or one farthing per ton, per mile of rail, when the steamship continues the transportation at a less and less charge as improvements continue to be made in the construction and running of the ships?

Can any rented land, subject as it must be to special conditions in the leases as to the rotation of crops, the amount of stock to be kept, and other restrictions necessary to maintain it in condition, compete with these vast areas free from all restriction?

As time goes on, must not English farming adjust itself in the same manner that Eastern farming has adjusted itself to these new conditions? that is, to the variety of products that will not bear long carriage, and that require more and more the individual ownership of small farms, free from onerous rents, and from the more obnoxious conditions of leases and settlements.

May not these conditions tend in the long run, and after the settlement of the temporary difficulties of land-tenure now pressing upon Great Britain, as they have here, to greater general prosperity and abundance, and to far greater variety of food at less and less cost to the consumer? Such having been the results without question in the United States, especially in respect to the changes in the older sections of the East, must not the same causes inevitably work the same results across the sea? If these points are well taken, we may now be witnessing not the decadence of the agriculture of Great

Britain, but the very beginning of its true progress, and the opening of an upward movement among the agricultural population to greater welfare and prosperity.

If the competition of Western grain and meat renders the present system of leasing and working land in Great Britain absolutely and permanently unprofitable, and that system cannot be applied to the greater variety of methods of cultivation and of crops that have succeeded wheat-culture in the East, then the interest of both land-owner and tenant will coincide in making the changes required, no matter what the sacrifice of social position may be that is involved in the change. The ownership of land without income will not give much distinction. When these changes are complete, the time may perhaps come when simple printed forms of deeds and rules of registration will enable the town-clerks, justices of the peace, or other intelligent persons, to do all the work of the conveyancer, as they now do in most of the country towns of New England.

In the first half-century after the settlement of Plymouth Colony, the title to land passed by declaration before the governor or one of his assistants, duly recorded, without the execution of any written deed whatever, and without the signature of the vendor being required. Many of these deeds are in the simplest possible form of description, and are entirely free from legal technicalities. At the present time the written deed of land possesses little importance after the record is made.

It will be obvious that this adjustment to the new conditions brought into force by the railroad could not have been made without very great difficulty in the eastern parts of the United States, had there been any system of landlord and tenant as to farm-lands. Had not the purchase, sale, and division of lands been free, the examination of title easy and cheap, and the registration of deeds effective in every county, and had we not been absolutely free from the encumbrances of entails and settlements, we should have been subjected to as great difficulties as are now being met in Great Britain and Ireland.

It may be broadly stated, that the adjustment of production to changing conditions, brought into action by science and invention in the United States, has been made possible by the free conditions, not only in the sale, but in the use, of land throughout the country.

The modern cheese-factory is an example of an invention requiring absolute freedom in the use of land. If it were made incumbent on the farmer to feed the refuse of cheese-making to stock upon the land on which the stock fed, the cheese-factory would not be practicable. The farmer must sell his milk and restore his land in his own way. Absolute freedom in use is as necessary as freedom in purchase and sale.

In respect to wheat, it would be very desirable to be able to treat the subject of the actual cost of production, in order to state the exact terms of the competition between this country and Great Britain. Several attempts have been made to ascertain the exact cost of production on the field, but it is as difficult as it is to ascertain the cost of raising cotton. Some of the elements may be stated with sufficient accuracy for the purpose of the present investigation. Let us consider an extreme case—the wheat produced in the territory of Dakota, from which point it is now brought in very large quantity, and where some of the furrows are said to be a day's journey in length. The soil is in the finest condition, very deep, full of phosphate, lime, and potash, and has been fertilized by myriads of buffalo roaming over it for ages. Estimates of the cost of raising wheat on these "bonanza farms," so called, vary from 37 to 50 cents a bushel—or from 12s. 4d. to 16s. 8d. per quarter.

Within the limits of the land grant of the Northern Pacific Railroad in that section are wheat-lands of the very best quality, far more than equal to the area of all the land under cultivation in Great Britain and Ireland. The bonds of the Northern Pacific Railroad (which road failed in 1873, but is now appearing to prosper again) are convertible into these lands, and can be purchased at such prices that the land will not cost the buyer more than $2 or $3 per acre. The great farms now under cultivation cost the owners but a trifle, as they were bought with bonds purchased immediately after the panic at a few cents on the dollar. The average product of wheat is twenty to twenty-five bushels per acre.

The intermediate sections of government land can be bought at $1 25 cents to $2 50 cents per acre, and are open to actual settlers under the homestead law without cost.

The cultivation is all done by machinery; and the grain-binder, invented and applied within two or three years, has done away with the last element of manual labour.

It does not seem probable, to say the least, that any other method of cultivation can possibly compete with this, although it is possible that even this section will be excelled in cheapness of production on the irrigated wheat-*manufactories* of Colorado, and in California on lands that are rainless during the harvest season.

It is perfectly safe to assume that the production of wheat in this section will increase so long as it brings half a dollar, or two shillings sterling, per bushel.

How entirely undetermined the cost of transporting wheat from the Red River of the North, in Dakota, to Liverpool, now is, will be seen by the following statement.

The distance may be divided substantially as follows in round figures;—

	Miles.
From Dakota to Chicago	650 to 900
From Chicago to New York or Boston . .	950 to 1,000
Boston or New York to Liverpool, about .	3,000

Within a year the rates of freight between Chicago and the seaboard have varied from $3 to $7 per ton of two thousand pounds.

From the seaboard to Liverpool, from 3d. to 8½d. per bushel, or from $2 to $5 66 cents per ton.

The rate on wheat from Dakota to New York has been from $14 to $16½ per ton. It will thus appear that the charge on the railroad beyond Chicago for an average of about seven hundred miles has been $9 to $10 per ton: therefore, if the traffic this side of Chicago can be carried on at the price of the last year or two, there is a margin for reduction on the distance beyond Chicago to Dakota of $4 to $6 per ton whenever the railway service in that direction is consolidated and worked as effectively on that side of Chicago as it is on this side.

On the whole, it may be said that the charge for moving wheat from the Red River of the North to Liverpool has varied during the past season from $17 to $22 per ton of two thousand pounds, and that there is reason to expect such improvement that the average rate will be $16 to $20, or 48 cents to 60 cents per bushel.

Whatever the wheat brings in Liverpool above this charge and the charge for commissions, insurance, and incidental expenses, constitutes the remuneration of the wheat-manufacturer of Dakota.

These figures are sufficiently accurate for an approximate estimate, and the wheat-cultivation of Dakota increases rapidly under these conditions.

Land in Dakota will average three quarters or twenty-four bushels of wheat per acre in a fair season. The product of an acre can be landed in Liverpool or London at 50 cents or 2s. per bushel now, and prospectively for less, or at £2 8s. for the cost of transportation per acre.

	£	s.
The average return per acre of English wheat land in Dakota for the last six years appears to have been	7	4
Deduct cost of transportation from Dakota	2	8
	4	16
Deduct for insurance and other charges, say about 6 per cent. .	0	6
Remainder	£4	10

A trifle over 90 cents per bushel as the ample remuneration of the farmer in Dakota or elsewhere.

Although all the elements of the problem are thus undetermined, one proposition may be stated dogmatically; to wit, that there are many parts of this country where wheat will be raised in increasing

quantities at and above 50 cents per bushel, and whence it can be carried to Liverpool at 50 cents per bushel, or less, and landed at £1 14s. per quarter.

In respect to maize, it may be said that, upon the fat lands of Indiana and Illinois, a boy working a pair of horses can make one hundred tons in one hundred days in a good season. Upon corn raised at this measure of labour, Western hogs are fed, and the cattle from the plains of Texas and Colorado are fattened.

Such being the conditions, it seems very certain that we shall continue to supply Great Britain and Western Europe with ever-increasing quantities of bread and meat. There will doubtless be a temporary check to our shipments when good seasons return in Europe, which may bring on a commercial temporary revulsion of greater or less severity here, unless our vicious legal-tender paper debt currency is paid and withdrawn from circulation before the change. The change of conditions is, however, a permanent one; and it seems probable, to say the least, that this country must hereafter be the great source of the staple products of grain, meat, and cotton, for the use of the civilised world. It has been suggested, that, whenever Russia and Eastern Europe are in a normal or peaceful condition, their competition will again be felt, and that the opening of the Suez Canal will bring increasing supplies of wheat from India.

To this suggestion it may be answered, that cheap labour, measured by low wages, does not always mean — in fact, seldom means—low cost of production. In the use of complex machinery in the factory or on the farm, a few hands at high wages compass the largest product at the lowest cost.

One operative in Lowell, working machinery one year on cotton-drills for China, produces eight thousand pounds of cloth, enough to clothe sixteen hundred Chinamen for a year at five pounds each, or thirty-two hundred East Indians at two pounds and one-half each. No hand-spinning or weaving can long compete under these conditions; neither can the farm-labourers of India or Eastern Europe compete with the machine-made wheat of the United States.

Our ports at present occupied may be insufficient for the work, and harbours that are now deserted or unused may be connected with our railways in order to provide sufficient room for the great commerce that is to come.

May not the cheap food and other material thus supplied to Great Britain render her mills and works again prosperous, and the export of their products not only secure recompense for her own labourers, but also pay for our own import of tea, coffee, silks, spices, and other Eastern goods?

We sell England the food and the material; England works the

mills and sells the product to the Far East. We buy the tea, coffee, and sugar; in the London clearing-house the balance is settled. The exchange has worked benefit to all, and has harmed none.

Already the increasing demand of our own country is absorbing the product of our own mills, mines, and iron-works, and even more than their product. Already our export of manufactured cotton goods is being affected by the activity of the home demand, and hundreds of looms are being turned from the export fabrics to those used at home.

The independence of nations, and, most of all, of the English-speaking people, asserts itself in spite of all the obstacles that man and nature can interpose; and the Anglo-Saxon race will assert itself and its consanguinity on the two sides of the ocean in the way that must ultimately yield the greatest good to the greatest number.

Upon one-fourteenth part of our whole soil, or upon one-seventh part of that which is fit for agriculture, we produce the hay and roots that we require, and all the grains and cotton that we need ourselves, so that even if we did not produce an ounce of gold or silver within our borders, we could command the treasures of the world. Yet, if we consider the average product per acre in respect to every one of these crops, we find that it does not exceed one-half the quantity that even a reasonably good system of agriculture would bring forth. If we consider the conditions under which each and all of these great crops of grain, hay, and cotton are produced, we find that they represent, in the lesser degree only, the art of agriculture.

We number now nearly or quite fifty million people. A hundred millions could be sustained, without increasing the area of a single farm or adding one to their number, by merely bringing our product up to the average standard of reasonably good agriculture; and then there might remain for export twice the quantity we now send abroad, to feed the hungry in foreign lands. No longer divided by the curse of slavery, this nation is now united by bonds of mutual interest and of common speech, tied by the iron band of eighty-five thousand miles of railway, and is yet only beginning to feel the vital power and grandeur of a truly national existence.

What may be the future of this land few can yet conceive.

Texas alone comprises as much territory as the German Empire, England, and Wales combined. Texas has now about two million people within her boundaries; the Empire of Germany, England and Wales, about sixty-seven millions. The good land in Texas is equal in area to the good land in Germany and Great Britain.

Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa combined, more than equal France in area, and possess more fertile land. Only twenty-five years ago

John Brown and his companions redeemed Kansas from slavery; Nebraska was then indicated on our own maps as a part of "the Great American Desert;" and Iowa had scarcely become a State. Their population may now be two million five hundred thousand. France has thirty-seven millions.

The great middle section of Eastern Tennessee, Northern Georgia, Western Carolina, and Southern Virginia, has been hemmed in by the curse of slavery, and is yet almost a *terra incognita;* but it is replete with wealth in minerals, in timber, and in fertile valleys of almost unequalled climate for health and vigour. This section is equal to the Austrian Empire in its area, and more than equal in resources. It has a sparse population of only one or two millions. The Austrian Empire has over thirty-seven millions.

The healthy upland country of Georgia, Alabama, and the Carolinas contains vast areas of fertile woodland, which can be bought by the hundred thousand acres at half a dollar, or 2s., an acre, on which sheep and cotton thrive equally well. These sections are being slowly occupied by white farmers, and wait for immigrants who can bring them to use. In a few short years, sheep, fed mainly upon the kernel of the cotton-seed and upon the grasses that follow the cotton, will send to market from the same fields, alternately occupied, as much wool as cotton.

This warm section is more than equal to Italy in area: it has perhaps two millions of people. Italy contains twenty-seven millions.

The fertile lands of the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, and along the Potomac in Maryland, more than equal Belgium. They may contain half a million of people. Belgium has more than five millions.

In the consideration of this problem of productive capacity, there are other factors of the greatest importance. What are the burdens to be borne by our people compared to others? What is the mortgage on this land that we possess?

It is but fourteen years since our national debt was over $3,000,000,000. Its full amount never appeared by the books of the treasury, because, before the accounts that were due and unpaid at the end of the war could be audited and entered, $250,000,000 had been paid. Since then it has been reduced $750,000,000 more, and we now owe but $2,000,000,000.

Our army is but a border police of twenty-five thousand men. Before the end of the century our debt may be all paid; and, if justice is done to the Indian tribes, we shall have less need of an army than now.

Let us, however, return to the main purpose of this paper. It has been proved that cheap transportation has been accomplished to a degree that the wildest advocate of a State or national railway

system never dreamed of. In 1869 the average charge on a ton of merchandise, all kinds included, from Chicago to the seaboard, was $24. In 1870 it was a little less than $8, and has been at times much lower. This is the average on all merchandise. Grain and meat are carried at much lower rates; at times as low as $3 60 cents per ton to New York, and, I believe, $2 50 cents per ton to Baltimore.

Within twenty years a revolution has been effected in construction of ocean steamers by the substitution of the screw for the paddle, and the adoption of the compound engine.

Yet we have but entered upon the age of steel: no one yet knows the exact economy of the steel rail. The present locomotive-engine is barbarous in its waste of fuel; not over three or four per cent. of the power of the fuel is utilized by being converted into the actual motion of the train, while the dead weight of the clumsy wooden car averages three to one of the load carried. Not over one pound in a hundred of the fuel consumed is actually and absolutely applied to the movement of the load: the rest is absorbed by waste and friction.

The absolute cost of grain and meat in the West and South-West cannot, as before stated, now be defined with positive accuracy. Suffice it that the present cost and the present rates of transportation have caused a social revolution in the East, and are causing a social revolution in Great Britain. But the future effect of the unknown factor cannot yet be conceived. The ultimate cost of moving grain and meat must be less, and can never be more. There will be greater competition and greater economy. We are constructing thousands of miles of new railway, and hundreds of inventive brains are at work upon the problem of diminishing the cost of construction and operation.

If one per cent. of the absolute power stored up in our coal-beds has sufficed to make the changes we are now witnessing, what will be the effect when we learn how to utilise two per cent. and decrease the other elements of cost in the same proportion? What are the terms of the equation by which we shall convert distance into dollars or pounds sterling a few years hence? In that unknown quantity is not the margin for the rent of land in England to be sought, if any rent is to be paid? and upon the solution of this problem in social mathematics does not the duration of the present social order in Great Britain mainly depend?

In conclusion, the extent of our present railway service may be considered; and for this purpose I avail myself of the carefully prepared tables of Mr. Henry V. Poor, editor of *The Railway Manual of the United States.*

In the year 1879, 3,750 miles were added to our total mileage,

making 85,591 miles in operation January 1, 1880. It is estimated that 6,000 miles will be constructed in 1880, if the rails can be obtained, making the prospective mileage of January 1, 1881, 91,591.

The construction of railways from 1869 to 1873, at the high cost imposed upon the country by the combination of an inflated paper currency and an excessive tariff, doubtless had more to do with the panic of 1873 than any other single factor; but it already appears that the panic, so far as it was caused by railway construction, arose from the bad and speculative methods in these undertakings more than from want of justification in the plans of many of them.

It will be observed, however, that while the railway system as a whole may not have exceeded 2 per cent. in the dividends paid, the New York Central Railroad and its connections, comprising a system of about one thousand miles, remained very profitable during the whole period of depression, as did many other lines.

It will also be observed that, while thus profitable to its owners, the New York Central Railroad system, or consolidated line, does the largest amount of work at the least cost, probably carrying ten million tons in 1879; and that it is the controlling factor in the movement of meat and grain from West to East.

It follows that the great cheapness that has been attained is not temporary, but permanent; and that increase of traffic, within certain limits not yet found, is marked by decrease of cost.

From the statistics of 1879, just compiled, it appears that the average charge on all merchandise over the New York Central Railroad and its connections, was only 0·81 cents per ton per mile.

There is much contention in this country in regard to the railroad corporation as a factor in our own politics, and much complaint is made in respect to alleged monopolies; but it will be observed that the great lines against which this charge is made—to wit, the systems consolidated and designated as the New York Central, the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio—may also be named and designated as comprising the specific miles of railroad on which the largest service is done for the community at the least relative cost.

It would matter not if all these lines were consolidated, even under one man's guidance. The same rule would control him that now controls them all, and compels a constant abatement in the charge, constant improvement in method, and constant reduction in cost of operation. The rule is that it is not the competition of rail with rail that controls or limits the charge that may be made for their use, but the competition of product with product in the great markets of the country and of the world. No man, and no combination of men,

can permanently prevent this competition working its just and beneficent results in the wider distribution of the elements of subsistence, in the abundant consumption of which material prosperity consists.

Prior to the discovery of gold in California and Australia, in 1849 and 1850, there was no mine of either gold or silver of any importance under the control of an English-speaking State, or within reach of a railroad.

In the first few years after these discoveries came the enormous supply of gold from placer-mining or washing under a rude system, and controlled by "Lynch law."

In 1866 the opening of the Pacific Railroads altered all the conditions of the cost of production. The gold and silver bearing states and territories of the United States are now permeated by more than five thousand miles of railways, reaching the very mouths of the mines. Their branches are being constantly extended; and now Arizona and New Mexico, the regions from which the Spaniards derived the greatest supply of these metals, are being penetrated by the railroad in several directions. Hydraulic mining has been perfected, and is conducted in the most complete and scientific manner.

Within one or two years after each mining-camp is established, if the work is profitable, a town or city grows up, law is enforced, and science is applied under safe conditions.

On the flanks of the ridges in which the mines are opened lie the great plains stocked with cattle, and on which, by irrigation, the largest crops of wheat are now produced. Labourers are to be had at moderate wages, and all the conditions of low cost of production have been brought in force, such as never existed before in the history of the world in respect to the precious metals. What the effect of these vast changes may yet be is a question of geology.

First came the surface-washings, next the immense yield of the Comstock lode, and now the wonders of Leadville; while the rumours from Arizona whisper of chances that may eclipse all these. Yet behind all these, attracting far less attention, hydraulic mining is working steadily and surely over areas not yet measured.

In this again the railroad has been the most potent factor. What is to be the result of this new force, applied to unknown quantities of gold and silver, is a problem that the future only can solve.

What is called the "silver question," now agitating many nations, is but one phase of the effect of this new force applied to silver-mining. The effect of the enormous production, especially of gold, since 1850, is yet a question at issue among economists.

It must be remarked here that since 1852 there has been a singular uniformity in the production of gold and silver combined, and this

has been used as an argument for bi-metallism. In Cernuschi's last pamphlet a table is given of "Money issued by Mines, Mountains, and Rivers," from 1849 to 1878 inclusive. The great annual production was reached in 1852, £26,550,000 of gold, £8,120,000 of silver; total, £34,670,000. The variation since then has been, £4,500,000 over in 1853, £3,000,000 less in 1862; the average of twenty-seven years having been £33,677,000. The total product of gold and silver for twenty-seven years, according to this statement, has been as follows:—

Gold	£617,905,000	$2,990,660,200
Silver	291,390,000	1,410,327,600
	£909,295,000	$4,400,987,800

This is rather a large sum; but it may be remarked that the value of the American cotton-crop of the last ten years has been $2,500,000,000 to $3,000,000,000 in gold. We need more cotton than we do gold or silver. But who can tell when the second Comstock lode may be discovered?

It may well be asked, "Has this railroad scaled down the national debts of the world?" If it is to become dangerous to lend money to nations for purposes of war, and *pay as you fight* becomes the rule, the monument about to be erected to the great men by whose efforts the Union Pacific Railroad was constructed, may perhaps bear a tribute to them as among the peacemakers of the world. But this carries us into the region of visionary politics. The Pacific Railroad is but one line completed since the war.

Since April, 1865, we have added fifty thousand miles to our railway service, and the addition in 1880 will be six thousand more. In the same period an industrial revolution has occurred in the States that were made free by the war, such as has never before occurred. On the surface there has appeared to be misgovernment, fraud, political disturbance, and want of stability—sometimes violence.

But, underlying this surface apparently so deeply agitated, great industrial forces have been quietly and surely working to the end indicated by the great crops of cotton; the ten last crops marketed exceeded the ten ante-war crops of slavery by nearly six and a half million bales, while the crop now being marketed will be far the largest ever grown.

It may well be remembered that the constitutions of these Southern States were remodelled after the war on the best methods, and that the great industrial forces now working must soon control their legislation. Violence and anarchy cannot have been the rule in a section that has produced greater crops for sale, and has at the same

time been more self-sustaining than ever before in its history. The political ebullition is but froth upon the surface; the whole region is provided with new opportunities born of liberty, and the leaders of the future are those who are now working out the industrial problems of the present. Liberty, protected by the ballot, has in less than a single generation effaced one-half the wrongs of more than two centuries of slavery. Another decade may be needed to prove these assertions to those who only see the froth upon the surface, and cannot observe the deep, strong currents underneath.

In all these great achievements in human progress—in the production or *leading forth* of the wealth of the mines, the forests, and the soil—it has been the railroad that has made all other inventions worth applying; that has caused abundance to rule where famine might have been, and that is now moulding the institutions of centuries to its imperative law.

This article will not be considered by English readers complete without some reference to the tariff system of the United States. The writer's position in respect to the theory of protection is sufficiently well known not to require a restatement. His explanation of the apparent anomalies in our system may therefore be useful.

The present tariff was not passed as a protective measure, but as a war measure, and at a time when both tariff and excise taxes were considered almost wholly with a view to obtaining the utmost revenue. Crude and unscientific as they may appear, they yet served their purpose well; and in the years 1866 and 1867 they yielded a revenue of $1,000,000,000.

After the war ended, an attempt was made to pass a yet higher tariff as a measure of greater protection, which was defeated; but a lesser special bill upon wool and woollens was passed.

An attempt was made to make the question of free trade a political issue; but this culminated in the fiasco at Cincinnati in 1872, when Horace Greeley, the ablest and most honest advocate of protection who ever attained great influence in the country, was nominated for President by a convention that had been promoted by the advocates of free trade.

It has since become evident to many who took part in that discussion and convention, that the issue was prematurely raised. The panic of 1873, and the disturbed condition of the Southern States, made it evident that there were questions at issue, in the presence of which the tariff question sunk into relative insignificance—such as the questions of good and bad money, and of peace, order, and reconstruction—involving the rights of the lately enfranchised race, to whom the faith of the nation stood pledged. It will not be forgotten by English readers that we have no question connected with the tariff in any degree approaching the importance of the corn laws of

Great Britain, and the events of the last six years of depression and difficulty must have proved to every one that there are factors in social science more potent than any tariff can be, at least in this country.

In the meantime it may be said that a great intellectual change has occurred. The advocates of national isolation have disappeared with the death of Horace Greeley and Henry C. Carey. The interdependence of nations is recognised as fully by the honest and able advocates of what is called "a tariff for revenue with incidental protection," as it is by the advocates of freer trade, who have in these later years been fighting with them for a sound currency and for the equal rights of all men before the law.

This intellectual change is so great, that to many advocates of freer trade it has seemed best to avoid the discussion of the theory, lest the contention should retard, rather than promote, reform. The increase of our exports of manufactures and machinery, although they are yet small in amount as compared to the exports of Great Britain, has yet been sufficient to prove to those who might else have doubted, that the argument for sustaining "infant manufactures" had ceased to apply. It has become apparent to a great many representatives of branches of industry that were formerly urgent for protection, that the extension of their own markets would be greatly promoted by the removal of restrictions upon commerce.

On the other hand, there is a dread of legislative changes: it is said that we are now prospering, and should not be subjected to the agitation of questions which are not urgent, and that, even if our system is not the best, it is better to realise the benefits that we are now enjoying from the restoration of specie payment, and not cause disturbance by tariff changes that would for the moment create uncertainty, even if ultimately beneficial.

But the restoration of the specie standard itself, and our renewed prosperity, have brought into permanent view some of the provisions of our tariff that are obnoxious to moderate protectionists, as well as to the advocates of freer trade; and, on the whole, the modification of the present tariff may be considered as only a question of time. It is to be hoped that it may be taken up and treated as thoroughly as the tariff of Great Britain was in 1840 by the committee appointed at the instance of Joseph Hume, whose report has become a historic document, and which served as the basis of the great series of measures begun under the leadership of Sir Robert Peel, and concluded by Mr. Gladstone; but it is to be hoped that our changes may not take so many years.

It may therefore be said that there is in this matter no question of political science pending or needing discussion; but the question

of tariff reform is one of time and method. It may come in detail or by a general measure carefully prepared to meet the necessity of the country.

It may be hoped that the latter course will be pursued. One of the great evils of such an excessive tariff as that with which we are now burdened is, that it so alters the direction and the conditions of great branches of industry as to make any change difficult; and no man who is not a mere doctrinaire, however devoted he may be to the principles of free trade, would hesitate to admit the claim on the part of those whose capital and labour had been directed into a given channel under the working of a war tariff, that all changes should be fairly considered and gradually made.

Great changes in the legislation of every country must be framed to meet its own condition; and, however sound the principles of free trade may be (and no one could be more convinced on that point than the writer), their adoption must depend in time and method upon the peculiar circumstances of each country and of each period if the opposite policy has long prevailed.

It should be remembered by those who are impatient, that the great reforms in Great Britain were not fairly begun until the disaster to which the protective system had brought all the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests, culminated in the period that preceded the first great reform measures of 1842. Even after that, it needed the Irish famine to force the repeal of the corn laws; and the last of the series of changes begun in 1842 was not completed until 1856, when the registry duty on corn was, I believe, finally removed.

A very erroneous idea prevails to some extent in the United States as to the motive of these reforms; and it is often asserted that they were begun when great prosperity had been achieved by the system of tariff taxation that preceded them. How utterly at variance with the facts this view is, has been overlooked even by many in England. The true state of the case has been recorded in these words:—

"It is impossible to convey, by mere statistics of our exports, any adequate picture of the condition of the nation when Sir Robert Peel took office in 1841. Every interest in the country was alike depressed: in the manufacturing districts, mills and workshops were closed, and property daily depreciated in value; in the seaports, shipping was laid up useless in harbour; agricultural labourers were eking out a miserable existence upon starvation-wages and parochial relief; the revenue was insufficient to meet the national expenditure; the country was brought to the verge of national and universal bankruptcy.

"The protective system, which was supported with the view of rendering the country independent of foreign sources of supply, and thus, it was hoped, fostering the growth of a home trade, had most effectually destroyed that trade by reducing the entire population to beggary, destitution, and want. The

masses of the population were unable to procure food, and had consequently nothing to spend on British manufactures."—Noble's *Fiscal Legislation of Great Britain.*

In conclusion, it may well be considered that the capital of the richest nation in the world never exceeds one, two, or at the utmost three years' production.

In respect to that portion of the active capital which exists in the form of food, the world is always within less than one year of starvation. Yet, on the other hand, there is always enough. Modern invention and modern appliances assure ample production. In quantity there may never be a failure; but where is it?

The only problem that now greatly affects the material welfare of humanity is the problem of distribution. Had one been asked only ten years since, "Can one hundred and fifty million bushels of grain be moved from the prairies of the West five thousand miles in a single season, to feed the suffering millions of Europe, and prevent almost a famine among the nations?" he who had answered, "Yes: it is only necessary to apply the inventions already made, to accomplish that," would have been deemed a visionary.

It has been accomplished.

Had Sir Henry Bessemer refused the title which he now bears, upon the ground that he himself had done more than any living man to break down the social system of which his title marks one of the orders, who would have admitted that his reason was well grounded?

Has he not accomplished this?

When Mr. Vanderbilt planned the consolidation of the corporations that now constitute the New York Central Railroad system, and instituted the measures by which the cost of moving a barrel of flour from Chicago to New York has been reduced from one dollar and a half to half a dollar, and by such measures laid the foundation of the largest fortune ever gained by rightful methods in a single lifetime, what would have been the estimation in which he would have been held, had he then said, "I am laying plans to save England from great distress, from riots and bloodshed, perhaps from violent revolution"? Have not he and others accomplished all this, and more?

In presenting this subject I have endeavoured to give the various aspects. In this world we can make nothing. All we can do is to move something: we cannot create, but we can direct forces. Prosperity depends upon rapid distribution and ample consumption. Capital is worthless even to its owner unless it is worked to these ends; and in the widest distribution of the products of labour is to be found the highest material welfare, both for labourers and for capitalists.

Only when the legislation of a nation complies with this universal

law, can that nation reach its greatest prosperity; and no legislation can have any permanent existence that is not brought into harmony with it. The true test of modern statesmanship lies in the removal of all obstructive statutes, and the adjustment of legislation to this higher law.

Slavery constituted the widest and also the rudest divergence from the true law of production and distribution. Its passive war culminated in active war; with its removal the chief obstruction to material wealth and welfare that legislators could create has been removed from this nation.

More subtle, but not more dangerous, problems are still before both branches of the English-speaking people. In Great Britain the land and Church questions, and the influence of "militarism," must be met. In the United States, the currency, the tariff, and the right government of great cities, will give us little rest during the present century.

When the time shall come for the history of the last half of the nineteenth century to be written, it will be no true record if it omits from among the chief factors, more potent than almost all beside, the American railroad and the English steam-ship; and, from among the greatest names, the names of those who organized and developed them.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

Boston, Massachusetts.

DEMOCRACY IN VICTORIA.

Dangers of the Democratic Form of Government.

I have assumed in the course of my argument that the power of the Second Chamber to obstruct legislation to all time in Victoria is likely to be reduced; that the popular Chamber, having triumphed over its rival, will be constrained to defer more and more to the popular will expressed at general elections or by plébiscites; and that the Assembly is never likely to be stronger relatively in its composition than at present; but that many qualified men of high intelligence, or representing important interests, are likely to all time to be excluded from it. This is precisely the prospect which inspires temperate conservatism with its most profound dread, and with the determination to delay the advent of such a state of things, if it be but for a few years. Men ask themselves, not unnaturally, whether the present state of prosperity under which all classes are quiet and contented can be expected to continue; whether in a period of great and sustained pressure the constituencies can be trusted to apportion taxation equally; whether in the race for political power the most successful demagogue will not always be he who proposes to shift all new burdens on the rich, and whether even property itself may not at last be assailed. The existence of a Second Chamber which may refuse its consent to any innovation seems to be a safeguard, at least, against confiscation; and though it may be argued that a majority which desired to confiscate would soon overbear the constitutional resistance of a legislative council, the practical statesman knows that the English political temperament would recoil from a coup d'état in all but extreme cases, while it would accept without scruple an act even of confiscation that had passed with all necessary forms through Parliament.

I do not think any reasonable man can dispute that there is good apparent ground for such apprehensions as I have described. The importance of the institution of property, and the necessity of maintaining the contract laws by which property is regulated, are matters on which the popular apprehension may easily be misled. The forms of government in which a wealthy minority practically controls legislation and administration would seem to be safest in this respect, and even an absolute monarch, inasmuch as he may be kept in check by revolts or conspiracies, is habitually less dreaded on this side than the government of manhood suffrage. None the

less we know that the most flagrant invasions of proprietary rights have been perpetrated by kings, and parliaments, and nobles; and that neither numbers, nor political status, nor organization have proved real safeguards against spoliation. Numbers have not secured the ryots of Bengal from seeing their proprietary rights transferred to the Zemindars; throughout Ireland and the Highlands a similar change has extinguished the rights of clansmen within the last three centuries; and in England the last century has witnessed a transference of commonage lands from the poor to the rich, which it is not too much to say the poor, had they been really consulted, would never have agreed to. Take again the case of the Catholic Church. It is an organized and powerful body, represented now or anciently in every country of Western Europe by large landowners holding patrician rank, and, beyond all this, it has persuaded millions of men that its property is guarded by a divine curse upon its assailants. In spite of these safeguards Church lands have been diverted from their original purposes by the State in almost every country and transferred to new proprietors. Take, again, the resumption of Crown lands, such as that which Charles I. of England attempted, or that which Charles XI. of Sweden actually carried out in his memorable Reduction, or the forcible abolition of feudal dues, and of the landowners' rights over labour, which have been effected in Russia and Germany. The result will be even more striking if we look at the way in which Government for a long time dealt with the most solemn obligations to discharge national debts. The financial history of Europe down to the last century, at best, is a long record of debased currencies, extorted and partially paid loans, or repudiated debts. The Bank Resumption Act which Sir Robert Peel carried through was assailed at the time, and has constantly been assailed by men respectable for character, and even for intellect; and if Peel himself had not been a convert at the eleventh hour to Ricardo's reasonings, England would probably have been committed to the repudiation of a solemn contract. The Bland Silver Bill, by which the debtor pays back silver for gold, has been passed by the two representative chambers of a highly intelligent people, who would not, I think, consciously do a dishonest thing. Taking into account all these instances of high-handed dealing with property or with contract, I cannot wonder if wealthy men feel alarmed lest the country they are living in should adopt a form of government under which change may be more easily possible. Neither do I claim for Victorian democracy that it is secured from blundering, even heavily, in financial matters. I do not claim that an average constituency is more enlightened or less likely to be biassed by self-interest than the Legislative Council; and while I wish to see power transferred from the Council to the constituencies,

I can only say that I think the constituencies are not sensibly inferior in education or intellect to the Second Chamber, and are perhaps more amenable to reason.

Let me take two strong instances of the way in which historical experience acts as a safeguard upon society. It is a commonplace of political talk to assume that change in England is never violent; that

> "Freedom slowly broadens down
> From precedent to precedent."

But in fact this disinclination to violent change is only a feature of the last century and a half at most. The Rebellion, the Revolution, and the risings of 1715 and 1745, stamped us for some time, especially among our more orderly French neighbours, as one of the most turbulent peoples in Europe. At this distance of time, when we look back gratefully to the great settlement of the constitution which the Bill of Rights effected, and to the numerous legal reforms which the Restoration adopted from the Rebellion, we are apt to forget what a sense of discouragement must have stolen over the men who lived under Charles II. and James II. The corrupt Church restored; the crown as absolute as ever, and the court more profligate; the Upper House re-invested with power, and filled with men who had grown up in the slums of Paris and Brussels; a searching persecution of nonconformity; literature profoundly debased; the judges mere sycophants, and the soldiers hirelings; dishonour abroad, and bankruptcy and three-fold taxation at home; these had been the visible outcome of the most orderly and successful revolution the history of that time recorded. It surely is not too much to say that an ordinary observer in 1687 might well have considered that all the fruits of nearly fifty years' struggle had been lost; and that the same man ten years later might still have felt a vivid distrust whether the change for the better could continue. Let no one suppose that the lesson of that time was not burned as it were into the memories of Englishmen; or that it is not inherited to this day, even by those who are unconscious of its full significance. The case of France is perhaps even stronger. The great mass of the French people heartily accepts the Revolution of 1789, and ascribes to it even more than it really achieved. But the recollection of these terrible episodes, during which thousands of innocent persons were sent to prison or to the scaffold, has not been obliterated by attachment to the substantial principles of the Revolution. Accordingly in 1830 the greatest desire was manifested to revert as quickly as possible from revolutionary to constitutional rule, and in 1848, 1851, and 1871 society showed itself willing to accept any leader who would save it from disorder in the streets of Paris. We may surely add that the lessons of

French history, known at least in their general results to the whole world, are part of the whole world's experience, and so much of the Englishman's distrust in violent change as he does not inherit from his ancestors, he derives from observation—often no doubt a prejudiced observation—of France.

Take another and stronger because a simpler case. For a long time every European government considered it the most obvious of financial expedients to cheat its creditors. What we call a pound is about one-third of the old pound of silver, which the sovereign ought to represent, and yet England is, in this respect, incomparably above the rest of the world; and the French livre or franc, for instance, is little more than an eightieth of the pound troy. So, again, with national debts. Down to the time of William III. no English government was punctiliously careful to meet its engagements with its creditors, and the governments of Edward III. and Charles II. repudiated solemn engagements for a time, or absolutely. France was again, in this respect, very much below the English standard, and the history of the eighteenth century in France has several instances of actual fraud on the national creditor. At present there is not a single civilised nation that would dare to debase its currency; no civilised State, except Spain, has repudiated a debt for sixty years past; and the opinion that no government will repudiate is so profoundly rooted in the public mind, that money is advanced recklessly to States like Turkey and Egypt, that have never acquired the financial experience of Western Europe. Of course, I am not saying that the public creditor is secure, even in England, against the hazard of being defrauded. The hesitation that preceded the resumptions of cash payments in 1819 shows that even an English Parliament might easily have been misled into borrowing in one currency and paying in another; and it is not, I think, unfair to describe the Bland Silver Bill as an instance in point of this mistake. What I mean to say is, that I think no government of a civilised State at the present day will deliberately do anything in the eyes of the world, that the world will agree instantly to proclaim a fraud; and the fact that certain States pay in inferior money, or take back part of their interest from the foreign creditor in the shape of a heavy income tax, only shows that rather complicated financial matters are not as thoroughly or as universally apprehended as very simple ones. Now even an optimist will not, I think, maintain that the change for the better is due to any increased morality; and it certainly is not due to the fact that governments are less popular now than that of France was in the eighteenth century. Public morality stands much where it did, the weak habitually going to the wall; and governments have become more sensitive to democratic influences. The great change is, that all civilised communities have

learned by experience not only that it does not pay in the long run to be dishonest, but that heavy loss ensues instantly when the national credit is impaired.

Now it is not more certain that a State will lose by repudiating its engagements, than it is that the community at large will suffer, or at least not gain to any appreciable extent financially, by any dealing with property that strikes the moral sense of the time as unjust. I am not saying that the State may not now and again be constrained by reasons of high policy, and because its own existence is at stake, to lay forcible hands upon Church Lands, or upon alienated State domains, or roughly to annul the contract law that settles the relations of proprietor and tenant. No man feels more strongly than I do that there is scarcely a use to which Church lands can be applied, that is not better than the uses to which they were put in England before the Reformation, or down to a much later time in France, Italy, and Spain. But while I think it can be shown that the State has gained by diverting money from superstitious uses, by bringing lands held in mortmain into the market, and by breaking the power of men who are the natural enemies of civil government, I think it can be shown also that the process of confiscation has been in the earlier cases an inexpensive one, and in the later not remunerative. Take the case of the English Reformation. It was no sudden act of violence, for to secularise some portion of the Church lands had been part of the popular programme for a century and a half. It was carried out with as much regard to legal forms as was possible. But the gain it brought to the Treasury was inconceivably small if we consider how enormous the Church revenues were. A great deal had to be set aside for pensioning off those who had taken the terms offered by Government. Influential members of parliament and official hangers-on had to be bribed with a great deal more; and a large part of the small remainder was wasted in putting down civil rebellions which the suppression had provoked, or in guarding against invasion from the Catholic powers. Neither was it easy to convert the confiscated property into money without serious loss. Bells had to be shipped to Spain and other Catholic countries for sale; and there was a good deal of waste and a good deal of plunder. Lastly, there was an unsettled state of feeling in the country, under which public credit almost disappeared, till it was restored by the success of Elizabeth's administration. Before the end of Elizabeth's reign the good results of the measure had no doubt become apparent; and the Crown in particular enjoyed a fair, though hardly a good revenue from its increased domain. Even so, when all encumbrances on Church lands had been paid off and national credit restored, it will be found, I think, that the Crown was not richer by more than about a tenth of the property it had seized. The real gain to England was

in the transformation of national character that ensued as the people were penetrated by new thought.

It is not profitable for statesmen to assail property. The immediate popularity of an agrarian reformer or a Church spoiler may be great, but he is certain to find in the end that he has roused expectations which he cannot gratify, and provoked animosities which will never be appeased. The moment Thomas Cromwell declined in popular favour, he was sacrificed by the master he had served, and by the nobles and gentry he had enriched. Mr. Gladstone has the Church against him throughout the empire for having dared to lay hands on the ark of the Irish Establishment; and Mr. Bright, who has lived to see Free Trade believed in by landowners, is not yet forgiven for his attacks on land monopoly. The Swedish Reduction, which I have instanced, was an important element in the causes that determined the loss of Livonia to Sweden; the nobles of Gallicia petitioned Nicholas to annex them to Russia in revenge for their treatment by Austria; and the Civil War in the United States was determined by the exasperation of men whose right of property in slaves seemed to be assailed. The most moderate of Reformers, a Stein or a Cavour, can only be sustained in his task by a sense of its absolute necessity. An unprincipled man, or one not sustained by intellectual convictions and a high purpose (and it is these who are justly dreaded), will find it much easier and more profitable to disappoint the followers who have raised him to power, than to make war upon the vested interests of the country—upon banks, merchants, or landowners, who are certain to coalesce in one another's defence. "I have known four-and-twenty leaders of revolt," says Cardinal De Retz; "and every one, it will be remembered, has failed to use power for the end for which he acquired it."

Although, however, it may not be the interest of democratic statesmen to make a raid upon property under ordinary circumstances, it may occur that such a policy may be, as it were, forced upon them. The profuse expenditure which I have assumed unprincipled men will advocate, leads inevitably to bankrupt finances and an impaired credit, under which laws cannot perhaps be negotiated. Then comes the critical moment for property; and assuming, as I have done, for the sake of argument, that the men in power are absolutely immoral, I am constrained to admit that they will probably face the distant danger of the resentment of the wealthy classes sooner than resign office. Again, even if we suppose that the adventurers who saddled the country with debt are driven from office by public indignation, there will still remain many elements of danger: a people accustomed to profuse Government expenditure, to high wages and short work, an impaired tone of

morality, and the pressure of actual want. It is not extravagant to assume that proposals for some modified form of national bankruptcy, or for some dishonest way of assuming the national burdens, will be eagerly listened to in such a moment. It will be said that the public debt was improperly contracted, or that it has been disbursed in the interest of the rich, and ought to be recovered from them.

The great safeguard against such a danger will be found, I think, to lie in laws especially designed to promote the subdivision of land. The violent remedy of repudiating a national debt, shutting out, as it does, all hope of borrowing for the future, is never likely to be resorted to, except in the last extremity, by an English-speaking people. Neither is it easy to attack any form of property except land. Were the State, for instance, to lay an exorbitant tax upon bank shares, the banks would retaliate with tremendous effect by raising the rate of discount, and, meanwhile, would gradually arrange to transfer their capital from the country. But land cannot be transferred, cannot be concealed, and appears to invite attack in times of depression as the most stable of investments. In England no one charges the large landowners as a body with having come unjustly by their estates; and every one knows that land is heavily burdened. In Victoria there is a wide-spread belief that many of our richest men have acquired tracts of valuable land by interest in official quarters, by evasions of the law, or by what is popularly known as "dummying," that is, by suborning men to swear that they are taking up land for themselves, when they are really taking it up in the interest of a capitalist. The land thus acquired has been increased in value by a State expenditure of some fifteen millions on railways, and till 1878 contributed nothing to the exchequer. About two hundred men own rather more than a third of the public land actually alienated in Victoria; and at least that proportion of the best land. Let it be admitted that these men are good specimens of the average Scotchman or Englishman, keen-sighted, energetic, and industrious; living, as a race, decorously, and not guilty of the special offences that have ruined a territorial nobility elsewhere; having no right of compelling labour, and no special privilege of preserving game, and no power to control the political convictions or invade the homes of their poorer neighbours. Society is not influenced by the consideration of these vulgar or negative merits. It can speak and think temperately of men, who by virtue of necessity have never offended like French Seigneurs or Southern slave-owners; but it declines to shut its eyes to the fact that they have, as a rule, soiled their hands in gathering land, and that they habitually use it so as to keep large tracts of fertile land in the shape of unpeopled wastes. I confess to thinking that they might be the subjects of very dangerous experiments in class legislation, if the

present tendency to the aggregation of large estates is not decisively checked. In saying this, I do not conceive that I am bringing any special indictment against the Victorian democracy. I do not suppose that it will handle the large landowners more violently than the British Parliament has handled those of Ireland in the Encumbered Estates Act and the Land Tenure Act; but I think it will deal with them in the same spirit and just as decisively.

Considering all this, and holding that the great safeguard for property is to interest a large portion of the community in its defence, I hold that this is especially desirable where the property is like land, or the funds, of a nature not to be carried out of the country. I hope to show presently that there is not the smallest reason to suppose that any great subdivision of land will be effected in Victoria by natural causes. But the matter is one in which uncertainty cannot be tolerated. The whole structure of civil society is so intimately bound up with the possession of property, that no theories about the "*à priori*" right of men to invest money as they like ought to deter the State in Victoria from limiting the right of investment in land. No one doubts the propriety of mortmain laws, and there is not a reason urged against the acquisition of land by ecclesiastical corporations that does not apply more or less to the buying up of land by a few capitalists. It may be that individual families are broken up rather faster than religious foundations; but even in these cases the land will not pass under the circumstances of modern society into the hands of small holders, or will only pass for a time.

Two-thirds of Great Britain and Ireland are owned by less than thirteen thousand landowners. In France, where the total population is only larger than that of Great Britain by one eighteenth at most, there are five hundred and fifty thousand owners for the two-thirds of the land that is held in comparatively large properties. In other words, there is forty times as much power of resistance in France to any attack by an administration on landed property to what there is in England. We have been kept safe hitherto by that habit of legality and that acquired dread of violent change which I have indicated as the first natural safeguard of property. France has achieved the same result by her law of subdivision, which has extricated her from the violent experiments of the revolution succeeding to the chaos of the old *régime*. She has at present two safeguards where we have only one, and her credit in the money-market, which was non-existent less than a century ago, now rivals that of England. Were Frenchmen educated like North Germans, were the country quite assured against Ultramontane reactions or Communistic experiments, there seems no limit to the prosperity France might achieve. My ambition for a young community like

that of Victoria is that it should leave nothing to chance. It cannot say, like England, that it has lasted a thousand years, though its people are really saturated with English feeling; and, wanting this visible historical safeguard, it is all the more bound to secure itself against the dangers that threaten every democracy, by inducing as many as may be of its citizens to take shares, if I may so express it, in the fatherland.

How Land has been Acquired in Victoria.

I have said incidentally that Victorian landowners are often charged with having acquired land by fraudulent evasions of law. They are apt to retort that they were constrained to acquire land by dishonest class legislation, and that at worst they have only encountered legal tyranny by legal chicanery. I believe there is truth in both statements. I think the land policy of Victorian governments (and more or less of Australian governments generally) has been short-sighted, and occasionally oppressive, and I think there is no doubt that many landowners, believing themselves the object of unjust attack, have not been scrupulous in the means by which they secured or enlarged their estates.

Without going to the very beginnings of the colony, I will try to explain the system under which Victoria found itself at the time when the first discovery of gold lifted the colony into sudden wealth and pre-eminence. At that time the land systems of Victoria and New South Wales (of which Victoria was part down to 1851) were regulated by certain Orders in Council which divided the land into three classes. A small area of good land in the neighbourhood of the first large towns was reserved for agricultural settlement; the great mass of inferior land was held under pastoral leases for terms not exceeding fourteen years by tenants who had, or claimed to have, a right of pre-occupation at £1 an acre; and the remainder, or intermediate land, was held for shorter terms much in the same way, but with a definite right on the part of the State to put up the land for sale, year by year, with the right of pre-emption to the lessee. Until gold was discovered, this system was substantially fair and sound. Its opponents urge that it hindered population from scattering, and confined it to certain areas selected by the Lands Office, which did not always make the wisest choice; but, for reasons I shall presently explain, the scattering of population in a new country is a very doubtful advantage. Neither can it, I think, be said that the squatter's pre-emptive right was of dangerous value, had it ever been allowed. There were cases, no doubt, where far-sighted men settled on exceptionally good land, or in an exceptional position, made use of a similar power to acquire land in comparatively large blocks under special surveys. But a man holding one hundred thousand acres

from the Crown at a rent of a few hundred pounds, found it more profitable to remain a tenant than to borrow £100,000, if such an operation were possible, at any interest, that he might purchase his run for himself and his heirs.

The discovery of gold changed all this. The country was crowded with sturdy colonists, who had made what to them were small fortunes at gold-mining, and who were anxious to settle in the land. The old restricted area of reserved agricultural land was insufficient for their wants, not because they could not have been supplied out of it, if it had been rateably divided among them, but because they knew the capabilities of the country in every direction, and were not disposed to purchase inferior land while better was to be had in the Crown domain. On the other hand, when the panic of the first rush had subsided, and it was known that the pastoral interest would not be ruined for want of shepherds and shearers, the pastoral tenants of the Crown naturally began to think of exercising their pre-emptive rights. The land was certain to increase in value, and the banks, rich in deposits of gold, were ready to advance money to sagacious speculators in real estate. The Government had to decide rapidly on a policy. It decided on disowning the pre-emptive right accorded by the Orders in Council, and this decision was confirmed on appeal by the Home Government (November, 1853). Technically, I think the squatters are right in claiming that the letter of the law was on their side, and that those who were willing to purchase had the right to do so, down to the time at least when, after due notice given, new Orders should be framed and new laws passed. As it was, the bargain between the Crown and its pastoral tenants was hastily determined in its own favour by the Crown as soon as the balance of profit appeared to incline against it. The case is another illustration that land cannot be regarded only as matter for barter and sale, and that the supreme interest of the community must at critical junctures override written contracts. Even Downing Street was dismayed at the prospect that the fee-simple of a colony might pass at what were now nominal prices into the hands of a few hundred capitalists.

The State now had a large domain to alienate, but the practice of the Lands Office restricted the sale of land to blocks that averaged nearly six hundred acres (1851—1853), and men accordingly left the colony by hundreds for South Australia, where it could be purchased in eighty-acre sections. The evil of this exodus, and the discontent of those who remained in the country, forced a further revision of the land system upon legislators. The difficulty of dealing with it in a satisfactory way soon became evident.

One of the first difficulties in disposing of land in a new country is to know whether selection before survey shall be allowed. Wealthy men often favour the system of selection before survey in large

blocks, and poor men are even more zealous in advocating the right to fix their homesteads where they will. The great arguments for the system are, that it seems to reward enterprise in early explorers, if men who discover a good site for a town, good mining land, good corn-land, or rich pastures, are allowed to secure the fruits of their discovery; and that men allowed to scatter at will are more likely to colonise profitably than men whose homes are assigned them by a department. Where the system only allows of selection in large blocks, the further recommendation is added, that the expenses of survey are certain not to exceed the profits of sale. Experience, however, has shown that the State loses largely under either system. In Victoria a great deal of land that rose within ten years to be worth £30 or £50 an acre, passed in large blocks to the private purchaser at £1 an acre; and it has often happened that the land thus acquired has been held at exorbitant prices, to the injury of the community. The system of free selection for small homesteads, which has been the curse of New South Wales in particular, is tainted with a worse defect. No small landowner can live honestly at a distance from roads and a market. Accordingly, when men go into the remote parts of the colony and pick out choice bits of land, they do it with the intention of being bought out at an exorbitant price by the pastoral tenant on whose run they have settled, and they habitually annoy or pillage him till they have extorted terms. The State loses absolutely by a transaction of this kind, as it has to send a surveyor several hundred miles into the bush to map out one or two hundred acres, which it would otherwise sell later on, at the time of a general survey, almost costlessly. The chief effects of the system are to demoralise the men who profit by it, and to stimulate class hatreds.

In default of free selection before survey, it has seemed natural to introduce free selection after survey. Large blocks of country are surveyed and cut up into sections of various sizes, and then offered at auction at an upset price of £1 an acre. In South Australia, where a great deal of the best land lies in a continuous tract north of Adelaide, this system has been comparatively successful, because it was possible to advance steadily on, selling the land that lay nearest the capital first, and leaving the most remote till the last. Even in South Australia, however, this system has been materially modified, and the right to bid has been restricted by limiting the amount which any single person may acquire at the first sales. In Victoria the good land is distributed in patches, and the Crown Lands Department could not confine itself to land near Melbourne, unless it was prepared to settle men upon inferior land, or to keep them waiting year after year for the best. The common plan has accordingly been to put up blocks of land for sale in different parts

of the colony. The result under the auction system was that the wealthy residents in a district would arrange among themselves not to bid against one another, and perhaps so make a common purse for bidding against the small farmer, who, after purchasing one section, might find that all near it were run up to extravagant prices. At a later period the large landowner in his turn was fleeced by land agents, who, possessing a few hundreds, would threaten to run up every section successively, if they were not employed to buy the land at a commission of 6*d.* or 1*s.* an acre. To borrow a term from London auctions, colonial land sales generally terminated in a knock-out between capitalist and agent; the small settler, whom the State desired to favour, being habitually the man who went to the wall; who either got no land at all, or bought it in small parcels at high prices.

As the auction system broke down, Victorian statesmen were constrained to devise some new method of disposing of the land, so that men of small means might be able to buy and settle on it. The Land Act of 1862, framed by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, presents the broad outlines of all subsequent Victorian legislation in land, though the measure itself, from certain faults of detail, was a sudden failure. The Duffy Land Act provided that four million acres of the best land should be thrown open at once to selectors; that the first applicant should be preferred; that the price should be £1 an acre, payable in eight annual instalments of 2*s.* 6*d.*; and that a title should not be given unless certain improvements had been executed—such as the erection of a dwelling-house. The first glaring fault of this measure, and one which it is fair to say has been repeated in all subsequent legislation, was that the arbitrary valuation of £1 an acre represented nothing like the value of the land parted with by the State, which was even then in many instances worth from £6 to £10 an acre, or even more. Consequently the highest inducement was given to land speculators of every kind to defraud the law. Persons qualified to select, but who as dwellers in towns, or for any other reason, had no wish to take up land, were easily induced to assign their right of selection; and the landowner or land agent, armed with various powers of attorney, having the banks at his back, and knowing the land, as a rule, better than the small selectors, easily succeeded in getting possession of large blocks of land at nominal prices. Then, again, the clause relating to improvements was so vaguely worded that a legal compliance with it involved nothing more than the putting together a few sheets of bark or a few slabs with a door in imitation of a house.[1] The failure of the Duffy Act was so signal that its operations were suspended in

(1) In one case, where minute inspection was not anticipated, only the front wall of the chimney was built.

three months; not, however, before two million acres had been alienated from the public domain on nominal terms, and chiefly to rich men, while the pastoral tenants outside the areas of selection have received renewed leases for nine years, practically in compensation for the supposed losses which the landed interest had sustained by the sales.

The next Land Act, carried by Mr. Grant in 1865, avoided the patent defects of the Duffy Act. Selectors were now to ballot for right of choice, and the fortunate selector was not only to put up improvements, but to reside three years on his land before he obtained a grant. Again the ingenuity of the law-evader proved too great for the law. Under a clause allowing the subdivision of leases, a squatter would enter into partnership with some men of straw, who resided on the land for three years, and then sold out; or by a similar, but rather more hazardous method, bogus selectors were put forward, whose expenses were paid by the capitalist, on the understanding that they should sell out to him as soon as a title was secured. As these "dummies," as they were called, might easily be more numerous than the genuine selectors, the chances of the ballot were neutralised. The operation of this bill may readily be understood by a hypothetical case. Assume a squatter anxious to secure ten thousand acres that had been put up for sale on his run, or as much of them as he could. The land would be subdivided for selection in allotments of six hundred and forty acres, or thereabouts, and the squatter might easily secure three-fifths of this by ten successful dummies. Putting the wages paid to these men during the three years of residence at £100 apiece, and allowing £200 more in each case for improvements, and a bonus on the transfer of the land, we get a cost of £500 on each selection, besides the £640 paid to the State. Altogether the squatter has got the land at a third or half of its value. Meanwhile he has incurred considerable risk. The licensee cannot assign his lease or transfer his interest in it during the currency of the license, and the land-jobber has, therefore, had to depend for several years on the honour of the man who has been defrauding the law. Of course there have often been cases where the dummy has stuck to the land purchased with his employer's money, or has had to be bought out on higher terms than were originally covenanted.[1] If the State has detected the fraud, the license has been cancelled and the land forfeited. It will perhaps be seen also that the squatter's success has not been very valuable, since his land, in the case I have assumed, is shared with him by six *bonâ fide* selectors. Practically, however, these men will soon

(1) On the other hand, there have been cases where dummies planted on land that was too poor for agriculture, had to abide by their bargains, because the squatter who employed them had got into difficulties and could not relieve them.

find that their holdings are too much for them, and that girdled as they are by large estates, they have no proper markets or roads for what they produce. They will be the first to ask their wealthy neighbours to buy from them, and will sell out on good terms, to begin selection again in some part where land is cheaper and more plentiful.

The Land Act of 1869, introduced by Mr. Grant, in conjunction with Mr. Casey, represents the improvements which the framer of a moderately successful land law found necessary after the experience of four years in its working. Free selection in the widest sense of the word was now naturalised in Victoria, and the selector might fix where he would settle on any portion of the Crown domain, leased or not leased; and having pegged out an allotment, might demand that the Crown should send an authorised surveyor to survey it for him. Another and most important clause (which, however, only carried out the intention of the previous Act) declared that no claim at law or in equity under a Crown license could be entertained or enforced in any court against the revocation and resumption of such a license; in other words, that the decisions of the Ministers of Crown Lands could not be appealed against or reviewed even in the Supreme Court. The insertion of this clause was due to the general impression that the Supreme Court always ruled against land reform; and in particular to the strong impression produced by a judgment in the case of the Queen *v.* Taylor and Curtis, in which the court quashed certain convictions that had been obtained for alleged evasions of the Land Act, on the general ground (amongst others) that their honours "considered the right of capital to seek investment as a common law right; that they would not give any act calculated to restrict that right a favourable construction, but treat it as a penal enactment." In other words, the judges had made up their minds that it was their business not to interpret the law as Parliament had meant to frame it, but to give it such a construction as should be agreeable to sound principles of political economy.

By the last amending Land Act—Mr. Longman's of 1873—the term of residence before title-deeds are given is extended from three years to six, and a class of non-resident selectors is created, who are to pay £2 an acre purchase-money, and to spend £1 an acre on improvements. The provisions are not very important in themselves, and the second is practically a dead letter; but the first proves that dummying is believed still to exist, although the best land has been selected, and though land throughout the colony has decreased in selling value through bad times and a land-tax.

The evils of the system I have described can scarcely be exaggerated. The State offers a bonus to artisans and miners to exchange

their actual employments for settlement on the land, not because it has made or can make farming profitable, but because it offers to give them the land below its value, if they will live upon it for six years. The State further stipulates that they shall not farm in the way most profitable to themselves; they must not economise farm-buildings for a time by living together, but each must reside within a mile of his allotment; every section must be enclosed with a fence, though it may have a natural boundary on one side or more; and one acre in ten must be cultivated, though the land be good natural pasture, fit for dairy farming and only injured by the plough. The State has, in fact, said to its citizens, "Give up the work you can best do; do work that you don't understand in a way that is known not to be profitable, and at the end of six years' idleness, or of unprofitable work, you shall have a property that your wealthy neighbour will buy from you, and which he will be the more willing to buy if you have annoyed or injured him." Even this is only a portion of the case. The Land Law having for its object to encourage selection by families, and giving the land below its value for homesteads, naturally exacts from every applicant an affidavit that he intends to comply with its provisions, and is thus a constant cause of perjury and subornation of perjury. A former official of the Crown Lands Office actually published a pamphlet to show how "dummies" could cheat their principals, in the hope of making the incessant frauds on the State domain unprofitable. Then, again, the selector requires to have his application backed by a local land board, which certifies after survey that there is no objection such as might arise from previous occupancy, or previous or concurrent occupation. These boards, however, only meet at times, and are sometimes very dilatory in the dispatch of business, so that instances have occurred in which a man has been kept waiting eighteen months or two years for the license without which he could not safely enter upon his land. It is said that in some cases squatters who were anxious to keep the selectors off the land have done it through the agency of the land boards, by obtaining, for instance, that the land board should insist on an unnecessary road (which it would be expensive to fence off) being taken through the selection. And, last of all, the enormous power given almost of necessity to the Minister of Land, and shared by two subordinates, may undoubtedly be misused in the interest of political partisans, if not for private gain.

Had the Victorian land law succeeded in its proposed objects, in preventing the formation of large estates or in creating a real yeomanry, there would at least be some set-off to the evils I have indicated. But it has failed signally in both these respects, and the failure threatens to be irretrievable if the present system is con-

tinued. By the last returns the land alienated from the Crown in fee-simple amounts to 11,458,634 acres, and of this 4,679,162 are divided between 214 owners of estates of over 10,000 acres, 36 of whom own more than 30,000 acres apiece, while one alone owns about 160,000 acres. It may be supposed that there is an offset to this in the 7,064,712 acres which are now in process of alienation to selectors, under deferred payments. Past experience does not warrant any hope of the kind. Out of nearly two million acres alienated under the Land Act of 1862, "so far as I can form an opinion," says the Surveyor-General, "not 2 per cent. now remains in the occupation of the original selectors." The Land Act of 1865 has not been much more successful. "I estimate," says Mr. Skene, "but with less confidence than in the previous case, that the genuine settlement under this Act is disclosed between the limits of 15 per cent. and 25 per cent. of the gross area (1,499,910 acres) on which full payments were made." He would be a sanguine man who should anticipate a very different result from the selections now in progress under the Acts of 1869 and 1878.

The evil being patent, it remains to consider the chief remedies that have been proposed. All thinking men, I believe, are agreed that the present cumbrous system ought to be swept away. Conservatives—that is, the wealthy class—would then wish the State to revert to the auction system, letting land, as they say, fetch its natural price, and argue that natural causes, debt, and death, will break up the overgrown estates, or that men will sell in small parcels as they find a class of small purchasers springing up. I have tried to show that the system of land auctions is generally worked to the benefit of the capitalist and to the exclusion of his small competitor, and to the loss of the State. As regards the other argument, I can only say that I know of no case in history where large properties have been broken up by natural causes in any proportion to the increase of population.

Those of the Liberal party in Victoria who see the shortcomings of the present system are inclined to favour one of two plans or the two combined, as they are in no sense antagonistic: that State lands for the future shall be leased and not sold, and that a Progressive Land Tax shall be imposed, rising with the size of estates till it becomes prohibitive. The former of these plans was advocated with great ability in a series of tracts issued by a Land Tenure Reform League (1870—1873), whose most prominent members, Mr. Gresham and Mr. Savage, did their work with great ability, and have attracted the favourable attention of Mr. J. S. Mill and of Mr. de Laveleye. More lately Mr. David Syme, in a remarkable article in the *Melbourne Review*,[1] has called attention to the enormous

(1) July, 1879.

growth in value of town property in Melbourne and the suburbs, amounting in many instances to several thousands per cent. per annum, and has drawn the natural inference that the State, in parting with its city allotments for the nominal prices given in early days, has acted like a young prodigal selling the reversion of his estate for a song. Divested of some unessential details, Mr. Graham's proposal was that the State should sell no more land, but grant thirty years' leases with fixity of tenure and right of transfer; and Mr. Savage calculated that the land still unsold would yield a rental of from two to three millions a year, or practically enough to make the country independent of other taxation. I confess I believe this estimate to be enormously too sanguine for present times, and would prefer to consider the theory with a view to its prospective advantages. It seems to me to have two very strong recommendations. In the first place it is a distinct advantage that the farming class, which is commonly not very wealthy, should not be forced to find the purchase-money of their land as well as the capital with which to work it. This I think has been the strong point of the English system hitherto, and its one set-off against the superior economy of "la petite culture" in all other respects. Next, under this system the State gets the benefit of the "unearned increment" of the rise in value occasioned by cheaper means of transport and the growth of towns, and increased purchasing power in the population. Provided therefore the receipts from leased lands be sufficient to compensate it for the discontinuance of land-sales, the State loses nothing by the proposed system, and is likely to gain largely when the first leases fall in. The danger attending a land tenure of this kind, if it were universal, would I think be, that the State would have too many tenants able to vote about the right of removal for their leases. It is even now impossible to collect the sums due for land in a bad year, although these sums are instalments of purchase-money; it would be impossible, I think, ever to collect arrears of rent. I should therefore prefer myself to see the Crown lands partly sold and partly leased, were we beginning our history again; and certainly have no wish to see the alienated lands bought back by the State. Unhappily, the practical importance of this theory is now much smaller than it was. From 1870 to 1873, more than eight millions of acres have been alienated, and these chiefly of course of the best land. Consequently, if it should ever happen that the experiment suggested by the Land Tenure Reform League be tried, it can only be applied to a third at most of our valuable area, and this the worst part for fertility, and the least capable of being let out in small farms. Of course, here and there, unsuspected sources of wealth may be developed, and new towns may spring up in which Mr. Syme's principle of alienating on

building leases may be tested; but the day in which this theory might have been fruitful of really great results has, I fear, passed away.

The theory of a progressive land-tax was first, I believe, vaguely advocated by Mr. Everard, in the Parliament of 1869, and was reproduced and developed systematically first by Sir Charles Duffy in 1871 and afterwards by Mr. Woods (1873), who, however, did not succeed in starting a debate or pressing his motion to a vote, and it had become one of the most popular election cries during the early part of 1877. I myself took a great interest in the agitation at this time, and propose to explain the plan I advocated, which is more moderate than that put forward by Mr. Wood. I proposed that every man should return the amount at which his land had been bought from the State, the value of the permanent improvements upon it, and its present value; and that, in order to prevent fraud, the State should have the right, and should occasionally exercise it, of buying up the land at the value set upon it. A land-tax should then be imposed on the difference between the first two values and the third, so that only the unearned increment should be taxed; and the tax should vary with acreage, so that if it were 10 per cent. on estates of ten thousand acres, it might rise to be 20 per cent. on estates of forty thousand, and 30 per cent. on estates of seventy thousand; only the surplusage in each case paying the enhanced rate. An official return now before me shows that the aggregate value of estates subject to the present land-tax is nearly £26,000,000 on a very low estimate. The price paid to the State for these lands has been about £13,000,000, and I suppose £3,000,000 would be a large estimate for improvements. The £10,000,000 which this would leave, at 6 per cent., our lowest rate of interest, would yield the State £600,000 a year for the operations of a land-tax, and this, even if the tax were 10 per cent. and progressive, as I assume it should be, would not swell it to more than about £80,000 a year. As, however, every estate that I know about has been undervalued in the present assessment, which only takes account of its grazing capacities and deals with these very liberally, I think I am right in assuming that under the system I have proposed, in which the owner would not dare to under-value, the real taxable margin would be nearer £30,000,000 than £20,000,000. A tax averaging about £200,000 a year on property the net rental of which cannot be estimated below £2,000,000, would satisfy the most extreme of Victorian Radicals.

Opponents of the progressive land-tax, however, do not as a rule[1]

(1) I say as a rule, because the *Argus* newspaper, which writes in the interest of the large landed proprietors, gave insertion and prominence to a series of letters, the writer of which contended that the State, when it first sold land, implicitly contracted to give

contend that it is unfair to tax land, or that £200,000 a year is more than could justly be levied from Victorian realty. They denounce the policy of a progressive tax as unsound and unjust; urging that it is unwise of the State to interfere with private investments, that it is unjust to reverse the past policy of the State in such matters, and that if the principle of a progressive tax be once adopted, it is certain to be dangerously extended to the infinite subdivision of properties, and applied to every kind of investment so as to become a tax on economy.

The argument that the State ought not to interfere with investments is one that appeals with peculiar force to Englishmen. We are in the habit of believing that trade will thrive best when it is unassisted by the Government, and that what is most profitable for the individual is in the long run most profitable for the community. Victorian land reformers, of course, admit all this, and only contend that the peculiar character of land, the fact that it is limited in amount and cannot be increased like other commodities, the facts that it is most profitable to the State when it is subdivided and that it may be profitable to its owners not to divide it, are conclusive reasons why it should be treated as a thing apart. Of nothing else can it be said that State sovereignty involves the continued control of it, and that its convenient distribution is essential to State citizenship. The progressive land-tax, as heretofore proposed, would not hinder any man from investing up to a very large amount in land. The only grievance a capitalist can complain of, therefore, is that being, we may assume, specially conversant with land and peculiarly able to invest to advantage in it, he is debarred by the State from making infinite use of his knowledge and resources. Surely the State in such cases might reply, as an English landlord would—"No theory of 'laissez faire' induces an English squire to let his lands without care taken that they shall be so farmed that the permanent value of the estate may not be endangered. He insists that the holdings shall be of a certain size, that there be a certain rotation of crops, and that the land be kept in heart. Is it inconsistent for the State, which is the largest landowner in a new country, to limit purchases by rules that shall make its own reserve of land more profitable to it in the future? Is it wrong to encourage the growth of population and towns by slightly limiting the size of sheep-farms?"

The second argument, that it is unjust in the State, after inviting capitalists to buy land, suddenly to turn round and "break up their properties," can only be treated as establishing a plea for tender

the purchasers all that a State commonly gives in the way of roads, railroads, schools, postal communications, &c., and is therefore precluded from defraying any part of the charge of these by a tax on land.

treatment and compensation. Every State is compelled now and again to reverse its past policy in trade or taxation. Neither can it be said that the State in Australia has ever exhibited such consistency of purpose in dealing with the public domains that investors ought to have counted upon its unchangeableness. Every government has tried after its lights to promote settlement, and to defray some portion of the public expenditure by sales of land. At the times landowners especially have in mind, it was notorious that the lands of the colony were let below their value, and that many thousand persons were unable to purchase homesteads. To remedy these evils land was rushed upon the market in large quantities, and the squatter often found himself compelled to purchase. Most frequently, however, it was not intended that he should buy, and his purchases were effected by evasions of law, and even it may be by subornation of perjury. It can hardly be maintained that any government is bound to compensate men because a fraud which they have perpetrated turns out to be less profitable than they had supposed.

The argument that a progressive land-tax would soon be extended in application from properties of 10,000 acres to properties of 5,000, of 2,000, or even of 1,000, does not, I confess, seem to me very important. With every such reduction the class of holders will multiply, and the power of resistance to the next extension of the tax will increase. It must be remembered that the men within the operation of a proposed tax will always be reinforced in their opposition to it by the men who dread to be made subject to it, and that the five hundred or six hundred who at present own between 1,000 and 5,000 acres, are certain to be on the same side as the five hundred or six hundred who hold more than that extent. The danger lest the principle of a progressive tax should be applied to other forms of property than land seems to me incomparably more serious; the more so as the proposal has actually been made in Switzerland. The two cases are, of course, absolutely different. A progressive tax on land is like the regulation in a joint-stock company, that no partner shall acquire a preponderant interest; a limit for special purposes on investment in a particular form. The same tax on property generally is a limit on labour and organization, the direct effect of which would be to paralyse those large operations by which individuals achieve great fortunes, with the result of great economies to the State. At the same time, as there is an apparent analogy between the two, it must, I think, in fairness be admitted that a community which had adopted the tax on land, and found it work well, might be misled into applying the progressive principle to incomes generally. Deplorable as such a mistake would be, it would carry with it its own remedy. Capital in most forms can

easily be concealed or disguised or transferred, and before the faulty bill had become law, the floating capital of the country would have left it in a general exodus, while what remained for a time in the shape of mortgages or manufactures or shares would have multiplied owners wholesale, by real sales or by fictitious transfers. The community would receive a short, sharp lesson on the first principles of taxation in the form of such tremendous and immediate loss, that the particular experiment would never be repeated. No doubt it will seem to many that I have furnished a strong argument against the progressive land-tax in admitting that its principle may be ruinously misapplied, though for a short time. Here, as in most cases of practical politics, a sound principle is not the less sound because there are offsets to it. Victorian reformers claim for the progressive land-tax that it is less arbitrary than the subdivision enforced by the French law, and more effectual and less vexatious than the practice of selling small properties encumbered with conditions of cultivation and the condition not to alienate for a term of years. We hold that the progressive land-tax will effectually keep the soil of Victoria from passing into the hands of a few hundred monopolists, as land in Great Britain and Ireland has done and is doing. We think the benefit this will confer so enormous and permanent that it will far outweigh the mischief which a progressive income-tax might effect during the short time it could be in operation.

CHARLES H. PEARSON.

MEAGRE as may be the record of its legislative performances, the present session will be memorable in the annals of Parliament. The waste of time caused by the shameless importunity of Mr. O'Donnell and by the theological enemies of the member for Northampton is indefensible; the tardy progress made with the business of the country is much to be deplored; it is certain that of the measures promised in the Queen's Speech on the 20th of last May only two or three will have become law by the middle of August next. Yet no one will be able to look back to the months of June and July in the current year—no cool and impartial observer can look at them now—without perceiving that they mark a new point of departure in our public history. We have been lifted, as it were, to a political level which the English foot can scarcely be said hitherto to have trodden. The country is strange to the average British experience. It abounds in mysterious sights and sounds which thrill the unwilling traveller with acute alarms. He begins to imagine that he is about to realise all the horrid visions of which he has read in history or in fable. Socialism, revolution, and the red republic are the terrors which his perturbed imagination can detect in the dim distance. Religion is menaced, property is menaced, and he tremblingly asks, "What next?" There is nothing to be surprised at in these apprehensions. They are natural to the Conservative order of mind on entering upon a fresh legislative régime. They have been felt before, and they will be felt again. It may at once be admitted that the political atmosphere is now charged with issues which, if not raised for the first time, have never been raised in their present combination or with their present directness. There are no questions which so profoundly move a large mass of Englishmen as those connected with religion and property; they go down to the very foundation of the national life; and Mr. Gladstone's Government is not three months old before these questions are being discussed as if they might be decided upon other lines than those of custom, tradition, selfishness, and prejudice.

The Burials Bill and the proceedings in connection with Mr. Bradlaugh's claim affect one set of principles; the Hares and Rabbits Bill, Mr. O'Connor Power's Land Bill, and even Mr. Forster's Irish Compensation Bill, affect another. When Mr. Bradlaugh has taken his seat in the House of Commons, and Dissenters find their last resting-place in churchyards, material advances will have been made in the practice of religious toleration and equality. When the relations

of the occupier of the soil to the owner, both in England and Ireland, are altered in the manner which is now proposed, the privileges of property will be considerably curtailed. The action taken by the House of Commons in the case of Mr. Bradlaugh has been marked by a series of blunders. There can be very little doubt that it would have been better if the Prime Minister had, when the member for Northampton first claimed to substitute the affirmation for the oath, recommended the course which was subsequently suggested by the second of the two select committees. If Mr. Gladstone had advised the House to let Mr. Bradlaugh affirm at his peril, the difficulty would either have been solved at once, or it would have been placed in a direct way of solution. The Conservative opposition would have protested and divided the House more than once upon a variety of pleas; but the Prime Minister would have carried his point in the end, and Mr. Bradlaugh would have been in the full enjoyment of his rights as a member of Parliament, instead of being now what he cannot continue to remain much longer, the prisoner of the Sergeant at Arms in the Clock Tower. Of course the legality of the affirmation would yet have to be settled, and it would have been open to anyone to prosecute Mr. Bradlaugh for having evaded the guarantee for the loyalty of the House of Commons which an obsolete theological formula is supposed to provide. But we should have been spared the insincere and pitiful spectacle which the House has since then so frequently presented. There is no precedent for Mr. Bradlaugh's case, for the simple reason that there is no precedent for the frank courage with which he has considered it desirable to publish his views as to the nature of an oath. That the oath is just as meaningless, so far as its divine appeal is concerned, to many past and present members of the House of Commons as Mr. Bradlaugh protested it would be to him, no one doubts. Whether and how far he was justified in asking to be sworn after he had declined to be sworn, is a different question. Whatever the answer to that may be, it cannot at least be said that the course adopted by Mr. Bradlaugh involved the surrender of any principle. The member for Northampton had expressly declared that he recognised a moral obligation underlying the Parliamentary oath. Stripped of its archaic superfluities, it was tantamount to an affirmation, and in this sense and for these reasons he declared that he was ready to take it. Had he been allowed to do so, the sequel would necessarily have been the abolition of the oath. The rite would have been reduced to an obvious absurdity, and it would have been no longer possible to perpetuate it. The same result will be arrived at now by a different process, and the form of words which members of the House of Commons will be called upon for the future to subscribe will be quite as effective as that which is superseded, and a good deal more honest.

The retrospect of these debates is very odious. We do not mean to say that there may not be many men in the House of Commons who entertain conscientious objections to admitting the member for Northampton to take his place among them. Mr. Alderman Fowler plainly said that he opposed Mr. Bradlaugh's claim because he did not wish atheism and infidelity to be represented in the House of Commons. But how can their representation be prevented? Certainly not by the feeble machinery of an oath. Mr. Fowler's righteous indignation against religious disbelief and misbelief may be shared by many other members of the House, and the *odium theologicum* was to a large degree at the bottom of the attempt to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh. But the endeavour was in an equal degree due to the spirit of political partisanship. The opportunity of popularly discrediting the Government by associating it with the championship of atheistic views was too good to be lost. The old fires of Jingoism flamed up in the breast of the Conservative *frondeurs* who sit below the gangway, and the idea of making Mr. Gladstone appear the apologist of irreligion had an irresistible charm for statesmen of the type of Sir H. D. Wolff and Lord Randolph Churchill. The curious thing is that throughout all these debates no practical solution of the difficulty was suggested by the Conservatives. In the end that difficulty must be met. Suppose the House of Commons had decided that Mr. Bradlaugh was disqualified by reason of his religious views. There would have been a vacancy in the representation of Northampton, and the disqualified member would certainly have been re-elected. In all probability the same question would after a little time have been raised on other grounds and by other people. Mr. Bradlaugh would have set an example which would have found imitators, if not admirers. This contingency was altogether ignored by the Conservatives, who appeared to think that the question might be finally disposed of by an appeal to the combined sentiments of bigotry and faction.

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The assertion of the principle of the religious or irreligious equality of Englishmen which is involved in the case of Mr. Bradlaugh is more directly illustrated in the Burials Bill. All subjects of the British Crown have a civil right in churchyards. This civil right, which is, as Lord Selborne said, one "of universal necessity," is "hampered by ecclesiastical conditions which affect numbers of Her Majesty's subjects in a way inconsistent with civil liberty." Some opponents of the measure, such as Lord Cranbrook, have practically denied the existence of this right, or have insisted that the ecclesiastical limitations by which it is now accompanied are an inseparable portion of its essence. With these it is impossible to argue.

Nor need any account be taken of the wild protestations of those who, like the Bishop of Lincoln, warn Parliament that to pass a just Burials Bill is to sound the knell of the Established Church. The simple circumstance that the present measure has been introduced is a sufficient proof that considerations of this character have no weight with the Government. The grievance which the Bill is intended to remedy is undoubted; it is a grievance which depends on principle, and which cannot, therefore, be regarded, as Lord Derby well put it, as a small and diminishing one. This being the case, it follows that no measure can be really adequate which does not cancel and eradicate the vicious and unjust principle inherent in the present state of the law. Any reform less drastic and direct than this is not a settlement of the difficulty, but the spoiling of such a settlement. The Government have not had in this matter the courage of their own convictions; the Conservative majority in the House of Lords have added to the original imperfections of the Bill during its parliamentary progress. The measure was not comprehensive and was not even logical in the shape in which it was at first presented, and if it is not closely revised and materially amplified in the House of Commons, will be practically little better than worthless.

How far can it be said that the proposals of the Government are the full record of that principle which ought to underlie such a measure? The professed principle of the Bill is indeed that of universal religious toleration. Thus one of its chief clauses prohibits any harangue at the side of the newly made grave calculated to bring Christianity into contempt. With this provision we have no fault to find. The Christian has as much a right to be protected against outrage as the non-Christian to be protected against coercion and persecution, and the less the silence of the place of sepulture is broken by the clash of contending rhetoricians the better and the seemlier. But if this clause is just and reasonable, it is also comprehensive, and it carries with it every guarantee of efficiency. Hence the subsequent clause which restricts the ceremonies at the grave to "Christian services" is both superfluous and in contradiction to the tolerant spirit of the measure. It is one thing to forbid secular aggressiveness; it is another to enjoin positive doctrines. The first of these things is done by the former clause, the second by the latter. There is not only no connection between them, not only cannot the second be said to spring logically from the first, but when read in their context with the rest of the Bill they are seen to be diametrically opposed. Nor is the "Christian services" provision only despotic and inequitable, it will be capricious and, even from Lord Selborne's point of view, uncertain in its operation. "Christian services" must be defined in such a way that they include many services which are not strictly Christian at all, in which case the word Christian

merely becomes a religious synonym for seemly, or in such a way that they exclude many whose exclusion is repugnant to all right feeling. Lord Selborne feels this difficulty, and a Christian service, as he has now interpreted it, will stand for "every religious service used by any church denomination or person professing to be Christian." Now it is obvious that this clause as it is here worded may cover a variety of rites and ceremonies which have nothing distinctively Christian about them. If they are objected to, it will be sufficient to show that they have been used in the case of some "person professing Christianity." The precedent will have been inviolably established, and the answer to all objections will be complete.

Again, the amendments which were inserted in the measure last week seriously detract from its usefulness and impair its justice. These enact that the Burials Bill shall not apply to any consecrated portion of a burial ground of which some portion has been left unconsecrated, nor to any consecrated burial ground in a place where one or more unconsecrated burial grounds are also provided. Now the effect of these amendments is to undo that which it is the avowed object of the measure to accomplish. The Bill is brought in to remedy a grievance both of sentiment and of principle bitterly complained of by Dissenters. If these amendments are retained, the sentimental grievance will remain in the great majority of cases the same as ever. It is extremely exceptional now to find a town which is unprovided with a cemetery as well as with a churchyard. In the latter many Dissenters have family graves. But many will be disqualified to avail themselves of these because there is a cemetery at a convenient distance, except upon condition that they adopt a form of religious service to which they conscientiously object.

Passing from the religious sentiment which the Government have enlisted against themselves, we come to the hostility that they have incurred with the representatives of the territorial interest. The Hares and Rabbits Bill may be conveniently considered under the same head as the Irish Land Bills of Mr. O'Connor Power and of Mr. Forster. It is extremely doubtful whether the former of these measures will pass this session; it is by no means certain that even the second of the two latter will. But the question of the relations between landlord and tenant in the matter of game rights and privileges has now been fairly opened, and it will not cease to be heard of before it is finally closed. The two chief arguments against the ministerial measure are that it is a direct attack upon a valuable species of property, and that it is a great infraction of the right of freedom of contract. Independently of the circumstance that hares and rabbits are presumed by common law to belong to the tenant, and that the proposed measure will simply transform this presump-

tion into an inalienable right, it may be said that the multiplication of hares and rabbits upon the acres held by the tenant is inconsistent with such rights of property as he may indisputably plead. The roots that he plants in the ground, the grain which he sows, the blades of wheat as they rise above the furrows, the turnips, mangel-wurzel, and carrots which he rears—these things are all of them as much the property of the farmer as are the implements with which he ploughs, or as is the soil the property of the landlord. It is no answer to the wrong that the damage done by the hares and rabbits to this species of property is considered in the lease or in the agreement, and that the land is let to the farmer at a rent proportionately lower. The farmer would reply that a higher rate of rent would leave him no margin of profit, and that, handicapped as he is in the matter of ground game, this margin is unjustly and unprofitably small.

No one can of course deny that the Bill does contemplate some interference with the right of freedom of contract, just as all law is an abridgment of individual liberty. Many precedents for this have been alleged, and Sir William Harcourt has mentioned some half-dozen cases—*e.g.* contract in restraint of trade, the Truck Act, the Merchant Shipping Act, which invalidates contracts by seamen to resign their lien upon the ship, and to be deprived of any remedy for the recovery of their wages, &c.—in which the law interferes with freedom of contract. But it is said, whenever the law refuses to enforce an agreement, that agreement falls outside the principle of freedom of contract. In other words, the law refuses to allow the plea of freedom of contract to veil compulsion or fraud. We entirely accept the doctrine thus laid down, and we say that it is strictly applicable to the relation between landlord and farmer. A farmer who applies for a lease is under a sort of compulsion quite as real as that felt by the workman under the old truck system. The landlord is the master of the position, and can dictate his own terms. In the majority of instances the landlord reserves to himself the right to kill all sorts of game, whether birds of the air or beasts of the field. The tenant is not a free agent. Of course, it is open for him not to rent the land at all, just as it is open to the landlord to turn his entire estate into a vast game preserve, and not to let an acre of it. But as practically the landlord cannot do the latter, so the tenant cannot do the former. Were he to do it, the experience, and the capital that has been expended in acquiring that experience, both of which taken together are his stock-in-trade, would be of no avail. The law, therefore, stands thus: there is a limited quantity of land to be cultivated, out of which the cultivator has to support himself and his family. As a rule he is not permitted to rent such portions of the land upon conditions which we do not say are advantageous, but which experience

proves to be reasonable and fair. On all hands farmers declare that they are not free; that no law of compensation could adequately indemnify them; that their liability to damage under the existing law is ruinous; that their business cannot be carried on unless they enjoy a concurrent right with the landlords to kill the rabbits. How is it to be denied that this is a case, quite as much as any of those which have been already mentioned, for the intervention of law,—for a limitation of that so-called freedom of contract which means, in this case, so far as the relations of the tenant and the landlord are concerned, "no compulsion, only you must"?

As the Hares and Rabbits Bill is only a contributory instalment to the solution of the Game Law difficulty, so neither the Bill of Mr. Parnell, nor of Mr. O'Connor Power, nor of Mr. Forster, is a settlement in full of the Irish land question. Mr. Parnell aims at the suspension of evictions, and we are bound to add in a great degree at the payment of rent too, until the Government shall have had time to mature a Bill rendering the soil of Ireland easily purchasable in parcels of manageable size by the Irish peasantry. Mr. O'Connor Power proposes heavily to fine all landlords who evict their tenants for non-payment of rent from one end of Ireland to the other. The ministerial measure embodies a modified acceptance of this proposal, and may be described as an extension of some of the clauses of the Land Act of 1870. Whereas by the latter the Irish tenant was entitled to compensation for disturbance, on the condition that his rent had been fully and regularly paid, this condition is now, in the case of certain districts in Ireland, no longer to be exacted; and any "disturbed" tenant within the area thus indicated will, until the effects of the recent failure of crops have passed away, be entitled to compensation for such disturbance, providing he can prove to the satisfaction of the county court judge that the non-payment of rent arises from the failure of crops, and that the rate of rent charged is unreasonable. The motive and the justification of this proposal are obvious. The new law assumes, or will assume in those localities in which it is to be operative, that the arrears of rent are the result of influences which the tenant could not control, and that a failure of crops is as much a providential visitation as blight or pestilence. It also provides for those cases which may conceivably occur, and in which an unjust and cruel landlord might take advantage of the present distress to evict undesirable tenants who happened also to be a little in his debt, with less expenditure to himself than would be possible under the Act of 1870 even if they owed him nothing.

This, with the exception of the extension of household suffrage to Irish boroughs, is the only really new measure that the Government have introduced in relation to Ireland. The Relief Bill is simply a carrying out of principles to which Ministers were com-

mitted by their predecessors. The late Government proposed to lend a sum of three-quarters of a million to all Irish landlords and local bodies who satisfied certain conditions; the present Government discover that this sum is insufficient for the purpose, and they are about to advance another half-million. If it had been possible to dispense with any new legislative machinery, and simply to make the additional provision by inserting votes in the estimates, that course might well have been taken. But a new Bill was legally necessary, and hence the present supplementary measure. It will pass, of course, through committee without any serious opposition. The experiences of Mr. Forster's little Land Bill will be of a very different and of a much stormier character. Short as it is, it will be resisted with the utmost determination and vigour in both Houses of Parliament for the same reasons that the Hares and Rabbits Bill will be resisted, and for reasons analogous to those for which the Burials Bill will be resisted. As the sentiment of property is touched in the one case, so is that of religion, or religious prejudice, in the other. Before any of these matters can be fairly or finally dealt with, there is much of bigotry and much of fanaticism to be exorcised. The opponents of this legislation must understand what they do not understand now—that the tenure of material property and the profession of spiritual faith are in the presence of forces not necessarily hostile, but which require their presence to be recognised. In religion nothing more is asked than that the principle of liberty and equality shall be conceded in reality as well as in name. As regards property, the contention, which events are urging in so impressive a manner, is, that even the rights of landlords are limited by broad considerations of public utility and of responsibility to the multitude of their countrymen. However opprobrious the name with which this fact is labelled, the fact itself is unaltered. It may be called Socialism, but it has to be dealt with, and there is no good in holding up our hands with horror and shrieking with dismay. The rightful claims of landlords, whether on this or on the other side of St. George's Channel, must be respected; but in Ireland there is the land question that has to be grappled with, and of this the fringe is only touched by the Compensation Bill of the Chief Secretary. In England the Game Laws demand revision not less imperatively, and it is of this revision that the first instalment is now forthcoming. Those whom the question most concerns will do well to meet it frankly, with the consciousness that the day of trifling and of evasion has passed. The business must be discussed in a serious and business-like tone, and not in one of pure frivolity. It is trifling with the subject in a fashion that may well excite contempt and disgust, to speak of the issues involved in the Hares and Rabbits Bill as touching nothing of greater importance than the pastimes of country

gentlemen and *their friends*—or even the commercial value of those pastimes, since country gentlemen find the sale of hares and rabbits so substantial an addition to their income. If the right to shoot game is a valuable one, farming is a profession in which much capital is embarked, and the agricultural area of the United Kingdom cannot be spoken of or treated as if it were nothing more than a huge pheasant covert.

There is another subject, discussed in the House of Commons during the last few days, on which, in connection with those tendencies of the time that have been noticed above, a word or two may be said. The significance of the majority secured by Sir Wilfrid Lawson for the Local Option motion is plain and simple. This majority means nothing more than that in the opinion of those composing it the time is ripe for a revision of the licensing system. On the precise character of the reform it is unnecessary to speculate. One thing is certain; it will be a further enlargement of the system of popular and representative government. The present licensing body consists of the magistrates, who are in no way responsible to the ratepayers; the new licensing body will consist of persons who are the direct nominees of the ratepayers. Thus, then, in the first session of a new Parliament, we may see that at three separate points popular pressure is making itself felt upon our national institutions, and the mode of their administration. In the departments of religion, land tenure, and the liquor trade, the demand is strenuously made that expression shall be given to the convictions and the views of the greatest number.

So far as the Eastern question and the general foreign policy of the Government are concerned, we have still to deal rather with prospects and possibilities than with realised results. The two most notable facts in the situation are the energetic efforts which the Government are making to carry out the unfulfilled portion of the Treaty of Berlin, and their successful preservation thus far of the European concert. The meeting of the supplementary Conference in the German capital for the rectification of the Hellenic frontier is a different thing from the accomplishment of this rectification, but it affords a fair ground of hope that effect will be given to the terms which have been unanimously agreed on, and the most striking feature of which is the cession of Janina to Greece. Again, though the question will not probably be discussed by the European delegates now sitting at Berlin, there is no doubt that Ministers are acting in perfect accord with France, and we believe we may add with Austria and Germany, in regard to Montenegro. In the Asiatic provinces of Turkey the condition of affairs is less satisfactory. The state of the inhabitants of Armenia, Mussulman and Christian alike, is deplorable. They are bitterly disappointed

by the non-fulfilment of those promises of beneficent intervention which an occupation of Cyprus was thought to hold out. Sir Henry Layard tells us that "Russia is taking advantage of this feeling to induce the Armenian populations to turn to her for help and protection, and to prepare the way for future interference in Asiatic Turkey and further annexation of territory." He adds that as a direct consequence of this, a formidable insurrection against the Turkish Government might at any moment break out, not only in Asia Minor, but in Arabia. More significant still is it to hear that the Sultan, in the opinion of our late ambassador at the Porte, shows less disposition than formerly to act upon the advice tendered him by England and the other Western Powers. "The persons about him," writes Sir Henry Layard, "have succeeded in inspiring him with a profound distrust and suspicion of England. They have induced him to believe that her occupation of Cyprus, the nomination of English military consuls in Asia Minor, the interest she shows in the Armenian population, and her peremptory demands for the introduction of reforms into Asiatic Turkey, are so many proofs of a design of annexing his Asiatic territories." Such is one of the direct consequences admitted by Lord Salisbury's own ambassador of the Anglo-Turkish Convention. The machinery of reform cannot be put in action in Armenia without the Sultan's consent, and this is what he will not give. "All his Majesty's formal and solemn pledges to England," we are told, "to introduce reforms into his Asiatic territories for the just and impartial government of those populations have been violated." The English officers of gendarmerie have not received their pay. None of the European judicial inspectors whom the Porte pledged itself to nominate have been appointed.

If we look at the present attitude of the Sultan by the light of past experience, and by the light also of the official papers recently published, from which we have just quoted, there are certain broad conclusions at which we may arrive. In the first place, speaking with special reference to Armenia, it is clear that if the European powers are not able to bring their collective influence successfully to bear on Turkey, Russia may intervene single-handed, and may not shrink from undertaking a war for the liberation of the oppressed populations of Asia Minor, as she did three years ago on behalf of the oppressed populations of the Balkan peninsula. In the second place, it is idle to pretend or to hope that we can do anything with the Porte unless we are prepared to resort to a good deal more than to moral pressure. There is nothing which Sir Henry Layard's circumstantial testimony demonstrates more conclusively than this. Unfortunately, it is the one point on which the text of Mr. Goschen's instructions leaves us without any definite information. The representations which our extraordinary envoy is to make to the Porte

are of a friendly character. But if the Sultan has hardened his heart against Sir Henry Layard, will he place himself at the disposal of Mr. Goschen? It is true that Mr. Goschen is "not to fail to make the Sultan and his Ministers understand that their present careful abstinence from menace does not imply any want of earnestness or determination as to the course of policy which they desire to see pursued." But how is he to succeed in doing this without not only the menace, but the actual demonstration of military force? Are the English Government prepared to go as far as this in the event of the continued obstinacy of the Porte? We do not believe that they are. We do not believe that if the Sultan and his Ministers decline to adopt the recommendations of the Western Powers with regard to Greece or Montenegro, any more than with regard to Armenia, the British fleet will be ordered to enter the Bosphorus. If this impression is correct, it is manifestly very doubtful how far we may confidently expect to witness the execution of the at present unfulfilled clauses of the Berlin Treaty, equally in the case of Greece, Montenegro, and Armenia.

The passing, by an immense majority, of the Bill which grants a complete and unconditional amnesty to the French Communists is at once a testimony to the far-reaching influence of M. Gambetta, and a sign that his authority will at no distant day be greater even than it is at present. M. Gambetta's speech of the 21st of June is an exhaustive and unanswerable justification of the step which has just been taken. But as we have insisted in these pages, each month since the beginning of the spring, it is the feeling and conviction of France itself that has forced the hand of the Government. It is M. Gambetta's merit that he has known how to increase this feeling and conviction. It is not the defeat of M. Blanqui at Lyons which renders the Bill seasonable and safe; it is not the success of M. Trinquet in Paris which can be regarded as constituting any sufficient reason against it. The real reason why the exiled Communists can be trusted to return to their native country is that France is tranquil and satisfied. The period of active sympathy with those who took part in the burnings of Paris and the massacres of Satory has passed; so, too, has that of resentment against the Government which punished them. The Communists have expiated their crimes by the sufferings of their banishment in New Caledonia and elsewhere. There was nothing to be gained by letting the demand for their recall be periodically used as an election cry. It has been asked why the grace of plenary absolution should be conferred at a moment when there was no kind of agitation for it. The answer is clear and complete. It is precisely because the agitation had subsided that the amnesty was possible.

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LAND TENURE IN IRELAND.

HOWEVER advantageous it may seem to some in theory, I think it would be practically impossible to establish a general system of peasant-proprietorship in Ireland, and even if such a system were founded it could not be maintained. I believe also that if it could be established and maintained it would not conduce to the happiness or prosperity of the country. The separation of the ownership from the occupation of land is an advantage to both parties—to the owner as well as to the occupier. The owner who does not wish to occupy desires a well-secured income from his property, and this he can best obtain by letting it to a tenant. He would naturally sell it, if by a sale he could obtain a larger or a better secured income. On the other hand, it will generally be more convenient to the tenant to hire land at a fair rent than to purchase the fee-simple. He will seldom possess sufficient capital both to purchase the fee of the land and also to cultivate it in the most efficient manner. If his capital is not sufficient for both purposes it will be more to his interest to pay a rent to a landlord than to borrow money from a money-lender.

Assuming that the relation between landlord and tenant must continue to exist, the important question arises, How is this relation to be regulated by law so as to produce prosperity and happiness among the people? This law must be consistent with justice, or it will certainly not produce those good effects. The complaints generally made on behalf of tenants is that their tenure is too short and their rents too high. This complaint of shortness of tenure is chiefly heard in Ireland, although leases there are more general, and for longer terms, than in England or Scotland. Unreasonable evictions by landlords are rare. It is clearly the interest of the landlord to prize and to retain a good tenant who pays a fair rent. He has little to gain and much to lose by disturbing

him. The number of evictions in Ireland as compared with those in England is increased in appearance by two causes. First, every case is proclaimed and made a subject of public complaint. It is assumed, as a matter requiring no proof, that the fault lies with the landlord, not with the tenant; that it is a case of a tyrannical landlord and not of a knavish tenant. Secondly, in cases where in England the farmer would voluntarily surrender his holding, in Ireland he puts his landlord to the expense and delay of an ejectment. When a tenant, from idleness or want of thrift, or capital, or skill, is unable to pay his rent, or even to make any profit from his land, he will still hold on to the possession until deprived of it by legal process, and then he will be readily persuaded that he has sustained a grievous wrong. For this supposed wrong he will not find it difficult to get friends to aid him in taking a murderous revenge on the landlord or agent, or the ministers of the law, or the tenant who gets the farm of which he was deprived. Thus every eviction makes a good deal of noise.

The second complaint is that the rents are too high, and for this complaint I believe there is generally no foundation. I intend in another place to give some reasons for this opinion. However, it is possible that in some instances landlords may demand too high rents from ignorance or greediness, and that tenants may promise too much from ignorance or dishonesty. Dissatisfaction with the amount of rent has, however, prevailed for a long time in Ireland. There is some evidence that it existed before the English settled in Ireland, and that the Irish peasants sometimes complained of their chiefs in the same manner that they now complain of their landlords. In some old books the raising of the rents was called "cutting the tenantry."

Several remedies have been proposed to meet this dissatisfaction, but the remedy which was practically brought into the most extensive operation was the introduction of what is now called the Ulster tenant-right custom. The Ulster tenant-right began in the county of Down between the years 1790 and 1800. The essence of this system was that the tenant should get his land at a rent less than the rent that could be obtained by open competition, and that he might sell his interest in his farm subject to the consent of the landlord, which was not to be arbitrarily withheld. As this system was not made the subject of contract or of legislation, it was necessarily at first a little vague, but it quickly assumed something of its present shape. The comfort and ease which it gave to land agents made it spread very rapidly through the greater part of Ulster. Where the land was set at rack-rent, the life of the agent was a continued warfare with the tenantry. Very little rent was paid until legal proceedings were commenced or threatened.

Complaints of inability to pay were so numerous, that it was frequently impossible for the agent to discover whether the inability to pay was feigned, or whether it deserved punishment as proceeding from vice or idleness, or whether it ought to be relieved as being caused by misfortune or the exaction of too high a rent.

The agent of a tenant-right estate was in a very different position. There were no complaints of insolvency, or unpaid rents, or irrecoverable arrears. Every tenant was expected to pay his rent at the appointed time; and if he was unable to pay his rent, it showed that he was unfit for his occupation as a farmer, and he was called upon to sell his farm. A purchaser was readily procured, and the purchaser generally paid the purchase-money to the agent, who retained the sum due for rent and paid the balance to the outgoing tenant, thus supplying him with the means of emigration or of engaging in some other pursuit. The purchaser was duly entered as tenant in the agent's books, and thus obtained a perfect title to the tenant-right in the farm, freed from all arrears of rent.

I have given the essence of the system, which, however, varied in some minor points on different estates. Those points of variation related chiefly to the terms on which the tenant was permitted to sell his interest. Sometimes the rule was that the farm should be sold to some person who was already a tenant on the estate, and generally there was some limit placed on the price to be demanded from the incoming tenant. The object of the former rule was to prevent the estate from being divided into too small holdings. While on the one hand farms were sometimes subdivided among different members of the same family, on the other hand they were consolidated whenever the sale of any tenant's interest took place.

The object of the limitation of prices was twofold. It was intended to prevent the incoming tenant from parting with so much of his capital as to disable him from doing his duty to the farm. The second object of this office rule was to prevent the new tenant from having a moral or equitable right to prevent the landlord from raising the rent to such an amount as would reduce the value of the tenant-right below the sum which had been paid for it. Thus, if £1,000 was paid for the tenant-right with the consent of the landlord, it would be unfair to raise the rent to such an amount as would leave the tenant-right worth only £800. Every increase of rent necessarily reduces the value of the tenant-right; and the only way in which the landlord could retain his moral as well as his legal right to demand an increased rent was by refusing his consent to a sale, when the purchase-money exceeded the sum which the tenant-right would be worth after a reasonable addition to the rent had been made.

The office rules on this latter point were not always very precise.

The authorised purchase-money generally bore some proportion to the rent of the farm, but this proportion was not accurately defined; it varied in different estates, and even at different periods on the same estate. It was frequently evaded by private payments, but of course such private payments could not create any equity against the landlord.

This system of Ulster tenant-right had some serious defects. It depended entirely on the liberality of the landlord, who had an undoubted legal right to raise the rent to such an amount as considerably to reduce or even to destroy the value of the tenant-right. Thus the interest which was generally regarded as a valuable property was without any legal protection. This was a disadvantage to the tenant.

On the other hand, this uncertainty of tenure was a disadvantage to the landlord when a rise in prices or other circumstances had raised the value of the land. His undoubted right to increase the rent at his pleasure made the tenant look upon every increase of rent as an exercise of the landlord's arbitrary will. This system works without much complaint from either party when land remains of the same value for several years. But when a gradual advance takes place in the value for several years the landlord is placed in a position of some difficulty. He cannot every year increase the rent to meet the small increase of perhaps a few pence an acre which the year has made in the value of the land. But when those increments accumulate for several years the rent ceases to be an adequate return from the land, even after the allowance of a liberal tenant-right. The landlord in self-defence raises the rent. But if he raises the rent to such an amount as to reduce the tenant-right much below its present value, an angry dispute with the tenant is inevitable. He will see that the increase in rent is more than sufficient to meet the increase in value that has taken place during the preceding four or five years, and his memory will not go further back. The knowledge that whether right or wrong he had no redress at law would increase the anger of the tenant, and would make the landlord unwilling to claim his full rights when he had no legal means of proving that his demands were just and reasonable. Thus, under generous landlords the value of the tenant-right had a constant tendency to increase in value in rising times.

When prices fell there was also a difficulty; the tenant expected a reduction, but there was no standard to show what reduction ought to be made. The landlord may say, You hold my land at less than its value, and I could get good tenants to pay a higher rent than that of which you are now complaining. But the tenant says, What will become of my tenant-right? And as the value of this cannot be measured, there is no way of putting an end to the controversy.

The uncertain and precarious nature of the tenant-right was not, however, without some economical advantages. The interest of the occupier was not subject to those rules of law which protect and incumber the rights to real property. The tenant who wished to sell his interest had no difficulty in finding a suitable purchaser among the neighbours. Having made their bargain they proceeded to the office of the agent, where the arrears of rent, if any, were paid out of the purchase-money, and the purchaser had his name entered as tenant in the books of the estate, and thus acquired a perfect title to the tenant-right. As this right depended on the will of the landlord, no other person had any interest in disputing the right.

The tenant, although he had a valuable interest in the land for the purpose of enjoyment, or of sale to a solvent purchaser, had no title that he could confer on a mortgagee or money-lender. His credit depended on his character, and this worked very well. He was free from the temptation to borrow money for extravagant expenses, and the simple operations of husbandry did not require an extensive credit. His rent was paid at the times most convenient for the sale of his crops or stock, and on any unusual strain on his resources the case was usually met by a delay in the payment of rent to his landlord, the most indulgent of all creditors.

The objection that a new tenant cannot get possession of a farm without paying a purchase-money, and thus diminishing his capital, applies to every system which gives the tenant any interest in the land by enabling him to hold it at a less rent than could be obtained by free competition. The weight of this objection depends on the price of the tenant-right, and the poverty of the classes from which the tenants proceed. In Ulster there was so much capital made by various small industries that, except where the price of the tenant-right was unreasonably high, the payment of the purchase-money left the tenant sufficient capital for the proper cultivation of his land. It will generally be found that the Ulster tenant, after payment for his tenant-right, will still possess more capital than a tenant holding a similar farm at full rent in Munster or Connaught.

The evil of requiring a double capital from a farmer, one capital to buy a farm and one to cultivate it, is least, or perhaps does not exist at all, when the land is set at the full competition rent; it is greatest in the case of a system of peasant-proprietorship, where the occupying tenant holds the soil in fee-simple not subject to the payment of any rent. The object of the Ulster tenant-right was to create a class of substantial farmers without impoverishing them by requiring too high a price for the possession, and to give a real interest to the tenant without depriving the landlord of all interest in the land. It left the latter the power of raising his rent to a fair sum, and of enforcing a proper cultivation of the land.

The Act of 1870 gave the custom of Ulster tenant-right all the authority of a legal custom, which it was no longer in the landlord's power to alter. The more liberal landlords were punished by making their past liberality compulsory for the future; but the Act did nothing to define the interest of the tenant or to regulate the rights of the landlord. Everything depends upon the opinions or feelings of the judge who tries the cause, and no man knows what is the extent or value of his rights.

Before the Act of 1870 the Ulster tenants were generally well satisfied with their condition. Now a general discontent prevails, with a demand for increased privileges and property to the tenants. This is not to be wondered at. Agitation ceases or grows weak when concessions are made to reason and justice. The arguments which obtained success cannot be used in support of further demands. But a concession made to clamour and force never gives satisfaction. To obtain further concessions the same force and clamour will be used with additional vigour and confidence derived from their past success. The position of the Irish landlords is now very precarious. They have property, without political power to defend it; and that property is an object of envy to the electors, who in case of spoliation will know exactly what share of the spoils will fall to themselves. The ruin of the landed proprietors is certain if they fall into the common mistake of yielding nothing to justice and everything to clamour. It is now not less their interest than their duty to devise some means by which, even at some sacrifice of what they deem their own rights, they may give contentment to their tenants, or at least remove everything that bears even the appearance of being an injustice.

With this view I venture to propose a system by which it shall be lawful for any tenant who pleases, in any part of Ireland, to acquire a "Parliamentary tenant-right" in his holding, either by agreement with his landlord or by obtaining a declaration from the court that his holding shall be subject to this right. This I suggested several years ago in an essay published by the Cobden Club. The essence of this system is that the tenant-right becomes certain, and that its value is determined by the parties themselves without litigation or dispute. It also provides for the case of a fall as well as a rise in the value of land, and while it gives security to the tenant it does not divorce the landlord from the land.

The system I propose is this, that the Parliamentary tenant-right shall be worth seven years' purchase of the rent, and that the rent shall be adjusted by the parties themselves, at the expiration of every period of ten years, in the following manner. If neither party proposes a change, which will most usually happen, the rent will remain

unaltered for another period of ten years, and so on from time to time. I am justified in thinking that this will be the most usual case by the fact that a tenancy from year to year often lasts a considerable time without any change being made in the rent.

If, however, either landlord or tenant desires a readjustment of rent it may be effected in the following manner. Suppose the rent is £60, which the landlord thinks ought to be increased to £80. When the time for readjustment arrives he serves notice on the tenant that he will require this increase of rent. If the tenant consents the rent is forthwith increased to £80. But if the tenant dissents he must give up the land, receiving as compensation the sum of £560, that is to say, seven years' purchase, not of the rent which the tenant formerly paid, but of the increased rent which the landlord has demanded. This appears fair to both parties. The landlord cannot complain that the seven years' purchase is calculated on too high a rent, as it is the rent which he himself demanded. The tenant cannot complain that the compensation is too small, since it is calculated on a rent which he refuses to pay. A similar privilege is given to the tenant if an alteration of prices or other circumstances should make him consider the rent too high. When the time for readjustment arrives the tenant serves notice on his landlord that he requires the rent to be reduced to £50. If the landlord agrees the rent is reduced to £50; but if he dissents he must get possession of the land, and pay as compensation to the tenant the sum of £350, that is, seven years' purchase of the rent which the tenant claims to be sufficient after allowance made for the value of the tenant-right. This mode of calculating the compensation makes it the interest of both parties to be reasonable. The landlord by demanding too much increases the compensation which he must pay. The tenant by offering too little reduces the price which he must accept for his tenant-right.

I shall give an account in numbers. The exact figures are immaterial, but I give them to make the principle more easily understood. Suppose the rate of interest to be five per cent., the tenant holding a farm at £60 rent, and, having acquired a Parliamentary tenant-right worth seven times sixty, that is £420, has a farm for which £81 would be a fair rent, being the rent which would leave him a fair return for his labour and skill and capital. If the tenant is not satisfied with this position, and seeks to reduce the rent to £50, he puts it in the landlord's power to make him sell for £350 a tenant-right which is worth £420. On the other hand, if the landlord demands a rent of £70, he must pay £490 for a tenant-right which is worth only £420. Under those circumstances it is not probable that any change will be made in the rent, unless an alteration in the value of the land should make a readjustment reasonable.

On this system the landlord and tenant have a common interest. If an "unearned increment" takes place the tenant and the landlord get their fair proportions of the increase, for although the rent will be increased, that increase can never be equal to the increase that has taken place in the value of the land. If land discharged of all tenancies is worth twenty-one years' purchase, about one-fourth of the interest in the land will belong to the tenant, and the remaining three-fourths to the landlord. The exact proportions would be as twenty to sixty-one.

On this system the landlords and tenants are partners. The landlord supplies the greater part of the fixed capital. The tenant, besides his tenant-right, is the manager of the concern, into which he brings his labour and skill and the movable capital necessary to carry on the business. Instead of taking the accounts every year, a fixed sum, settled by mutual agreement, is paid to the sleeping partner, the landlord. The terms are liable to be readjusted at specified periods, or the partnership dissolved, and a partition of the property is made in the simplest and fairest manner; one party makes the division and the other takes the choice.

I believe that this system would possess all the advantages of the Ulster tenant-right, and would be free from every objection except that one which is inseparable from every custom that gives the tenant a valuable interest in his holding. Every new tenant must purchase a tenant-right. This makes it difficult for any poor person to get a farm, and whoever gets it is deprived of part of the capital which he might require for its cultivation. This objection is best met by providing that the tenant should not be obliged to buy too great an interest in his farm, as under a system of peasant-proprietorship, which would prevent any man from becoming a farmer unless he was able to buy the fee-simple of the land. For this reason I have fixed the tenant-right at seven years' purchase, but it is a matter of mere detail whether the price should be higher or lower, say ten years' or five years' purchase of the rent.

In the same manner a medium should be observed in fixing the periods for readjustment. If the interval is too long there is a danger that a change in the value of the land might cause to one of the parties a loss of long duration. On the other hand, frequent readjustments are unnecessary, and would be a worry and a possible source of bad feeling between the landlord and tenant. I have therefore fixed upon the period of ten years as a medium interval free from both those evils.

Tenants under this kind of partnership with their landlords would be in a much more prosperous condition than if they were forced to become peasant-proprietors. Take the case of a man who has, in addition to his farming stock, a capital of, say, £420. With this

sum he can buy a tenant-right in a farm worth £81 a year, but only liable to pay a reduced rent of £60. He at the same time knows that he cannot be deprived of his farm, except on the terms of getting back a larger sum than he paid for the tenant-right.

Suppose, however, that he was obliged to buy the fee-simple, to become a peasant-proprietor, his capital would be expended in the purchase of a farm worth probably less than £20 a year, as the fee-simple will probably sell for a greater number of years' purchase than a tenant-right of equal annual value. He would also become subject to greater law-costs. It is not possible to make a purchase of a fee-simple estate, however small, as simple and cheap as the sale of a mere tenant-right.

It is only by some vague hope of obtaining fee-simple estates without paying a fair value for them that the farming classes can be induced to believe that a system of peasant-proprietorship would be to their advantage.

Some assistance from the Legislature might be necessary in order to give full scope to this system. Every owner in possession should have power to give this tenant-right notwithstanding any settlement or incumbrance on his estate. The tenant should have full liberty to sell his tenant-right, but should not be permitted to subdivide, or sublet, or incumber his tenant-right. This condition is not essential, but it would add considerably to the beneficial results of the system, and without it there would be difficulty in having all conveyances cheap and expeditious.

It will be necessary to make some provisions to insure the tenant a fair compensation for any addition made by his outlay to the value of his farm. The tenant must not be obliged to pay rent on account of unexhausted improvements. This will not be difficult to effect. In most cases it would be accomplished by an agreement between the two partners, the landlord to contribute to the outlay in proportion to their respective interests. Thus, if it was necessary to build a house the landlord should defray three-fourths and the tenant one-fourth of the expense. If there is no agreement, or if the landlord will not contribute, the rights of the tenant may be secured in the following manner. Improvements may be divided into different classes, according to the length of time necessary to exhaust them or to recoup the tenant for his outlay. In case of any dispute the county court judge should decide to what class an improvement belonged. Every improvement is to be repaid by an annuity of a proper amount to be estimated according to its class. As long as the tenant remains in possession of the land without any increase of rent, his enjoyment of the improvement is equivalent to the receipt of the annuity.

But if the landlord at the period for readjustment should demand

an increased rent it should be divided into two parts, one part to be equal to the annuity and the remainder to represent the rent of the land independent of the improvement. If the tenant agrees to the landlord's demand, he will only pay the latter part of the rent. The former part he will retain until the annuity terminates by the arrival of the time when the improvement is exhausted. If any dispute arises as to the date or extent of the outlay it will be decided by the county court judge.

If the tenant does not agree to the landlord's demands he will be entitled to compensation to be calculated thus: first, he gets seven years' purchase of that portion of the rent which is independent of the improvement; and, secondly, he gets the estimated value of his improvements. There is no difficulty in carrying out this plan so as to do perfect justice to both parties. The judges of the land division of Chancery should have power to make rules as to forms and notices necessary to prevent the mistakes that might arise from ignorance or accident, and to remedy such mistakes when they occurred.

I may briefly state the object of this Parliamentary tenant-right. First, that the tenant should have a valuable interest in his farm. Secondly, that this interest should be settled from time to time so that the rights of the landlord and the tenant should preserve the same proportion. Thirdly, that the sale of the tenant-right should not require any expense in the investigation of title or the preparation of the conveyance. Fourthly, that the tenant should receive full compensation for his improvements. And lastly, that he should have a good personal credit, as his neighbours would all know that he possessed his tenant-right free from any settlement or incumbrance.

The assistance of a court of justice might be necessary in a few cases to determine the fair rent to be paid at the commencement of a tenant-right, but I believe this would not often happen, as the matter would generally be settled by mutual agreement. Perhaps it would be sufficient to provide that the first readjustment should take place after a shorter interval, say five instead of ten years.

I have given this brief sketch in order to invite discussion and to give an opportunity to those who disapprove of the system to state their objections, which I shall meet by answer or submission.

M. LONGFIELD.

WHY THE AMERICAN COLONIES SEPARATED FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

WHEN James I. gave his royal assent to the colonisation of Virginia and New England, he did so in the belief that the colonies could be governed by the Crown, for its own use and behoof, without fear of hindrance from Parliament. In point of fact the colonies themselves generally maintained that Parliament had no authority over them because they were not represented in it; but at the same time their relations to the Crown were extremely ill-defined and vacillating, and as a general thing they doled out their allegiance with as scanty and grudging a hand as they possibly could. It was seldom that anything was declared concerning their rights so explicitly as in the proprietary grant of Maryland, which declares that the English Government shall have no authority to raise taxes within the colony. In general, the colonists showed no inclination to press the question of the definition of their rights, preferring to do as they liked so long as they were uninterfered with, while making as few emphatic declarations as possible. It is peculiarly true of the English race that the most independent spirit often takes this quiet method of asserting itself. In this way the object is as likely to be attained as in any other, while there is much less waste of breath in argumentative wrangling than there would be if it were felt to be necessary to settle every doubtful question by a solemn and dogmatic *pronunciamiento*. In this way, though there were occasional and local disputes between the Crown and the colonies, even in the seventeenth century, yet anything like a general issue was avoided until the colonies had grown strong enough to maintain their own position successfully. As early as 1638 some of the disorderly people whom the puritanical government of Massachusetts would not allow to remain in the colony returned to England with their complaints, and so worked upon the King's mind that a very stringent royal order was sent over, positively demanding that the charter should be surrendered. In reply to this order Massachusetts sent back, not the charter which was demanded, but an energetic protest against the injustice of the demand. How far this dispute might have been carried we cannot tell, for in the course of the following year the Presbyterians of Scotland began the revolt which cost the King his throne and his life, and for the next ten years very little attention was paid in England to American affairs. Down to this time the Parliament had not assumed any control over colonial affairs. In 1624 they had grumbled at James I.'s high-handed suppression of

the Virginia Company, but they had not gone so far as to call in question the King's supreme authority over the colonies. In 1628, in a petition to Charles I. relating to the Bermudas, they had fully admitted this royal authority. But after the execution of the King in 1649 a new and somewhat anomalous state of things arose. There was now no King, and all the royal powers devolved upon Parliament, among other things the prerogative of superintending the affairs of the colonies. Such, at least, was the theory held in England, and it is difficult to see how any other theory could logically have been held; but the Americans never formally admitted it, and in practice they continued to behave towards Parliament very much as they had behaved towards the Crown, yielding just as little obedience as possible. Virginia submitted gracefully to the parliamentary commissioners; but when these same commissioners seized upon a Royalist vessel in Boston harbour, the colonial legislature of Massachusetts debated the question whether it was compatible with the dignity of the colony to permit such an act of sovereignty on the part of the Home Government. It was finally decided to wink at the proceeding, partly because the Puritans of New England were on general principles friendly to the Puritan Parliament and hostile to the Royalists, partly because the Parliament, reciprocating this friendly feeling, was inclined to favour New England in its commercial legislation, and it was thought to be impolitic to quarrel with one's bread and butter. At the same time the question of the constitutional supremacy of Parliament over the colonies was not pressed to a direct issue. In 1651 Parliament ordered Massachusetts to surrender its charter and take out a new one, in which the relations of the colony to the Home Government should be made the subject of fresh and more precise definition. To this request the colony for something like a year vouchsafed no answer; and finally, when it became necessary to do something, instead of sending back the charter, the legislature sent back a memorial, setting forth that the people of Massachusetts were quite contented with their form of government, and hoped that no change would be made in it. At about the same time Massachusetts ventured upon an act such as in nearly all ages and countries has been supposed to involve an assertion of independent sovereignty. A mint was established, and shillings and sixpenny and threepenny pieces were coined, bearing on the one side a tree with the inscription *Massachusetts*, and on the other side the inscription *New England*, with the date of issue. There was no recognition of England upon this coinage, which was kept up for more than thirty years. Though favourably disposed towards Cromwell, Massachusetts carefully avoided recognising his authority. When asked to contribute a military contingent for the conquest of the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, she courteously informed his

Highness that he might enlist five hundred volunteers within her territory if he could find so many willing to serve. The death of the Lord Protector is not even alluded to in the colonial records.

After the restoration of the Stuart monarchy, Massachusetts persevered as long as possible in maintaining this independent attitude. The cruel and ill-advised persecution of the Quakers in Boston called forth an order from Charles II., forbidding the Colonial Government to inflict bodily punishment upon the Quakers, and directing it hereafter to send them home to England for trial. But it was a fundamental principle with the New England settlers that all offences against the laws of the colony should be tried in the courts of the colony; and accordingly the King's message was not only disregarded, but in direct defiance of it the law threatening Quakers with flogging was expressly re-enacted. At the same time the colonists thought it worth while to send commissioners to England to confer with the King and avoid a direct quarrel. The good-natured though faithless Charles promised to respect their charter, but insisted that in return they must take an oath of allegiance to the Crown, must administer justice in the King's name, and must repeal their laws restricting the right of suffrage to church members and prohibiting the Episcopal form of worship. When the people of Massachusetts received this message they consented to administer justice in the King's name, but all the other matters were referred for consideration to a committee, and so they dropped out of sight. Two years afterwards, in 1664, the King sent over four commissioners to adjust various troubles in New England, and in particular to ascertain whether Massachusetts had complied with his demands; but upon this point the legislature stubbornly withheld any definite answer, while it frittered away the time in trivial altercations with the royal commissioners. It might seem strange that such an independent attitude on the part of the colony could be maintained without provoking the active hostility of the Crown. But the war with Holland and the turbulent state of English politics throughout the reign of Charles II. operated in favour of the colonists. It was not until 1679 that the easy-going King got his mind sufficiently free from complications at home to begin to realise that it was not compatible with his royal dignity to allow a little colony like Massachusetts to go on bearding and defying him with impunity. In 1679 the King sent out a letter commanding the Government of Massachusetts to surrender the province of Maine (which it had lately purchased of the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges for £1,200) on repayment of this sum of £1,200. In the same letter the colony was enjoined to put in force the royal orders of seventeen years before. To this positive injunction the Massachusetts Government replied in vague and unsatisfactory terms that the royal orders of 1662 either had been carried

out already or would be in good time, while to the demand concerning Maine no reply whatever was made. With such obstinacy as this it was impossible that the conflict could be much longer postponed. In 1684 the charter of Massachusetts was at last rescinded. In 1686 Charles II. having died, the charter of Connecticut also was annulled by James II., and Sir Edmund Andros was appointed governor of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine. In 1687 the charter of Rhode Island was rescinded, and in 1688 Andros was made governor of New York also, so that all the northern colonies were thus brought under the arbitrary rule of one man, who was responsible to the King only. These measures were quite in keeping with the general tyrannical policy of the new King, and the governor he selected for the American colonies seems to have been a thoroughly odious creature, like himself. If James had remained long upon the throne it is very probable that New England would have revolted rather than submit to the misgovernment of Andros. But Old England by this time had come to repent the fresh lease of life which she had granted to the Stuart dynasty after the death of Cromwell. Tired of the disgraceful subservience of her kings to the villainous policy of Louis XIV., tired of Popish plots and Rye House plots, and judicial murders like those of Russell and Sidney, tired of bloody assizes and declarations of indulgence, and all the strange devices of Stuart tyranny, England endured the arrogance of James but three years, and then drove him across the Channel, to get such consolation as he might from his French paymaster and patron. No sooner did the news of the Revolution of 1688 reach New England than the people of Boston rose in insurrection, seized Andros and put him in prison, and proceeded to organize a provisional government. So eager were the people, indeed, that all this was done as soon as it was known that the Prince of Orange had landed in England, and before it was perfectly clear that his cause would prevail against that of the tyrant. It marks the importance which the American colonies had already attained, that, before the Prince of Orange had fully secured the throne, he sent over a message to Boston instructing the people to preserve decorum and acquiesce yet a little longer in the government of Andros, until some more satisfactory arrangement could be made. But the indignant zeal of the people had already outstripped the cautious policy of the new sovereign, and Increase Mather, the president of Harvard College, judiciously prevented this letter of instructions from being made public. Affairs reverted to their old position before the repeal of the charter, until 1632, when the new charter, granted by King William, was promulgated. By this charter (which incidentally united Plymouth with Massachusetts) the principal changes were that no qualification of church-membership, but only a property

qualification, was henceforth to be required of voters; the governor was to be appointed by the Crown instead of being elected by the people; and all laws passed by the legislature were to be sent to England for royal approval. To this charter, involving such a curtailment of their liberties, the people with some grumbling consented; and the rest of the constitutional history of Massachusetts, like that of most of the other colonies, down to the period of the Revolution, is simply a dreary and monotonous record of irrepressible bickerings between the governor appointed by the Crown and the legislature elected by the people.

From incidents like these, which I have cited by preference from the history of Massachusetts, because in the pre-revolutionary period Massachusetts was the largest and most powerful of all the colonies, and because, owing to the peculiar conditions under which she was founded, she was, on the whole, the most haughty and intractable in asserting her independence—from incidents like these we may see that the attitude of the colonists, whether toward the Crown or toward Parliament, was dictated not so much by any nice theories of constitutional law as by the great underlying principle of English political life that an Englishman's house is his castle, and that this house can best be managed without interference from the house across the way. So far as the colonists entertained any general theory of the subject, however, they agreed with the royal rather than with the parliamentary interpretation of their connection with the mother country. They did not deny the paramount sovereignty of the King, but as Parliament conducted the government only in virtue of being a representative body, they denied that it could legally conduct the government of the colonies, inasmuch as it in no way represented them. By the year 1770 this attitude of the colonies had become clearly defined, so as to admit of distinct expression in a general theory. The political arguments of the Adamses, of Hancock, and others, were based on the theory that the British Empire was made up of various provinces, or departments, equal to each other in political value, and each legislatively independent of all the others, while all alike owned allegiance to the King. The people of Great Britain were represented by the British Parliament, which could, therefore, make laws for Great Britain and impose taxes within its limits. In like manner the people of Pennsylvania were represented by the Pennsylvania legislature, which could, therefore, make laws for Pennsylvania and impose taxes within its limits. The Pennsylvania legislature could not make laws for Connecticut, because it in no way represented the people of Connecticut; and for precisely the same kind of reason the British Parliament could not make laws for either Pennsylvania or Connecticut, or for any other American colony. If the King wanted money from his subjects in Great

Britain, he must ask his Parliament for it; if he wanted money from his subjects in Connecticut, he must ask the colonial legislature for it. For Connecticut to allow the Pennsylvania legislature to impose taxes within its limits would be to make of Connecticut a tributary state, to deprive its citizens of the birthright of Englishmen, and reduce them to the political condition of Frenchmen or Spaniards. No less obviously would it destroy the freedom of Connecticut to allow the British Parliament to take the money of its citizens for public purposes.

This very lucid theory simply gave expression to the principles of personal and local independence, for which Englishmen have in all ages contended. It was impossible to deny its validity without undermining the whole structure of English liberties. There was nothing in it which implied hostility to the mother country or disloyalty to the King; and if George III. had been willing to listen to such wise statesmen as Pitt and Fox and Burke, no seeds of political revolution need ever have taken root in the soil of such a doctrine. But George III., like all perverse and obstinate rulers, had an instinctive dislike for men of large and flexible minds and independent characters. Not great political thinkers like Pitt and Fox and Burke, but narrow-minded schemers or subservient tools like Bute and Townshend and North, were the advisers to whom he preferred to listen. The doctrine that taxes are voluntary contributions from the people to the government was one which he would no doubt have been glad to overthrow in England itself if he had only been able; he was at least determined that it should not be acknowledged in the case of the colonies. But the loyalty of the American colonists towards their King was loyalty of the English sort, and would not bear too great a strain. As long as English kings respect the liberties of the people the people profess to a great fondness for them; and since the Revolution of 1688, when the claws of the royal lion were pared and his teeth drawn, the English people have manifested profound loyalty towards the Crown, which represents, in a symbolic way, their continuous national existence. Yet during the five centuries ending in 1688 the people of England had risen in rebellion against John and against Henry III., had deposed and put to death Edward II., Richard II., and Charles I., and had driven James II. into exile—so little did their loyalty count after all when it came into collision with their sense of personal independence. So the loyalty of the American colonists at once gave way when it became apparent that the King was inexorably bent upon carrying his point. Some began boldly to inquire what title the King had, after all, to supremacy over this country, since our forefathers came over here in great measure because the Crown could not or would not afford them sufficient protection in England,

and since they came in pursuance of their own ends and not in furtherance of any intentions of the Crown? Some went so far as to deny that the discoveries of Cabot and Raleigh and Smith could properly give the British Government any right to control the territory of North America. The original title, they said, was in the Indians, the English settlers had acquired the title by purchase or conquest, and the King had nothing to do with the matter in any way. These extreme positions were hardly defensible, however, either from the standpoint of history or from that of customary international law, and when the Americans actually came to break with the King they planted themselves on much firmer ground. They accused the King of entering into a conspiracy to deprive them of their liberties. "He has combined," says the Declaration of Independence, "he has combined with *others* to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our law; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for imposing taxes upon us without our consent." The "others" with whom the King is thus said to have "combined" were, of course, the British Parliament, the existence of which as a legally constituted body possessing authority over them the Americans thus refused even by implication to recognise. In rigorous consistency with their theory that the Crown was the only power in England to which they had ever owed allegiance, the Declaration of Independence lays all the grievances of the colonists to the charge of the King. It nowhere alludes directly to the Parliament, but by means of such indirect allusions as the one just cited it contrives very neatly to point to the parliamentary majority as to an irresponsible pack of conspirators engaged in a nefarious plot against the liberties of a portion of the King's subjects. By wickedly conniving at this plot the King had forfeited his claim to the allegiance of this portion of his subjects, and they now proceeded to depose him, so far as America was concerned, on grounds quite similar to those on which in the preceding century the English had deposed James II. Nothing could well be more ingenious or plausible, and from the American point of view nothing could be more unanswerably convincing.

But while we admire the legal and dialectical skill with which the colonists laid all the burden of their grievances upon the Crown, we must not forget that after all it was the parliamentary majority rather than the King that was the actively guilty party. Except for these "others," with whom the King "combined," his own tyrannical disposition would have been harmless enough. The King of England has never possessed the right of levying a tax upon the meanest of his subjects, and it was not George III. who imposed upon the colonies the Stamp Act and the tea-tax. If the parlia-

mentary majority had gone with Pitt and Burke, the King might have stormed as much as he liked—he could have effected nothing. In point of fact the Parliament did claim the right of legislating for the colonies, though there were grave differences of opinion as to how far it was considerate or expedient to assert this right. In point of fact, moreover, Parliament actually had, at various times, passed laws affecting the commerce of the colonies, and these laws had not been actively resisted, for reasons which we shall presently discover, but partly, no doubt, because they had never been very actively enforced. Moreover, although under the Stuarts the claims of Parliament to legislate for the colonies were not admitted by the Crown, yet after the Revolution of 1688 the case was different. The Stuarts had pretended to occupy the throne by Divine right; the Houses of Orange and Hanover confessedly occupied it by Act of Parliament. And as no stream can rise higher than its source, it would have been ridiculous for William III. or any of the Georges to have laid claim in any part of the empire to an authority independent of Parliament. They did not lay any such claim; and accordingly, after 1688, the doctrine that the King in Council was the sole director of colonial affairs was quite exploded. From the British point of view, colonial affairs, like all others, were henceforth under the direction of Parliament; and this supreme authority of Parliament was never questioned either by people or by Crown.

In this way there arose a complete antagonism between British and American opinion as to the constitutional relations between the colonies and the mother country. With such divergent views, and with such an independent and intractable spirit on both sides, there was sure to be an outbreak as soon as any fundamental question of sovereignty, such as the question of taxation, was put to a practical test. Through the reluctance of the English temperament to push such delicate questions to an irrevocable issue, and through many incidental favouring circumstances, the outbreak was deferred for a long time. It was deferred until the colonies had grown so strong that the task of coercing them was really hopeless. But this immense growth of the colonies itself introduced a new complication into the case, for it was a fact of a kind which the original European theory of colonisation had not contemplated, and to which it was not prepared to adjust itself. It was a fact which profoundly affected the whole question of the relations between the colonies and the mother country, and it was owing to their utter failure to appreciate its importance that the King and his majority in Parliament persisted with such fatuity in their attempt to force their own constitutional theory upon the Americans.

According to the theory of colonisation in vogue from the time of the discovery of America down to the general overthrow of the

European colonial system which marks the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, a colony was a community which existed for the purpose of enriching the country which had founded it. Interpreted in accordance with the barbaric notions of political economy which prevailed until the time of Adam Smith, this doctrine was fruitful in many curious results. At the outset, indeed, the Spanish notion of a colony was that of a military station, which might plunder the heathen for the benefit of the hungry treasury of the most Catholic monarch. But this theory was short-lived, like the enjoyment of the plunder which it succeeded in extorting. According to the principles and practice of France and England—and of Spain also, after the first romantic fury of buccaneering had spent itself—the great object in founding a colony, besides increasing one's general importance in the world and the area of one's dominions on the map, was to create a small community for the purpose of trading with it. And the great purpose in trading was to get gold and silver, for national wealth was supposed to consist solely in the possession of these precious metals. It was not understood that the exchange value or purchasing power of these metals must diminish with their relative abundance, as is the case with any other commodity; and it was accordingly supposed that the more gold and silver any nation could get and keep, the richer it must be, irrespective of all other considerations. The trade between the European nations and their colonies was arranged as far as possible, by dint of countless legislative devices, in accordance with this grotesque theory. On these principles the American colonies must buy more from England than they sell to it, so that after squaring up the accounts the cash balance may always be received by England. To attain this object more completely, and to prevent any other country from sharing in these benefits, the colonies were required to confine their trade entirely to England. No American colony could send its tobacco, or its cotton, or its iron to France or to Holland, or to any other country than England; nor could it buy a yard of French silk or a pound of Chinese tea except from English merchants. Thus the English merchants secured for themselves a double monopoly, a monopoly of purchases and a monopoly of sales. By a further provision, although American ships might bring goods to England, the carrying-trade between the different colonies was strictly confined to British ships. Next, in order to protect British manufacturers, it was thought necessary to prohibit the colonists from manufacturing. They might grow wool, but it must be carried to England to be woven into cloth; they might smelt iron, but it must be carried to England to be made into ploughshares. Finally, in order to protect British agricultural interests, corn-laws were enacted, putting a prohibitory tariff on all

kinds of grain and other farm produce shipped from the colonies to ports in Great Britain.

Regulations of this sort were of course very tyrannical as well as very absurd, but it was a long time before the colonists felt them to be so. In point of fact they were seldom strictly enforced; but one might suppose that, quite apart from the question of strict enforcement, the colonists, who were so sensitive about their liberties, would have resented the imposition of such commercial restrictions quite as promptly and energetically as they resented the imposition of a direct tax. But there was really a marked difference between the two cases. The dulness of the human imagination is such that ten dollars extorted from a man through legislative interference with the natural course of trade, or through a debasement of the circulating medium, does not begin to affect his mind so much as one dollar extorted by a direct legislative demand for it. There is no subject, moreover, on which correct and enlightened ideas are so slow in penetrating the masses of people as political economy. This is partly because the phenomena of production and trade, though familiar in some small degree to every one, are seldom comprehended on a truly great scale, and when so comprehended they are found to be really very complicated. And it is partly because almost every man has a selfish interest in some particular monopoly, the maintenance of which is not compatible with the highest degree of public prosperity, and his interest in this particular monopoly will warp his judgment on every economical question that may come up. Even the axioms of geometry would be disputed, said Hobbes, if men's interests were peculiarly affected by them. For these reasons men's ideas on questions of commerce and finance are very apt to be in a hopelessly complicated muddle; and there are, perhaps, no other subjects about which so much nonsense is talked, in which so many transparent fallacies can acquire such sudden prevalence, or in which barbaric prejudices inherited from a predatory state of society survive from age to age with such obstinate vitality. Horace Greeley's argument that the burning of Chicago was a "blessing in disguise," because it made work for so many poor people, may serve as an example of the dire confusion of ideas which still prevails. If we read over the speeches that were made by the inflationists in the American Congress in 1874, or by the "silver men" in 1877; or if we contemplate the marvellous patchwork of tariff legislation under which American industries have suffered since 1861, we need not wonder that two hundred years ago the British Government should have thought it right and expedient to impose the Navigation Act upon its colonies, or that the colonists should have failed to perceive anything wrong in principle in the commercial restrictions which it contained. The theory of personal freedom was in those

days—among Englishmen at least—very far advanced; but the theory of commercial freedom had not even begun to dawn in men's minds.

There was still another reason why the colonists did not resent the commercial legislation of Parliament, as they afterwards resented its attempts to tax them. We have seen that the colonists always admitted in theory the authority of the King; and down to the Revolution of 1688 the regulation of commerce had always been one of the royal prerogatives. In the time of the Great Rebellion the Parliament had seized upon this along with other royal prerogatives; and in 1688 it became an established principle that the regulation of commerce should be henceforth in the hands of Parliament. The colonists would appear to have witnessed this change without any great concern, and probably they troubled themselves very little about it. It mattered little to them how King and Parliament composed their differences so long as colonial interests were not conspicuously affected. The right to make rules of trade for the whole empire simply passed from one British source of authority to another. It was a very different thing when Parliament claimed the right to impose direct taxes on the colonies; for this was not invading the rights of the Crown, it was invading the rights of the colonial legislatures. It did not involve the mere transfer of power from one British source of authority to another; it involved the transfer of power from the colonies to the Home Government—from America to England. By attentively considering this fundamental difference between the legal aspect of the two cases, I think we shall thoroughly comprehend why it was that the colonists allowed Parliament to pass twenty-nine acts in regulation of their commerce, but instantly rose with unanimous and indignant protest at the passage of the Stamp Act. The one kind of legislation they might regard as oppressive, but they were not quite prepared to stigmatise it as illegal—and so they submitted. The other kind they regarded as not only oppressive, but unquestionably illegal—and so they rebelled. Their behaviour was that of a people no less regardful of established legal precedent than determined in the assertion of their liberties; and the contrast finely illustrates the combination of intractable independence with patient decorum which is such a very marked feature of the American character.

But while the attitude which the Americans assumed on these great constitutional questions is thus perfectly clear, consistent, and intelligible, we cannot be surprised at the incapacity of the British Government to comprehend their attitude. As we have seen, the right to regulate the affairs of the colonies had been seized, along with other royal prerogatives, by the Parliament on the occasion of the expulsion of the House of Stuart; this right had been exercised

in various acts restrictive of colonial commerce without any constitutional protest on the part of the Americans; and why should it not continue to be exercised in other acts for the raising of revenue, especially if such acts (like the Stamp Act, for example) were not necessarily oppressive in character, and were intended to operate for the advantage of the whole empire in discharging a war debt which had been incurred for the common benefit of both British and Americans? This reasoning seemed perfectly sound to the average member of Parliament in the fifth year of George III., and I have even heard it urged in England within the past ten years. It was not, however, considered valid by Pitt, or by the other great statesmen who belonged to the parliamentary minority at the time when the taxation of the colonies came up for discussion. For plausible as it may have appeared as a legal argument, its plausibility after all rested only upon that old European theory of the nature and purposes of a colony which the enormous increase of the English in America had rendered quite antiquated, which prescient statesmen like Pitt fully perceived to be antiquated, but which George III. and the Squire Westerns who made up his parliamentary majority still clung to as firmly as to the Gospel. As long as a colony was held to be merely a little commercial station created by the mother country for commercial purposes, it might have seemed well enough that its affairs should be subject to minute parliamentary supervision, and it might hardly have been thought worth while to grant it a separate representation, though men like Winthrop and Penn, and the other leaders of American colonisation, never took so low a view of their work as this. In fact, the ample political privileges which had been conceded to the colonists at the outset were hardly compatible with this narrow view. But, however this might be, the prodigious growth of the American colonies had now rendered the application of the old colonial theory quite preposterous. The thirteen colonies in the year 1770 could in nowise be regarded as so many trading stations. They had become a great continuous segment of the English nation, including a population of three millions, or more than one-fourth of the whole English race, for the population of Great Britain at that time did not exceed eight millions. To seek to apply the old colonial theory to so considerable a portion of the English world was as absurd as the attempt of John Willet, the innkeeper in *Barnaby Rudge*, to recover his grown-up runaway son by advertising him as a child of tender years. This surprising development of the colonies essentially modified the legal aspects of the case, and gave to the Stamp Act the appearance of an attempt to disfranchise three millions of English subjects in a body. Commenting on James Otis's position that "taxation without representation is tyranny," the Tories in Parliament observed that to concede it would

be to admit the necessity of parliamentary reform, since many large and important boroughs in England were unrepresented, but were not therefore considered exempt from taxation. This was very true; so true that the victory of the Americans was one of the things which soon afterwards began to make Liberal statesmen in England look upon parliamentary reform as a necessity. But the Tories who urged this argument quite misconceived the dimensions of the problem. The Americans, they said, even if they paid their tax, were no worse off than the people of Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, or Manchester—large towns of modern growth which had not yet secured a representation in Parliament. These friends of the King would have shown a much more just appreciation of the case if they had asked themselves what would be likely to happen, and what ought to happen, if Parliament were to shut the doors upon its Scotch members, and then proceed to pass a Stamp Act for Scotland.

The contest over the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies began at a most auspicious moment for American independence. According to Mr. Green, in his *Short History of the English People*, the history of the United States as a nation begins with the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham. In 1755 John Adams, then teacher of a village school at Worcester, predicted that "if we can remove these turbulent Gallics," our people will in another century outnumber the British, and all Europe will not be able to subdue us.[1] In two ways the American Revolution was a direct and immediate consequence of the French War. In the first place, the total overthrow of the French removed the formidable enemy which for nearly a century had so severely annoyed the northern colonies, and which had lately begun to threaten the south also. With the removal of this aggressive enemy, which had openly avowed its intention of keeping them for ever cooped up between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies, the English colonies had now no foes or rivals east of the Mississippi. And after the collapse of Pontiac's schemes in 1765 the power of the Indians also was felt to be broken. In the event of a conflict with England the colonies had now no cause to dread an attack in the rear. Nay more, so far as the French were concerned, they might now, in such an event, be counted on for sympathy rather than opposition. For in revenge for the terrible humiliation they had just suffered, it was clear that the French would enjoy nothing so much as seeing England also stripped of her colonial empire in the New World. Indeed, even while he signed his name to the Treaty of Paris, the Duc de Choiseul exclaimed that it would be England's turn next. So that in entering upon their great struggle the Americans could now reasonably hope for the sympathy and, as the event proved, even for the active and valuable aid of the French Government.

(1) Bancroft, *Hist. U.S.* iii. 143.

In the second place, it was the French War which directly originated the quarrels that led to the revolt of the colonies. The French War had been incurred in the interests of the colonies as much as in the interests of England; it had saddled the British Government with an enormous debt; and it was thought to be no more than fair that the Americans, who had reaped such advantages from the war, should contribute their quota towards the payment of the debt. People in England, whose relatives had died on the Mononogahala and the St. Lawrence, and who were now burdened with taxes on account of this American War, no doubt thought it ineffably mean in the Americans to be so obstinately unwilling to put a threepenny stamp on their legal and commercial papers in order to help defray the war debt. Not so, however, thought the wisest English statesmen, who understood the nature of the constitutional admission involved in the use of the stamp. If the colonial legislators had been asked to contribute voluntarily to the defrayal of the war debt, they would very likely have cheerfully consented. As in Hampden's case, it was not the money but the principle that they cared for.

In the intensity of their opposition to the claims of Parliament to impose a direct tax upon them, the colonists now proceeded so far as to deny the constitutional right of Parliament to legislate for them in any case, and they made up their minds to endure no further commercial restrictions. As early as 1761, two years before the close of the French War, the British Government endeavoured to enforce the Navigation Act; and it was then that the eloquent plea of James Otis against "writs of assistance" first told the Government what it might expect if it were to persist in such a policy. Here, cradled as it were in the French War, began the Revolution of the colonies. Four years later came Grenville's Stamp Act, answered by Patrick Henry's famous "Virginia Resolutions," and by a general attitude of rebellion so menacing that in the following year the obnoxious measure was repealed. In the next year, 1767, it occurred to Charles Townshend that he might accomplish, by a duty upon tea and a few other articles, what Grenville had failed to accomplish with his scheme of direct taxation. In 1770, so unpopular was this measure, that all the duties except that on tea were repealed. The tea-tax was retained, not so much because the Ministry cared for the revenue from it as in defence of the principle that Parliament could legislate for the colonies. Thus, as in Mrs. Gamp's case, a tea-pot (or rather a tea-chest) became the cause or occasion of a division between friends. None of the colonies would take tea on such terms. New York sent it back to England; South Carolina let it mould in a damp cellar; Maryland made a bonfire of it; and Massachusetts threw it into the sea. Thus, in December, 1773, the

glove was thrown down, and in the following April Lord North took it up with his bills for closing the port of Boston, and remodelling the government of Massachusetts. This, as the subsequent events showed, was virtually the declaration of war.

Into the discussion of the military events of the Revolution it is not my purpose to enter, though in many respects this was an extremely interesting war, besides being full of romantic incidents. The attempt of England to coerce the colonies was plainly impracticable, both on account of their great extent and because of the omnipresence of their political life. To capture Paris or Vienna would be to lay France or Austria at the feet of the invader; but the capture of New York or Philadelphia helped the British very little, because the machinery of political life could be directed in America as well from one centre as another. Permanently to disconcert a people with the "town-meeting principle" so deeply wrought into their political fibre, it would have been necessary to occupy the whole country; and this would have exceeded the ability of Great Britain or any other power. The true military policy of the British commanders was to aim at the American armies, and seek to disperse or capture them rather than to take possession of political centres or military posts. But this was no easy task for the men who had it in charge. None of the British commanders gave evidence of much ability, except Lord Cornwallis; nor do they, as a general rule, seem to have been very zealous in their work. Sir William Howe, in particular, though his military honour was unimpeachable, does not seem greatly to have relished the work of fighting against men who were still regarded as Englishmen. On the other hand, these mediocre commanders, despite the superiority of their troops in discipline and equipment, were opposed by one of the most consummately bold and vigilant generals the world has ever seen.

In the survey which we have taken of the relations between the colonies and the Imperial Government which terminated with the Revolution, I have sought to exhibit in a clear light the very considerable share of independence which the colonies possessed from the very outset. It may be said with truth that the War for Independence was undertaken not so much for the acquisition of new liberties as for the protection and maintenance of old ones. With regard to its liberties the English has been the most grandly conservative race in the world. Its political petitions and its bills of rights have been the declaration of principles of self-government hoary with honourable antiquity. Its Magna Charta refers us back to the liberties of Edward the Confessor, and the liberties of Edward but carry us back to the assemblies of freemen described by Tacitus. English self-government dates from prehistoric times; but what

other peoples have in the turmoil of ages partially surrendered, the English, by unremitting vigilance, have kept unimpaired, while continually surrounding it with fresh guarantees of permanence. Whatever power, be it that of lord, or bishop, or king, has sought to infringe upon this liberty of the people, has swiftly paid the penalty of its rashness in disastrous ruin. The American War of Independence belonged to the same series of struggles with the Barons' War of the thirteenth century and the Great Rebellion of the seventeenth. It was the struggle of a portion of the English people in defence of a great constitutional principle, and its victorious issue was a victory of English political ideas. It was in no sense of the words a struggle between one people and another, as the Seven Years' War had been a struggle between the France of the Old Régime and England—two nations representing totally different theories as to how the work of life ought to be conducted. It was a war, indeed, in which, under somewhat different circumstances, the end might have been attained and the colonists have carried their point without the necessity of a political separation from the mother country.

The question has sometimes been asked, What would have been the probable effect upon the material development of the United States if the ties of political union with England had not been severed, as might easily have been the case had Lord Chatham been Prime Minister with a strong majority in the House of Commons? It has been suggested that in that case we should have become but a second-rate sort of nation, such as we are accustomed—rightly or wrongly—to consider Canada. It should not be forgotten, however, that the differences between Canada and the United States were far more strongly marked a century ago than they are to-day; and that, even had Canada joined us in our successful War of Independence, these differences, which date from the times of Champlain and Winthrop, could hardly as yet have been quite obliterated. It should also be remembered that the growth of the American colonies before the establishment of independence was quite as rapid as the growth of the United States has been since that event. And it is difficult to see what circumstances consistent with the preservation of peace and political freedom could have availed seriously to check our rate of growth, whether our vague connection with England had been retained or not.

However this might have been, it is easy to point to at least one political advantage, of quite incalculable importance, which grew out of our separation from England. The difficult problem of framing a federal union would no doubt have had its solution much longer postponed had it not been for the War of Independence, which made some kind of confederation an immediate necessity. The solution of

the problem, moreover, would have been needlessly complicated and encumbered by an attempt to include in the scheme our peculiar relations to a British sovereign and a British parliament. The experiment of federalism was one which it was in every way desirable that the American people should try for themselves, in accordance with the peculiar circumstances of their civilisation, and without the least possibility of outside interference. The experiment of federalism, if we may so term it, as thus far illustrated in the history of the United States, is one of the most interesting and wonderful phenomena in the whole history of mankind; for it is an experiment whose results shall determine whether it is practicable for fifty or sixty powerful states to exist side by side without custom-houses, or standing armies, or frontier fortresses, settling all their differences by law, and not by wager of battle. It is an experiment which on a very small scale Switzerland long ago succeeded in solving in spite of profound differences of language, race, and creed. The problem could hardly be approached for the first time on a great scale, as in America, save by groups of people speaking the same language and inheriting similar social and political traditions. Among the great countries of Europe, moreover, it was only England that could send forth groups of people politically capable of dealing with such a problem. Obviously the experiment of federalism could never be tried successfully except by a people of long political experience, and among whom the principle of local self-government had remained intact.

Such considerations lend thrilling interest to the remarkable series of events which resulted in the acquisition of the North American continent by men of English race. A crowd of new suggestions come up, throwing light upon America's place in history. We may begin to regard the settlement of this great country by Englishmen as equivalent to the planting of some of the noblest and most beneficent of political ideas on a fruitful soil so vast in area that their powerful influence shall grow until it sways the actions of men in all parts of the earth. To have established the federal system over one great continent is to have made a fair beginning towards establishing it over the world. And, whatever may be the case with peoples less advanced politically, perhaps it may not be too much to look forward to a time when all the communities of English race and speech may be united in a bond which allows perfect local freedom to each community, but shall require all questions of international concern to be adjusted peaceably in accordance with general principles respected by all alike.

JOHN FISKE.

HEALTH RESORTS IN THE PYRENEES.

An interesting route to the Pyrenees, and one not frequently followed, is that through Central France—through Auvergne and the Cantal to Toulouse. Clermont-Ferrand too is a good halting-place, whence the Puy de Dôme may be easily ascended and a general idea gained of the curious volcanic district around. At Arvant, a few miles south of Clermont-Ferrand, you leave the line of rail which goes to Nismes, and enter upon that which passes through the mountainous department of Cantal, and after passing Aurillac joins the Limoges and Toulouse line at Figeac. This is certainly one of the most extraordinary examples of railway engineering in Europe. The road is for a great part of the way cut out of the steep mountain side; now and again it runs through a deep cutting, spans a profound gorge by a lofty viaduct, or leaps with a single arch over a rushing mountain torrent. Tunnels succeed one another with astonishing frequency, and one of these, the tunnel of Lioran, is considerably more than a mile in length, and is, at its entrance, 3,700 feet above the sea! In passing through it one passes from the basin of the Loire to that of the Gironde. Ruins of ancient castles are as numerous on the mountain tops as they are on the banks of the Rhine; curious basaltic rocks, some surrounded with numerous stages of prismatic columns, which the French liken to organ-pipes, are frequently passed. For a long time the conical summit of the Plomb du Cantal is seen as a prominent feature in this remarkable landscape, the railway actually skirting its base. Next to the Pic de Sancy, the Plomb du Cantal is the highest mountain in Central France; it forms, as it were, the centre of a great number of volcanic chains, which spread out from it to the north, south, east, and west.

The railway after passing Aurillac still continues to run through mountain scenery, but scenery of a richer and more pastoral kind, and the turbulent mountain streams unite here into broad, swift rivers. Within twenty miles of Toulouse the country becomes flat and uninteresting. It is somewhat remarkable that this interesting mountainous region of Central France should have hitherto attracted so little attention from English tourists.

From Toulouse to Bagnères de Luchon, in the Pyrenees, is a railway journey of about three hours, passing by Montrejeau, where there is usually a considerable delay. Soon after leaving Montrejeau the railway crosses the Garonne and enters the department of the Hautes Pyrénées.

The valley narrows, and in parts from time to time some lofty peaks appear in the distance. Just beyond the confluence of the Pique with the Garonne the railway again crosses the latter, leaves the valley of the Garonne to the left, and enters the beautiful valley of Luchon.

It is a pleasure, says M. Taine, to be ill at Luchon. Without going quite so far as this, one may certainly say that it must be a great pleasure to be cured in such a place. Luchon is decidedly a town of pleasure. Everything is arranged to make life look agreeable. I think it is Cherbuliez who says that life is feeble in the *mise en scène*, but here, at Luchon, art and nature combine to produce a *mise en scène* which is quite irreproachable. It is as though the best bits of the Bois de Boulogne and the Boulevard des Italiens were thrown down in the midst of the grandest and fairest of mountain scenery. On each side rise immense mountains richly wooded to their very tops, and the valley is closed in by inaccessible rocky peaks, remarkable both for form and colouring. Between the mountains the floor of the valley is literally an inhabited park or garden. Broad avenues of houses are partly concealed and shaded by double avenues of trees. The hotels are surrounded by gardens, illuminated at night by the electric light, for even that little bit of Paris life is not wanting. Dining-tables with brilliantly white linen and glittering plate and glass are laid out in the open air, and the promenaders and the diners walk and dine in presence of one another. Parisian waiters rush from table to table, and Spanish and Parisian beauties with Parisian toilettes adorn these tables. Magnificent hotels, comfortable clubs, excellent food and cooking, really fine music in the most tastefully arranged of pleasure grounds in front of the bath establishment, gay flags and banners floating in the air—for it is rare that there is not some fête or other to excuse such a display; and on the particular occasion I speak of a glorious moonlight streaming over all—such is Luchon in fine weather and at its best. What it may be in bad weather and at its worst I cannot say. The houses around are all, or nearly all of them, elegant villas with tastefully arranged gardens. The horses which abound here, for everybody rides or drives apparently all day long, are quick and active, and the carriages are comfortable and elegant. Carriages and four are as common as butterflies; and the mounted guides (I doubt if any of them would condescend to walk) are got up in a smart costume, and have an off-hand, dashing manner, equal to anything of the kind to be seen on the stage of the Opéra Comique.

Luchon is admitted to be the queen of Pyrenean health resorts; but it is not a place for a poor person or a solitary person. If you come to Luchon you should take Iago's advice and "put money in your purse," for here, and indeed in most places in the Pyrenees,

there is a thirst for the stranger's money as great as the most vengeful thirst for an enemy's blood. I heard a French lady remark that it was "un vol organisé." The expression was a strong one, but possibly it was not altogether unjustifiable.

One ought not either to be solitary, for beautiful and numerous as are the excursions around Luchon, very few of them are adapted to the pedestrian. Horses or carriages and guides are nearly always necessary, and unless one belongs to a party of three or four the expense attending such excursions is very considerable. It must also be borne in mind that unlike Switzerland, where you often start at a considerable elevation, in the Pyrences you start usually from the bottom of a hot valley, and have to toil uphill for many miles in the hottest part of the day, as nearly all the higher points of view are at a great distance from one's starting-point. The people, then, who come here for health ought to bring some of their family or friends with them, or bring introductions to families already here. It is remarked with astonishment by the physicians and hotel-keepers at Luchon that so few English come here, while many go to Aix; yet for a sulphur-bath Luchon stands pre-eminent in all respects—for the abundance and variety of its springs, the quantity of water they afford, their composition and range of temperature. It is situated at an elevation of over two thousand feet above the sea, has a mild climate, and in the months of May, June, and September a fresh and somewhat bracing air. In July and August it can be very hot, and it is during these months that it is crowded with Parisians and Spanish; but even in August the mornings and evenings are often deliciously fresh.

The springs of Luchon, like those of most of the Pyrenean spas, are sulphur springs; but it is claimed especially for Luchon that owing to the great number of its sources, the great quantity of water they yield, and the variations in their composition and temperature, it is possible here, by having recourse to one spring after another, and by blending different springs, or by the mere extent of choice, to vary and graduate and adapt the treatment to a great variety of cases and every kind of constitution and temperament.

The waters have the well-known smell and taste of sulphuretted hydrogen, but chemical analysis shows that there is but a small quantity of this gas in them. The chief amount of sulphur which they contain is in combination with sodium, as sodium sulphide. There is no doubt, however, that a considerable quantity of sulphuretted hydrogen is given off from the surface of the water in the baths, and the air over the large *piscines* contains quite one per cent. of this gas, so that breathing this air for an hour at a time, while swimming about in the water, may certainly have a decided therapeutic effect. The sulphur compounds in some of the springs

readily undergo decomposition either on exposure to the air or when mixed with cold water, and they then become milky from the presence of precipitated sulphur. This also is thought a valuable property, especially in the treatment of some forms of skin disease. These waters have an alkaline reaction and a pleasant soft feeling to the skin. Besides other mineral constituents to which little importance is attached, they contain organic matter, which is found deposited, often in combination with sulphur, in the reservoirs and conduits of the water. There exist also some iron springs in the environs of Luchon; the principal one, and the best and pleasantest, on account of the carbonic acid it contains, is that at Sourrouille. Some persons drink it at table mixed with wine. The springs at Luchon are so numerous that it has been found convenient to classify them, according to their amount of sulphuration and their temperature, into eight groups. The hottest are the *Bayen* (68° C., or 154° F.), *Pré*, No. 1. (60° C., or 140° F.), *Grotte Supérieure* (58·4° C., or 137° F.), and *Reine* (57·6° C., or 135° F.). These have, of course, to be cooled or mixed with springs of lower temperature before they can be used for bathing purposes. But for the purpose of what is called *étuves sèches*, or dry vapour baths, and for the *salles d'inhalation*, their high temperature is altogether advantageous; the atmosphere in one of these *salles* can be raised to 46° C., *i.e.* 117° F., by allowing the vapour of the mineral water to spread freely through it. There are no less than twenty-two *buvettes*, or places where the waters of the different springs can be drunk, and these are supplied from four of the eight groups to which I have referred. Three of the *buvettes* are in the establishment itself, nineteen are in what is termed the "Promenoir des Buvettes," a pleasant covered walk behind the building, and four are situated about a hundred yards from it under an exceedingly pretty rustic *kiosque*, which is called the "Buvette du Pré," placed on an elevation in the park which commands a charming view. Here there are two *salles* appropriated to gargling, an important process at all these sulphur baths, and it has also a little *salon au premier*, where one can sit and enjoy the view. A number of bottles of syrups of different kinds surround the *buvettes*, and these are added by most persons to the waters to lessen their disagreeable taste. Patients often begin here, as elsewhere in France, by very small doses of the waters—a third or half a glass twice a day—and this is very slowly and cautiously increased, for some digestions are readily disturbed by sulphur waters; they are taken fasting before breakfast and during the hour or two which precede dinner. Drinking the water is, however, but a small part of the various curative processes which are made use of at Luchon. The *Etablissement Thermal* is a handsome building, elaborately fitted up with all the appliances necessary for utilising the waters according

to the most approved methods. It has well-appointed *salles d'inhalation* and *pulvérisation*, others for vapour baths, others for *humage*, *i.e.* for breathing through tubes the hot vapour given off by the springs. There are eleven different sets of baths in separate pavilions, supplied from different sources, and so arranged that the bather can take his bath with or without an atmosphere of vapour. A hundred and twenty of the baths are of marble, each furnished with a local douche. There is also a special department for the various sorts of douches, two small piscines for men and the other for women, and another large *piscine de natation*. Altogether it is one of the most complete bathing establishments in Europe. The great central hall of the Etablissement, the "Salle des Pas Perdus," is constructed of white marble, the walls handsomely decorated with frescoes, and it is conveniently furnished with chairs and lounges and tables, supplied with a number of French and other newspapers. To this fine, well-furnished hall the public are admitted free, and they can lounge there for hours reading the papers if they are so disposed.

In the next place let us inquire what are the cases to which the treatment at Luchon is applicable. Chronic diseases of the skin, and of these especially chronic eczema, form perhaps the major part of the cases which come to Luchon for treatment. Other chronic skin diseases, often improve considerably here, but they do not yield the same satisfactory result as cases of eczema. Chronic muscular rheumatism is often relieved here, as indeed at most thermal spas. Certain diseases of the glands, and especially of the bones, derive benefit, often in a marked degree, at Luchon. The waters of Luchon are also reported to be, like those of Barèges, of great efficiency in the treatment of gun-shot wounds. Several ambulances were established here after the Franco-German war, and excellent results are said to have been obtained from treatment by the sulphur waters. It is quite likely that they exercise a useful antiseptic action in such cases. Foreign bodies are stated to be extracted from the wounds by the influence of the baths. Cases of lead and mercurial poisoning are said to be cured here. Chronic affections of the throat, the ears, and the nose are largely and successfully treated by these waters, applied usually in the form of pulverisation and local douches. The source named the Pré is gaining a repute for the relief of chronic chest affections, as bronchitis, laryngitis, and all catarrhal conditions of the air passages. Some special maladies, to which I need not now allude further, are dealt with successfully at Luchon. Bagnères de Luchon then is a thermal station of much importance and attractiveness, and one that should not be overlooked by English doctors and English patients.

Bagnères de Bigorre presents a great contrast to *Bagnères de Luchon*.

As a permanently inhabited town it is larger, but as a thermal station it has much less to recommend it, and it has the appearance of being much less frequented. After Luchon, it presents quite the aspect of a rural retreat; though here also there is a little bit of Paris, but it is rather a small bit of the Palais Royal than the grand Boulevard. Indeed, the stalls in the Promenade des Coustous, with their bad cutlery, cheap jewellery, and lottery tables, scarcely merit a comparison with anything Parisian.

The bath establishment is insignificant as compared with that at Luchon, and need not be described. The waters are very feebly mineralised, of a comparatively low temperature (32° C.), and do not contain sulphur. They are used chiefly as baths, and are thought to be especially valuable in cases of hyperæsthesia, in excited and feeble nervous systems; in such cases they are reported to produce remarkable calming and sedative effects. They are, in consequence, much resorted to by delicate ladies with hysterical and other disturbed conditions of the nervous system. Daily immersions for some time in tepid water have no doubt, in many cases, a very soothing effect, and this influence is no doubt aided and augmented by the calm, unexciting life, the mild mountain climate, and the agreeable surrounding scenery. The town lies at an elevation of about 1,800 feet above the sea, on the left bank of the Adour, in a charming situation near the opening of the valley of Campan, and overlooking the rich plain of Tarbes. It is not *in* the mountains like the other Pyrenean spas, but is situated just where the lesser elevations begin to rise from the plains. It is amongst the outposts of the great central chain. Its pleasant climate and attractive scenery, and its accessibility by railway, make it a much-frequented resort of the permanent winter residents in Pau; there they escape the great summer heat of the latter place. Bagnères de Bigorre is especially rich in Roman remains. "The Romans," says M. Taine, "a people as civilised and as bored as we are, came as we do to Bagnères. Rome has left her traces everywhere at Bagnères. The pleasantest of these relics of antiquity are the monuments which the patients who were cured there erected to the Nymphs, and the inscriptions upon which still exist. Reclining in their marble baths, they felt the healing virtue of the beneficent goddess spread through their limbs; their eyes half-closed, dozing in the soft embrace of the tepid spring, they heard the mysterious source, falling drop by drop, in monotonous chant, from the bosom of its mother rock; they saw the surface of the effused water glisten around them with its pale green ripples; and there passed before them, like a vision, the strange look and the magic voice of the unknown divinity who visited the light in order to bring health to unhappy mortals."

Cauterets is, perhaps, at the present time the most popular of

Pyrenean spas when regarded from a purely medical point of view. It is not a resort of fashion and pleasure like Luchon, but most of the visitors to Cauterets come with a serious purpose.

People who visit Cauterets, at any rate if they avail themselves of the railroad, must needs pass by Lourdes; and they may encounter, as I did, on a fiercely hot day in August, a long train packed full of pilgrims returning from a visit to that shrine. To those who have only read of pilgrimages, the word probably calls up in the mind a picture not without some romantic colouring. They associate it with pious toil and faithful sacrifice, picturesque costumes, and venerable men and holy women! It may have been so in the Middle Ages, but, alas! the reality of the nineteenth century is something very different. A modern pilgrimage is more like a crowded Crystal Palace train on a bank holiday: say a gathering of Foresters, and the likeness will be more complete, for each pilgrim, like the Forester, wears a badge. The train pulls up, and the pilgrims rush out, hot, dusty, and perspiring, in search of water. They are a vulgar and noisy crowd. They have all the badge of the *sacré cœur*. There are many priests among them, and quite without prejudice it may be said, that it would be difficult to find a less intelligent, more common-place, and really common-looking class of men. Indeed, I looked for some intelligent, pleasant face amongst the crowd, and I looked in vain.

At Lourdes a short branch line runs off from that between Pau and Toulouse to Pierrefitte, at which place diligences meet the trains to convey passengers to Cauterets, or to St. Sauveur and Barèges. From Pierrefitte to Cauterets is a drive of about seven miles; and the road bifurcates almost immediately on leaving Pierrefitte, that to the left going to St. Sauveur, that to the right at once commencing the ascent to Cauterets. The road ascends, nearly the whole of the way, through a picturesque valley, dominated by lofty peaks, rugged and wild in parts. The road is here and there cut out of the side of the rock at a dizzy height above the foaming torrent, the Gave of Cauterets, rushing along beneath. As we approach Cauterets the valley widens, and finally discloses the little town situated at the bottom of a narrow basin, surrounded nearly on all sides by lofty summits frowning down from immense heights on the small town which lies crouched between the bases of the mountains. Several mountain valleys open into this basin, and lead to wild and picturesque excursions into the very heart of the Pyrenees; none of them are carriage roads except that leading to Pierrefitte. Cauterets is thus quite in the mountains, its elevation being a little over 3,000 feet; its climate, however, is scarcely so bracing as might be expected in a place of this elevation. It is so much shut in on all sides by high mountains that it is capable of becoming very hot and close in certain

conditions of atmosphere. The mornings and evenings are, however, fresh and pleasant, especially before the end of June and after August. The basin of Cauterets is very prone, like other places of this medium elevation, to become somewhat suddenly filled with clouds, which may linger long, and give rather a dull and sad aspect to the little town. The climate is also rainy, and subject to sudden changes of temperature.

The reputation of Cauterets as a health resort is very ancient. M. Taine tells us that Julius Cæsar is said to have been restored to health by the spring named after him "César," and Abarca, King of Aragon, by the spring on that account named "du Roi." It was here that Marguerite de Navarre, sister of François I., a distinguished example of the race of "superior women," wrote the chief part of the *Heptaméron*. She came here with "her court, her poets, her musicians," interested in all subjects, reading Greek, learning Hebrew, and delighting in theological discussion; at the same time, tender and simple: "Une imagination mesurée, un cœur de femme dévoué et inépuisable en dévoûments, beaucoup de naturel, de clarté, d'aisance, l'art de conter et de sourire, la malice agréable et jamais méchante." Such is the attractive picture M. Taine gives of Marguerite de Navarre at Cauterets.

The waters of Cauterets are sulphur waters, like those of Luchon, but they are considered to be milder in their action and more sedative. They are efficacious, like those of Luchon, in diseases of the skin, in scrofulous affections, in chronic throat ailments, and especially in chronic diseases of the respiratory organs. I asked one of the leading physicians at Cauterets what they did with consumptive patients there. "We cure them," he replied, and he expressed great astonishment that we English physicians did not send more phthisical patients to be "cured" at Cauterets. But beyond this general statement I was not able to procure any definite demonstrative evidence of the cure of such cases at Cauterets. It is not easy, of course, to produce such evidence at the moment it may be asked for, and credit must be given to the medical men who practise there for intelligence and honesty; and their testimony is so strong in favour of the great amelioration that certain cases of consumption undergo at Cauterets, that it must, I think, take rank amongst the health resorts to which persons who are afflicted with chronic forms of consumption should be sent.

There are a great number of mineral springs at Cauterets, and several bath establishments, some of which, notably the César, are most elaborately fitted with every appliance that modern science has suggested in the use of mineral springs—douches of all kinds, inhalation and pulverisation chambers, besides baths of every description.

The source, however, which is especially valued for internal administration is *La Raillère.* It is really curious to encounter the long procession of drinkers coming away from the Raillère Spring, which is situated at some little distance from the town; each, young and old, sucking a stick of "sucre d'orge à l'eau de Cauterets." It is impossible to explain satisfactorily how the small quantity (sometimes only four or five table-spoonfuls twice a day) of this somewhat feebly mineralised sulphur spring can produce the remarkable curative effects that are claimed for it. But that many chronic catarrhal conditions are greatly benefited or cured there seems no doubt. Moreover, the good results obtained at Cauterets are not confined to the human species. "Horses," we are told, "from the studs of Tarbes and Pau, which are afflicted with chronic, bronchial, and stomach catarrh, &c., &c., are sent to the springs at Cauterets, and are often cured there in a week."

Eaux Bonnes is another Pyrenean health resort, frequented chiefly by persons suffering from affections of the throat and respiratory organs. "Chaque siècle," says M. Taine, "la médecine fait un progrès. Par exemple, au temps de François I., les Eaux-Bonnes guérissaient les blessures: elles s'appellaient *eaux d'arquebusades;* on y envoya les soldats blessés à Pavie. Aujourd'hui elles guérissent les maladies de gorge et de poitrine. Dans cent ans, elles guériront peut-être autre chose. Les médicaments ont des modes comme les chapeaux. Un médecin célèbre disait un jour à ses élèves: 'Employez vite ce remède pendant qu'il guérit encore!'"

It is a pleasant carriage drive of four or five hours from Pau to Eaux Bonnes. A little more than half-way, and just beyond the small village of Louvie-Juzon, one enters the *Vallée d'Ossau,* and in the distance, high above the other mountains, one sees the *Pic du Midi d'Ossau,* easily recognised by its curious summit of two unequal peaks. Within three or four miles of Eaux Bonnes the route bifurcates, that to the right going to Eaux Chaudes, and that to the left mounting to Eaux Bonnes. The village, about 2,400 feet above the sea, is situated in a somewhat narrow gorge stretching between the steep mountains which here bound on each side the *Vallée d'Ossau.* The chief part of the village consists of three rows of uniformly built houses and hotels, forming three sides of a quadrangle, and enclosing a space planted with trees, and called the *Jardin Anglais,* where the inevitable band plays, and where the visitors walk, or sit and talk, or read, or work, as they may be disposed. Beyond and above the Jardin Anglais is the Etablissement Thermal, and to the right, built in a conspicuous position on a terrace, is the handsome new church. Here also commences the remarkable and interesting carriage road constructed through the mountains which leads from Eaux Bonnes to Argelis.

A characteristic of Eaux Bonnes is the possession of a very fine promenade, which is called the *Promenade Horizontale*; it begins at the Casino—a building not yet completed—and is continued along the side of the mountain out of which it is cut, always on the same level, parallel to, but at a considerable elevation above, the road leading from Eaux Bonnes to Eaux Chaudes. It is planted with trees, under the shade of which many seats are placed commanding beautiful views of the *Vallée d'Ossau*. When it is completed, according to the original design, it will extend for more than three miles until it joins the road to Eaux Chaudes.

Eaux Bonnes, with its excellent hotel accommodation, its pleasing site, and the numerous interesting excursions into the mountains which it commands, attracts every year a considerable number of the Parisian upper classes, who find a comparatively calm and unexciting and refreshing retreat there from the gay life of Paris. Its climate, too, is especially soothing; there is exceedingly little wind there, and I was assured by an excellent authority that the air is often so still that one may pass days without seeing a leaf stir on the trees. It is, however, subject, like most other mountain stations, to thunder-storms and heavy rains.

The quantity of water yielded by the springs at Eaux Bonnes is limited, so that it has never been the custom to use them, to any extent, as baths; the *Grand Etablissement*, however, contains a certain number of baths, as well as two rooms devoted to foot baths, a chamber for gargling, another for throat douches and for *pulvérisation*. There is also another smaller *Etablissement d'Orteig*, and a third *Etablissement de Bains de Santé et d'Hydrothérapie*, in which the various processes of the "cold-water cure" are applied.

The principal spring, *La Source Vieille*, is a warm sulphur spring, in which the sulphur exists in combination with sodium, having a temperature of 33° C., or about 92° F. It is to the use of this spring that the good results obtained in so many cases of throat and chest disease are attributed.

To spend three weeks at a pleasant station like Eaux Bonnes, and by so doing to get rid of one of those exceedingly troublesome throats which are common amongst public speakers, singers, and especially clergymen (hence often called "clergyman's sore throat"), one would think ought to prove an agreeable and popular remedy. French people seem to be of this opinion, and ecclesiastics and actors and singers abound at these sulphur springs, but one meets exceedingly few English there.

It is then for the cure of chronic affections of the throat—of the pharynx and larynx—that these waters are especially renowned, as well as for the cure of chronic bronchial catarrhs. It is also claimed for them—and the claim rests on no less an authority than that of

the great physician Trousseau—that they are of unmistakable efficacy in cases of consumption; and this opinion is firmly maintained by those who have had many years of experience in treating such cases at Eaux Bonnes. It is, however, in the strictly local and limited manifestations of this malady, and not in those cases in which there is obvious general constitutional infection, or in which the disease is rapidly advancing, that the cure at Eaux Bonnes is indicated. There is any amount of medical testimony forthcoming as to the efficacy of the waters of Eaux Bonnes in fitly selected cases of consumption; while many of those chronic cases which by careful management continue to maintain a feeble but tolerable existence, by passing the winter in the south, &c., come year after year to pass some part of the summer season at Eaux Bonnes.

Eaux Chaudes is distant about six miles from Eaux Bonnes by a good carriage road; there is also a very interesting walk over the mountains between the two villages, commanding magnificent views of the grand surrounding mountain scenery. The carriage road for the first three miles is the same as that traversed in coming from Pau. It will be remembered that this road bifurcates within about three miles of Eaux Bonnes, the branch to the right going to Eaux Chaudes. When we reach this bifurcation we enter a narrow defile, sombre but picturesque, bounded on each side by enormous mountain walls, with a blue band of sky overhead. The road keeps to the left side of the gorge, often at a great height above the river—the Gave—which five hundred feet beneath roars and foams along its steep and stony bed.

We come somewhat suddenly upon the village of Eaux Chaudes, a simple village of a few houses and hotels, most charmingly situated in the very bosom of the mountains. As a health resort, as a bathing station, Eaux Chaudes seems as it were to have fallen asleep; it presents none of the life and activity and outward signs of material prosperity encountered in most of the other Pyrenean spas. Its Etablissement des Bains is almost deserted; there are baths, but no bathers; there are springs, but no one comes to drink them. The bath attendants invite you imploringly to avail yourself of their services; the rows of empty unused glasses mutely appeal to you to "come and drink." And yet Eaux Chaudes is one of the most picturesque spots in the Western Pyrenees; but it is not in vogue at present. The tourist comes and admires the beauty of the site, drives to the village of Gabas, most grandly situated amidst wild mountain scenery, the magnificent Pic du Midi closing in the horizon, and then probably returns to his hotel at Eaux Bonnes. But the patients at Eaux Chaudes are few. When the *route internationale* between Eaux Chaudes and the famous Spanish mountain health resort Pantiosa is completed—and it has been recently deter-

mined that it shall be completed—passing by Gabas and the Col de Portalet, Eaux Chaudes may possibly recover some of its ancient reputation. The springs are sulphur springs, as elsewhere in the Pyrenees, but they are rather weaker and of lower temperature, notwithstanding the name of Eaux Chaudes.

Eaux Chaudes enjoyed at one time some reputation as a "ladies' bath," but St. Sauveur, near Barèges, is now the resort *par excellence* of the French ladies.

It is common, after a "cure" at one of the Pyrenean health resorts, to consolidate the results by a visit for a few weeks to one of the adjacent watering-places on the coast of the Atlantic; and Biarritz or San Sebastian or St. Jean de Luz or Arcachon are all conveniently situated for that purpose.

The preceding is a brief sketch of a rapid personal survey, during the last autumn vacation, of a few of the most important health resorts in the Pyrenees. It is somewhat remarkable that few English health-seekers find their way to these thermal stations; yet they possess many attractions; most of them are in situations of great natural beauty, and surrounded by scenery possessing every kind of interest. The hotels are for the most part good, and the natives civil. But there are also certain drawbacks which weigh heavily on the English mind. Even in some of the largest and best hotels in the Pyrenees—and I would instance the large and handsome new hotel at Cauterets—there is an inattention to decency and cleanliness in some important domestic arrangements which would not be encountered in a third-class hotel in Switzerland. Then the Pyrenees are expensive, and if the natives are civil and polite they require to be paid handsomely for their civility. Moreover, you can scarcely move without a guide. There is hardly an indication anywhere, as in other districts visited much by tourists, by which a pedestrian can find his way; indeed pedestrianism is not in vogue in the Pyrenees, horses or carriages and mounted guides being the order of the day. And no doubt in some of these hot valleys it is better to ride or drive than to attempt to walk. Then, again, you do not encounter in the Pyrenees any of those excellent hotels built in attractive spots at considerable elevations, such as exist in great numbers in Switzerland, and from which the higher mountains can be conveniently explored. But for invalids who come with a serious object, the life at such resorts as Luchon or Eaux Bonnes presents much that is attractive and agreeable.

J. Burney Yeo.

MR. BRADLAUGH AND HIS OPPONENTS.

THE Bradlaugh controversy has at the moment of my writing ceased to occupy general attention. Its future, if it is to have a future, will depend upon the course of the legal proceedings. Meanwhile, however, it has led to certain illustrations of contemporary sentiment upon which I may venture to say a few words. The true issue presented is the perfectly simple one: Should an open avowal of atheism disqualify a man from a seat in Parliament? This question has, indeed, been mixed up with two others: whether, namely, Mr. Bradlaugh is a man of good character—which is a question for his constituents; and whether the present state of the law excludes him from Parliament—which is a question for the judges. On the first of these questions I have nothing to say; and in regard to the other I need only remark that when the legal question has been settled by competent authority the question will still remain whether the present state of the law is desirable or otherwise. If Mr. Bradlaugh is inadmissible, the barrier which keeps him out may be removed; and if, on the other hand, he is admissible, it may be, and indeed it already has been, proposed to erect new barriers. Now the general principle is admitted on all hands that a man should not be excluded from Parliament on the ground of his religious opinions, and it would be needless at the present day to go over the familiar arguments by which this principle is supported. It is urged, however, that an exception should be made in the case of avowed atheism; and it is this proposal, or rather the mode in which it is defended, which suggests a few remarks.

And here, in the first place, the singularly narrow character of the proposal is noticeable. No proposal is made to exclude atheists as such. An atheist who holds his tongue, and who has no difficulty about pronouncing a formula which is for him merely a set of empty words, may be admitted without difficulty. Nor can it be fairly said that such atheists are to be admitted simply because their atheism cannot be proved, as we assume that a man is innocent whose guilt cannot be established so as to satisfy a court of justice. If there were a serious desire to exclude atheists from Parliament, the straightforward and obvious method would be to propose a new test. Let every man qualify himself by a public declaration of his belief in God. If such a test were carried it would exclude conscientious atheists, and would be a stumbling-block even to those who were not conscientious; a public profession of a faith which they were known to reject would clearly be a difficulty, if only on the ground of their reputation amongst their supporters. But no

one has dared to propose such a test. The only method suggested for excluding atheists is the ingeniously illogical Bill of which notice was given by Sir Eardley Wilmot. Since, it is said, Christianity is part of the common law, a man is to be disqualified, not for being un-Christian, not even for being an atheist, but for publicly attacking a belief in theism. It is quite clear, therefore, that even the most violent of Mr. Bradlaugh's opponents do not propose to put the slightest difficulty in the way of atheists unless they are atheists who have defended their opinions in public. No difficulty is thrown in the way of atheism itself, but at most in the way of overt and aggressive atheism. And that which gives point to this consideration is the notoriety of the fact that atheists of a different type have been, and probably still are, members of Parliament. Nobody dares to attack them, though everybody knows that they exist, and though the weapon for attack lies ready at hand.

Some persons, it is true, may be daring enough to deny the fact of their existence. I have never yet been able to discover any fact which people will not deny if it is supposed to be an awkward fact for theists; but I can hardly imagine anybody denying this statement with a grave face out of the pulpit or in any atmosphere accessible to the influence of common sense. Reputable speakers referred with all due decorum to the case of John Stuart Mill; and certainly it was a strong case in its way. The only thing which appears strange to me is that any allegation of specific cases should be necessary. There is something audacious about the tacit assumption that an atheist is so rare an animal that he can only be discovered by a careful search into the annals of the past. There is, of course, a sense in which atheism is rare, and has been declared by serious thinkers to be impossible; I mean the dogmatic assertion that there is no God in any of the meanings in which that word can be used. I am not aware that even Mr. Bradlaugh would make any such statement. But if atheism be used to express the state of mind in which God is identified with the unknowable, and theology is pronounced to be a collection of meaningless words about unintelligible chimeras, then I have no doubt, and I think few people doubt, that atheists are as plentiful as blackberries. I am quite sure that the highest authorities in the Church are never tired of lamenting the growth of atheistic principles, and that philosophers of one school are never tired of arguing against atheism. I cannot suppose that all these learned persons are belabouring an imaginary adversary, or that there are such mysterious entities as widely-spread principles which are yet the principles of no concrete persons, or, finally, that members of Parliament are selected exclusively from the believing part of mankind. It would not be right, and I certainly do not think that it can be necessary, to cite any private

information upon such a matter. I may, however, say without offence that, being myself an agnostic (for reasons which I need not here discuss I do not consider myself to be an atheist), and having had the honour of talking to a good many members of Parliament, I have certainly not found them incapable of sympathising with my opinions. Occasionally, it is true, their views might be most fitly expressed by the words of a most honourable and active-minded gentleman, of whom I once asked what he thought about the great question of theology. "I have never," he replied, with admirable frankness, "been able to bring my mind to take the slightest interest in the subject." Nobody could be keener in discussing political and social problems; but he considered theology to be as obsolete and idle a study as astrology. This happy indifference may or may not be enviable; it is certainly not uncommon. But at any rate I will venture to give as my guess, that such members of Parliament as condescend to deal in theological questions have very much the opinions of the ordinary cultivated Englishman. They are much too respectable, as a rule, to say anything shocking to their clergy or to their wives; but if they are not saturated to the core with the opinions which clergymen denounce as atheism and materialism, my experience must have been of the most exceptional kind.

I am not disposed, however, to labour a point which every candid person will admit. Open atheism is not common in decent English society. But a radically sceptical frame of mind in regard to theology is so common that the opposite state of mind is fast becoming the exception; and I have no fear of being contradicted when I say that a majority of the House of Commons is either infidel or sublimely tolerant of infidelity. To try to purify such an assembly by excluding one or two men who have chosen to speak their minds openly is to try to preserve the health of a town by forbidding the entry of small-pox patients unless they wear a mask. The advocates of such a plan might boast of their regard for decency, but they had better be silent as to their respect for the laws of health.

The simple truth is that, so far as the objection to Mr. Bradlaugh is sincere, it is not an objection to his atheism simply, but to the offence which he has given by his way of proclaiming his various unpopular opinions. The honest, stupid part of the church-going public feels that it has been insulted, and is simply anxious to revenge itself upon the insulter. Nothing can be more intelligible, and, in its way, the sentiment is entitled to a certain sort of respect. But I will not waste words upon pointing out its utter irrelevance. If Mr. Bradlaugh has maintained doctrines generally regarded as immoral, that is no reason for punishing him on a totally different

ground. It is like flogging a man for picking pockets because you suspect him of being unkind to his wife. It is equally illogical to disqualify him for his opinions simply because his mode of uttering them has been offensive. Nobody would seriously propose a test for keeping out men who uttered opinions in an offensive manner. You, therefore, try to keep out a man for uttering them at all, though you know that the test will be utterly ineffective against numbers who really entertain them, and where effective will be just as effective against the most respectful and sincere reasoner as against the most blatant and insulting. The general repugnance to Mr. Bradlaugh's mode of expressing himself explains the general desire to throw stones at him, but is anything but a justification of a random stone-throwing.

I will not dwell further upon this because the honest objection to Mr. Bradlaugh requires no explanation, and is not the most significant objection. There never was, and probably never will be, a time when the persecution of unpopular sentiments will not commend itself to plenty of hot-headed ignorant bigots. But there is another kind of opposition to Mr. Bradlaugh which I find it difficult to call honest, and which is in need of a little more explanation. The secret is not very profound; but it may as well be openly revealed. I speak of the really intelligent persons who have joined in the cry and done their best to stimulate the passions of stupider and more sincere people. His ablest opponents know quite as well as I do that the House of Commons is not a body composed exclusively of sincere theologians. They don't really want to keep atheists out of it by any of their clumsy contrivances, for they know perfectly well that no test which they can devise will have meshes close enough to keep out shoals of unbelievers. Moreover, it is hard seriously to believe that they care very much for the interests of theological belief, for it requires a considerable stretch of charity to suppose that they have much of the article themselves. What, one would really like to ask, do the smart journalists and eloquent orators who are declaiming against atheism mean by theism? If they uttered their real sentiments, would they not shock their supporters pretty much as decidedly as Mr. Bradlaugh himself? Nothing is easier than to say, I believe in God; and to proceed to explain that God means X. A very cursory familiarity with theological works would suffice to show how easy it is for persons to agree upon a common symbol to which each section may attribute its own meaning. If any one wishes for an effective illustration of the process, he may turn to the first Provincial Letters in which Pascal explains how, by the adoption of a common phrase, Dominicans and Jesuits gave apparent unanimity to their attack upon the Jansenists. But even if the Jesuits were as black as Pascal painted them, I doubt whether they sanctioned a more

radically disingenuous trick than Mr. Bradlaugh's assailants. We all believe in God, they say, and you do not. Therefore we all have at least one article of faith in common. That you all have a word in common is undeniable; but I should very much like to know what common state of mind is indicated by the word. It has been maintained by many theologians that all heathens are atheists, because the gods in whom the heathen believe are beings entirely different from the true God. And the argument is so far sound that it illustrates the enormous variety of opinions covered by the single word, theism. One man says that he believes in God, and explains that by God he means the universe. You are not a theist, replies the orthodox, but a pantheist, and a pantheist is simply an atheist in disguise. A Manichee believes in a good God, but thinks that there is also a bad God. You, too, are an atheist, says the orthodox, for you explicitly deny the existence of one Supreme Being. A polytheist believes in any number of gods; but it is abundantly clear that a finite being, of doubtful moral qualities, is not entitled to be called God simply because he is supposed to be, as a general rule, invisible. The believer in a "personal God" generally declares that all other theism is a belief in a mere metaphysical abstraction which is as good as belief in nothing; and the deist explains that to believe in a personal God is to believe in a finite Infinite, or, in other words, in a contradiction in terms, and cannot, therefore, be a genuine belief in anything. By what conceivable right do the people who hold the most varying and virtually contradictory theories of the universe consider themselves to form a unit for the purpose of condemning Mr. Bradlaugh, simply because they agree upon the use of a single sound?

This argument, familiar enough, and lying on the very surface of the question, becomes still more effective when one looks for an instant at its political bearing. We do not object, it is said, to a man's speculative opinions (whatever that may mean); but we think that an atheist cannot be trusted in political matters. Now I certainly hold that a man's religion, if it be a genuine religion, is pretty certain to affect his views in every other capacity of life. I entirely disbelieve in the possibility of a man's dividing his mind into two separate compartments, and keeping his religious faith in one and his political in another. But I should like to know what is the community of political faith implied in the acceptance of theism? Is it not a notorious fact that there is no common ground whatever? Theism and Catholicism, say some ardent believers, Cardinal Newman amongst others, are undoubtedly associated by an absolute logical necessity. A man, therefore, who is a genuine theist is bound in the interests of theism to support the rights of the Catholic Church. As a theist I will vote for anything that increases its power. No,

replies a Protestant, I believe in a God who inspires my conscience and who inspired the Bible; and that God tells me that the Pope is Antichrist, and the Catholic Church the greatest enemy to all that I hold dear. My theism teaches me to vote for anything that will restrain its power. My God, says the deist, is a God who speaks to man at large, not to any particular sect; and the audacious attempt of priests and churches to monopolise God is simple blasphemy. My theism, therefore, teaches me to oppose every variety of priest or church. Since I believe in God, says the legitimist, I believe in the divine right of kings and the indefeasible authority of the old order. Since I believe in God, says Rousseau, I believe in the absolute and indefeasible rights of man, and regard kings and priests as cheats and tyrants. I believe in God, says one eloquent and able writer, and that belief is my only guarantee for a belief in progress, for progress must be the rule in a divinely ordered world. We believe in God, reply a whole chorus of ardent theists, and that belief enables us to endure the spectacle of a world forgetting God and growing daily more corrupt in consequence; for our God has ordered us to seek for comfort in a world radically different from this. One man finds in theism the only safeguard for the rights of property and the sanctity of the family. Another thinks that theism implies communism, and on the strength of his faith preaches the most directly revolutionary doctrines. The teaching by which Mr. Bradlaugh has given the deepest offence is no doubt associated with atheism; and it is natural enough that assault upon old beliefs should be associated with assault upon the old morality and the old social order. But there are abundant illustrations of the fact that the most startling attacks upon all that we are agreed to hold sacred may be made under cover or in virtue of a vigorous and fanatical theology. Antinomianism in various forms is one of the natural embodiments of such a belief.

What, then, is it which the antagonists of Mr. Bradlaugh are really anxious to defend? If we will not allow dust to be thrown into our eyes, and proceed to cross-examine these energetic theists, what common ground can we find in their creed? You "believe in God"? Good; and what do you mean by God and by belief? The only answer is a very literal "For God's sake, hold your tongue." But I decline to hold my tongue, and as I know for excellent reasons that I shall have no answer, I shall venture to supply one myself. Of course it is grossly unfair to impute opinions to anybody, and I will freely admit that the creed which I am about to expound is not entertained by any person who disavows it. It is certainly not a creed which men care to confess; and perhaps it is not one which men care to hold consciously. I only say that it is one which a great many people ought to hold, and especially which many of Mr.

Bradlaugh's angriest assailants ought to hold, if they had the courage to look into their own minds. It is briefly this. There *may* be a God. Who would be fool enough to deny a proposition so obviously transcending all our means of knowledge, so easily convertible to the purposes of any school of thought, and the denial of which is so unpopular? But one thing is perfectly certain, namely, that if there be a God he has nothing to do with politics. In theory we may believe what we please, in practice we must behave —as Butler says in regard to freedom and necessity—as though God did not exist. If anybody doubts whether this is a popular creed, he may try one or two simple tests. He may ask, for example, the old question, what kind of reception Jesus Christ would meet if he were to appear in the nineteenth century? What would modern reviewers make of St. Paul's Epistles if they were to come out as a new book? If a preacher of some form of communism, an advocate of Dives against Lazarus, a prophet of a new order subversive of all settled ideas, were to be shot or transported for sedition to-morrow, there would of course be a general chorus of approval. It would be equally a matter of course that any pretension from the assailants of order to supernatural powers, or a story of a prophet seen after his death by five hundred believers in Colorado, would be set down as the rankest superstition, and treated to the most caustic ridicule in the power of smart journalists. Though there are a few Methodists and ignorant miracle-mongers in the higher classes who are still in the state of mind in which such legends take root, nobody doubts what is the view of ordinary men of sense about all such matters. I fully agree, for my part, with the men of sense, though I should think them strangely inconsistent if I supposed for an instant that they really applied different canons of belief to the superstitions of to-day and to superstitions two thousand years old. The God which interferes after the old fashion is a God in whom the modern mind can only believe by a special *tour de force*. But this is a trifle, which I only notice by way of illustration.

Theism, in fact, seems to mean as a general rule one of two things—either it means attachment to some particular church, to some visible society which is held to be the privileged organ of divine influence; or else it means the rather vague and malleable belief, entertained in some form or other by many men of high principles and generous sympathy, in some kind of providential superintendence of human affairs. Such a belief rather shrinks from any definite dogmatic form, and is apt to melt imperceptibly into certain analogous doctrines as to evolution and progress. Now I need not say that theism of the former kind is held only by those antagonists of Mr. Bradlaugh who represent the more bigoted variety of Catholicism. The men of whom I am now speaking reject

that form of belief as explicitly as the most thoroughgoing atheist. They regard it as an outworn superstition, though probably as one which may be occasionally useful. And it is the simplest mode of expressing their general attitude of mind to say that they reject the other form of theism with even more indignant contempt. For theism in this sense is used to sanction the doctrine which I should maintain upon different grounds—that every sound political theory must embody a high moral sentiment, and go along with a sincere respect for the rights of human beings and a sincere desire to promote the progress of the race. Now it is, as it seems to me, the special characteristic of many of Mr. Bradlaugh's opponents that they treat such doctrines with their whole resources of scornful rhetoric. They regard the advocates of such principles as theorists, ideologists, and, to use the word which sums up the worst of all imputations in their vocabulary, as sentimentalists. They implicitly and elaborately deny that morality in this wide sense ought ever to be considered by a politician. He ought, perhaps, to be faithful to his fellows and to observe his agreements, but he should laugh at the very notion of applying moral ideas to international relations. They would think any man a madman who should seriously believe that the Rhine would be dried up to allow the passage of Prussian armies. They would hold with equal confidence that any man was a thorough fool who held that Bismarck or Napoleon was likely to come to a bad end because his policy was rooted in contempt for human rights or justice. They implicitly maintain that force and fraud are still the cardinal virtues in the affairs of nations, and the most likely qualities to meet with the blessings of success. To get on in the world a people ought to brag about its greatness, and to hoot down any one who dares to put in a word for humanity. A nation which should be foolish enough to stay its hand, to refrain from crushing a savage tribe or supporting a corrupt tyranny from any silly scruples of morality, is a nation already marked by political decrepitude.

I have listened to so many eloquent orations of this kind that I do not think that I am caricaturing their substance. Of course, some flourishes about patriotism and public spirit are thrown in here and there to still the foolish scruples of British morality. But so far as I can understand the preaching it comes pretty much to this: that God, if there be such a being, helps those who help themselves; that helping themselves means trampling upon others; and that the character which really pleases Providence is that which collects the strongest battalions and uses them with the most sovereign disregard of all other people's interests. As the old woman said of the devil, if this is the way in which Providence behaves I don't see much use in keeping a Providence at all. That people who really hold such

opinions at the bottom of their hearts, and are not ashamed to confess them as openly and fully as they dare, should really turn up their noses at Bradlaugh because he says that he does not believe in a God, appears to me to be one of the most singular of contemporary phenomena. Can they point to a single contingency in which the existence of God requires to be taken into account in forming an opinion? If not, why do they make such a fuss about such a trifle?

The answer, I take it, is plain enough. But before giving it one further remark must be made. If Mr. Bradlaugh is to be excluded for atheism, it seems to be a necessary assumption that his exclusion is likely to discourage atheism. Of course, the simple, hot-headed bigots do not stop to consider that question. They simply lower their heads and run at the red rag without ever asking whether they are likely to trample it under foot or to help it to rise higher than before. But the more intelligent opponents of Mr. Bradlaugh are too wise for this. They know so well what is the true state of the case, that it would be an insult to their sagacity to advance elaborate arguments. They know, as well as I can tell them, that if all the secularists and atheists in the kingdom had been asked how to advance their opinions, they could not have devised a better scheme than the Bradlaugh agitation. No reasonable person even affects to doubt for a single instant that Mr. Bradlaugh has succeeded beyond his expectations, if, as some people have said, it is his object to obtain a thoroughly effectual advertisement. Upon this point there is simply no room for argument. I sincerely regret the agitation, because I do not like to see questions of this kind carried into the arena of heated popular passions, and the most important of all controversies tainted by a flavour of vulgarity. But I will venture to say that one good result is likely to arise from it, namely, that a man who is an atheist will henceforward be less ashamed to call himself an atheist. An atheist will now mean a man who dares to speak out, and whose plain speaking has exposed him to some degree of persecution, and yet of persecution which everybody feels to be supremely ridiculous. As an advocate of free thinking I am pleased to see any opinion which is honestly held gain a better opening for direct utterance. But one can hardly suppose that Mr. Bradlaugh's opponents share my view; and yet they are fully aware of the necessary consequences of the line which they have taken. They have done what lay in them to advertise the existence of a numerous body of atheists, and to make that body less afraid of public prejudice than it ever was before.

And now I may return to the question, What is the secret of this antagonism? Mr. Bradlaugh's intelligent opponents have no real prejudice against his atheism, however much they may dislike some

other doctrines which he has maintained; they would not dislike it if it were openly expressed by such a man as Mr. J. S. Mill; they do not believe that any measures which they propose are likely to purify the House of Commons from the taint of infidelity; their belief in God is to all appearance a belief in nothing but a set of words, and is compatible with an intense aversion to the application of theology generally valued by sincere believers; and, finally, they know perfectly well that they are not discouraging atheism or Mr. Bradlaugh's influence in the country. What, then, do they really mean? Undoubtedly clever men often do very stupid things, especially when they are blinded by hate; and I can give these gentlemen credit for hating Mr. Bradlaugh very heartily; he rejects a good many shibboleths which have more value in their eyes than a belief in God. But there is another element in the feeling which I take to be more potent, and which is more reconcilable with their general sagacity. If they hate Mr. Bradlaugh they hate Mr. Gladstone with a sevenfold hatred. They see a chance of damaging him and his Government for the time; and for anything I know their calculation may in this respect be well founded. It gives them at any rate a lively pleasure to insult Mr. Gladstone personally, and to insult him on a specially tender point. Whatever weaknesses he may have, nobody has a right to doubt, or does in fact doubt, the sincerity of his religious convictions. Mr. Gladstone is clearly a sincere theist and Christian. It is, therefore, specially delightful to be able to couple him with the man who is most conspicuous in his assault upon Christianity and respectability. It is charming to see "Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Gladstone" printed in large letters upon a placard, to force the ardent believer to walk about arm-in-arm with the audacious atheist and to feel that if you throw mud at one of the pair you are tolerably certain to splash the other. I do not mean to assert that this is a mere personal antipathy, though, to say the truth, the intense bitterness exhibited seems at times to imply that it is not entirely free from some such element. But Mr. Gladstone is undoubtedly the type of much that is most vigorously hated by a large party in the country, or at least in the upper classes. His antagonists must have been almost disposed to believe in Providence, if so absurd a hypothesis ever enters their minds, when they saw the chance provided for them of blackening the character of the Minister on the one side on which it might have been held to be absolutely unassailable. And, at any rate, this was obviously a question which required delicate handling to avoid shocking the sensibilities of respectable classes. The natural function of an Opposition is to make every stumbling-block for a Ministry as difficult as possible without regard to consequences. One cannot wonder that the present Opposition should snatch this

opportunity, however paltry may be the excuse. I remember that dirty little boys at Cambridge used to smear the gates through which one was to pass with filth, in order that they might get a penny for opening them. That is an application in a humble sphere of the regular tactics of an Opposition, and I dare say that the people who call themselves practical politicians will regard it as fair play. For my part I am inclined to consider it in this case as a piece of contemptible hypocrisy, and I hope that the not very profound artifice may before long be seen in its true light even by the general public.

This, in fact, seems to me to be the only aspect of the question which is really deserving of serious notice. Persecution in any serious sense is quite out of the question. Nobody will dare to persecute atheists or agnostics; they have too many friends in the opposite camp. Nobody will dare for long even to keep them out of Parliament, if exclusion from Parliament is to be considered by anybody in the light of a persecution. In one way or other the difficulty will doubtless be surmounted, and no harm worth mentioning will have been done to anybody. But I confess that I am moved to a certain indignation when I see a union between cynics and hypocrites; when the good honest blundering bigotry which still survives in the English race is used as a cat's-paw by rancorous partisans who, for their own part, neither fear God nor regard the devil, but who manage to pull a long face and talk with edifying solemnity about the wicked atheist as long as they can stimulate the wrath of their dull allies. I am ready, for the sake of argument, to take the valuation of Mr. Bradlaugh's character which commends itself to his most violent opponents. I will suppose him to be a coarse demagogue, preaching immoral doctrines and needlessly insulting the sensibilities of his opponents. But I confess that my sympathies are entirely with him in his battle which he has to fight. The rank and file of his opponents are not so much the sincere believers as the worshippers of a hollow and hide-bound respectability, the people who prostrate themselves in abject veneration before the shallowest cant of the day, and their leaders are men whose genuine belief in God is about on a par with Mr. Bradlaugh's, but who see an admirable chance for putting in a spoke in the wheels of a Liberal Government. No coarseness, or brutality, or irreverence for the general objects of belief is half so shocking to my mind as this triple alliance between solemn humbugs, honest bigots, and cynical and unscrupulous partisans. It may do our half-hearted sham believers some good to see a rough hand laid upon some of the objects of their idolatry; but it is an offence to public morality to see a combination of the most discordant elements for the nominal purpose of maintaining the respectability of Parliament, though every intelligent

person on both sides knows perfectly well that the concord is of the most superficial kind conceivable, and that the end really desired is utterly different from that which any one openly proposes. There is probably no reasonable person on either side who would not agree, if the question were really considered on its merits, that the single question should be, how to admit Mr. Bradlaugh most speedily to the House of Commons? Whatever disturbance is made in the process will simply represent so much addition to the existing stock of ill-feeling, and no permanent advantage to any side in the controversy. But it is enough for Mr. Bradlaugh's opponents to believe that by skilful management part of this ill-feeling may be accumulated upon the luckless heads of the Liberal Government. If they could attain the same end by supporting Mr. Bradlaugh's claims and throwing upon Mr. Gladstone the odium of bigotry, I do not see any ground, so far as their public utterances are concerned, for doubting that they would have taken that line just as readily as the other. Suppose that Mr. Bradlaugh had been a Tory, as Mr. Rogers tells us that all atheists naturally are, would not the whole arsenal of taunts have been brought out to assail any Liberal Government which should hesitate about instantly admitting him? That such things should be is no doubt a natural consequence from our admirable system of party government, but it incidentally reveals an amount of insincerity which, if I may use the only word to express my feelings, is simply disgusting.

LESLIE STEPHEN.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES: THEIR POSITION AND PROSPECTS.

SOME years since there sat a Parliamentary Commission to report on the desirability or non-desirability of establishing a National Friendly or Benefit Society, which it was proposed should be worked through the Post Office. Amongst the advantages the Parliamentary Commission claimed for a National Society were enumerated the following:—

That the greatly enlarged basis would give a more certain

That the disturbing influence of unhealthy trades would be less felt.

That members moving from one district to another would be able, without inconvenience, to keep up their assurances.

On the other hand, there was the opinion of the late Mr. Sotheron Estcourt from a non-official point of view, and of Mr. Scudamore from the official side. The former was of opinion that the Government ought not to undertake the administration of sick pay; the latter stated, "I am afraid a central establishment like the Post Office would not be able to guard against a very serious amount of malingering."

Mr. Scudamore appears to have lost sight of the fact that though the Post Office is a central establishment, it is also the most universally distributed, reaching every house in the kingdom; and though the Post Office has not a district staff to check malingering (it would be surprising if it had, seeing it is a duty it has never been called on to perform), yet it is the most favourably situated of all existing organizations for carrying out the financial arrangements of receiving and paying: the payments, of course, to be made under certificate of the National Benefit Society's district officer for sick relief.

The Parliamentary Commission also brought out the fact that in the local Friendly Societies, where it was considered that every member is a check on every other member, the average of daily sickness to each member of the society, and the average period of sickness to each member sick, are higher than in the affiliated orders; that is, the larger the organization the smaller the amount of imposition, evidencing that the larger organizations afford better and more effective supervision.

Since that Commission sat much information relative to Friendly Societies has been brought before us that was not at that time known.

The Chief Registrar, by his corrected Report of Friendly Societies for the year 1875, confirms facts that preclude all confidence in the solvency of a large number of the Friendly Societies. The return forms sent out that year to societies in England and Wales were 25,234. The returns received numbered 11,282, embracing 3,304,187 members; and of these nearly two million members are associated with societies of which, looking at the accounts rendered by them, it is impossible to hope that they will be able to meet the engagements they have undertaken.

We have also before us the Chief Registrar's Report of Friendly Societies in England and Wales for the year ending December 31st, 1876, in which he states that he received returns from less than half of the societies to which he applied for them, and to which he supplied forms of returns. Surely, if a society is sound and flourishing, it must be beneficial to that society for the fact to be known; and the fact that more than half the societies felt so little confidence in their position that they considered silence the more prudent course, leaves us no alternative but to adopt their own view of their position.

The returns from Scotland show 485 societies, containing 563,463 members, with assets making an average of £1 0s. 1d. per member.

Ireland returned 339 societies, containing 87,726 members, and assets that give an average of £1 8s. 5⅛d. per member.

In the year 1876, besides those societies that died of inanition, without funds for their legal dissolution, one hundred and forty societies were legally dissolved.

The Chief Registrar's published returns of Friendly Societies for the year 1877 shows an improved report as regards the Scotch and Irish societies.

To Scotland 753 forms for returns were sent out, and the forms received are summarized as under—543 returns, 618,416 members, with total assets of £702,962, giving an average of £1 2s. 9d. per member.

To Ireland 540 forms for returns were issued, and the Chief Registrar received back 312 as under—312 societies, embracing 38,114 members, with total assets £87,018, giving an average of £2 5s. 8d. per member.

For England and Wales, he states that 24,409 forms of returns were sent out, and that 12,133 returns were received, including 4,565,173 members, with assets of £10,942,347, being an average of £2 7s. 11⅓d. per member; 2,204,084 of these members are connected with Lancashire societies, and their assets average 16s. 8½d. per member.

The six largest societies in point of membership, in the collecting class, are—

Per Member. s.	d.		Members.	Funds. £
14	1	The Royal Liver Friendly Society, Liverpool	776,703	547,394
10	0	Liverpool Victoria Legal Friendly .	370,894	185,253
1	11½	United Assurance Society, Liverpool .	173,713	17,016
4	1	Royal London Friendly Society, London	138,207	28,307
4	0	Blackburn Philanthropic Burial Society	116,546	22,842
1	3	Integrity Life Assurance and Sick Benefit Society	111,007	7,001

All of these being of the collecting class. Twenty-three other societies returned over 10,000 members each, all but eight of them being in Lancashire.[1]

The Chief Registrar calls attention to the costly nature of the operations of the societies of the collecting class; that is, those that receive contributions by means of collectors at a greater distance than ten miles from the registered office of the society. He says the costly nature of the operations of these societies is shown by the returns of twenty-seven of them, which show 41 per cent. of

(1) Since this paper was written, the Chief Registrar's preliminary return for 1878 has been published. Particular localities evidence the effects of the stagnation of trade. In these localities several societies show an increase of assets per member—not from an increase of receipts, but through the lapse of members and the forfeiture of their past contributions. Thus the poorer the member, the more contracted his means, the greater the danger of his losing the provision for sickness and old age for which he may throughout many years have paid. The returns for England and Wales for 1878 show an average of £2 6s. 10½d. per member.

At page 6 the Chief Registrar states—"For the past two years a column has been set apart in the abstract of returns for the statements made as to the provisions for old age—the result of which has been to show how very small a proportion of the societies even profess to make such a provision, and how trifling it is when made.

"The larger collecting societies coming within section 30 of the Act of 1875 have now been placed in a class by themselves.

"The thirty returns received from societies of this class show a total of 1,998,325 members, or over forty-three per cent. of the whole number returned, but their funds amounted to £1,032,352 only, being 10s. 4d. per member."

At page 14—"In course of the year forty valuation returns were received and accepted as in compliance with the Act.

"As was stated in last year's report, it is certain that this does not at all represent the actual number of valuations made.

"Exactly one-half of the forty societies show an estimated deficiency on the valuation, amounting in the aggregate to £197,535, their accumulated benefit funds amounting to £86,254.

"Of the other half, nineteen show an estimated surplus on the valuation, amounting in the aggregate to £84,344, their accumulated benefit funds amounting to £366,079. The remaining one society shows neither surplus nor deficiency, as the amount of the benefits is made to depend upon the amount of the assets realised and value of the estimated contributions.

"It will be observed that one society, the Primitive Methodists Itinerant Friendly Society, whose total benefit funds are £27,122, shows an estimated deficiency on the valuation of no less a sum than £143,672."

Page 19.—"The Dorset County Friendly Society also shows an estimated deficiency of £31,382."

With these facts before us relative to the valuations received, what are we to conclude of those that are withheld?

the gross receipts to have been spent in management. While the total receipts for the year of these twenty-seven societies were £620,091, the total management expenses as returned were £245,533, as against £283,694 disbursed in benefits. In some other societies the amount returned as expended in management exceeds the benefit payments—as in the case of the Liverpool Victoria Legal, which expended £40,950 in benefits, and £47,457 on management; or the Royal London Friendly, which expended £15,764 in benefits, and £21,858 on management (the latter including a trifle in medical aid). Do not these facts suggest that some of the Friendly Societies are being kept afloat more for the benefit of the management than for the benefit of the members generally?

What the cost of management should be, or at least might be, in a well-conducted society of this class, may be seen from the following. Sir Alexander Wood, Deputy-Chairman of the Great Western Railway Company, presiding at the annual dinner of the Engine-drivers and Firemen's Mutual Assurance Society, held at the offices of the railway company at Paddington, on the 23rd of April last year, referred to the prosperous state of the association, which, he said, had been established fourteen years; and stated that the average cost of management for every pound spent in benefit had been 4d. and nearly one-third of a penny; and that in a number of other societies, having no fewer than one and three-quarter millions of members, the cost of management amounted to upwards of 17s. 3d. for every £1 given in benefit; and in some societies the amount expended in management had actually exceeded the benefit payments. Thus in this society the management expenses are covered by less than 4½d. in the £1 on the benefits paid; while other societies, including between one and two million members, spend from 17s. 3d. to over 20s. to pay a benefit of 20s.

In many societies the continuous decrease per member in their assets, as shown by their annual reports, proves not only that capital accumulated in the early days of the society is being absorbed, but also that the payments of the younger members, instead of being invested for their future, are being absorbed in meeting present claims. These facts set before us the unsatisfactory condition of many of the Friendly Societies, and the great expense at which many of them are worked.

The Chief Registrar further observes that the large amount of lapse in the collecting societies affords probably the only explanation for their continued existence. While during the year 1877 34,219 members died, 182,011 went off the books, showing that in one year, in the societies making returns, 147,792 members by lapse lose their interest in assets, averaging £2 7s. 11½d. per member, amounting to £354,000; then there are the larger number of societies which have

not made returns. Can we hope their position is better than those societies that have made returns? This amount of £354,000 is the loss by lapse only, and is exclusive of the loss to the members by the societies that were legally dissolved, and of those societies that died of inanition without funds for their legal dissolution.

In connection with this subject of lapse, some very striking facts are stated in the last quinquennial report of a London proprietary life assurance company, being their quinquennial report for the five years ending December 31st, 1876. The business of the Company, the report states, is divided into two branches—the "Ordinary" and the "Industrial Branch." In the Industrial Branch it is set out that in the year 1876 1,863,254 policies were issued; that the average amount insured by each policy is £8 8s. 9d.; that on the 31st December, 1876, there were in existence 2,643,665 policies, producing an annual premium income of £980,575 18s. 4d., thus evidencing the general and widespread efforts made by the industrial classes to provide for the future. To what extent these efforts are successful or abortive we may judge from the following statement, which we find in a subsequent paragraph of the same report: "It is found by experience that many of these policies are allowed to lapse after short periods; thus, of the policies that were existing at the date of the last valuation, five years ago, about 58 per cent. only are now in force." Thus showing that the industrial classes are now paying yearly to this one proprietary assurance office over £400,000 sterling of their earnings, which amount is entirely lost to them, for they will reap no benefit whatever from this portion of their payments, for the office report tells us that in the course of five years 42 per cent. of the policies (on which £980,576 is now paid) become lapsed policies; and seeing that notwithstanding this percentage of lapsed policies the amount of policy receipts is kept up (and more than kept up, extended), this can only be by new assurances, 42 per cent. of which we may assume will lapse in the course of five years.

We have the published statement of the Chief Registrar that the management expenses in the Industrial Branch of this Life Assurance Company rose in 1877 to about 53 per cent. of the contributions. In this branch the annual premium income at the close of the year 1878 was £1,228,883 12s. 0d., and the premiums actually received during the year 1879 were £1,407,143 10s. 6d.—(See Prudential Assurance Company's Reports for 1878 and 1879.) Thus we see the industrial classes making efforts to keep up payments to Friendly Societies, efforts to pay premiums on policies of Life Assurance, and in cases where the payments cannot be maintained the self-denial exercised to give means for the effort is in each case lost to the member and his family, and is confiscated to the Friendly Society or the Life Assurance Office. Some few of

the Friendly Societies are exceptions to this. There are a few societies that account to a member who is unable to continue his payments in respect of the payments previously made, and do not avail themselves of his deeper poverty to deprive him of his previous savings, but these are very exceptional. In the majority of cases, if a member ceases to be able to continue his subscriptions his former payments are forfeited.

Hence we see there are two dangers afflicting the provident of the industrial classes: one, the probable instability of the society to which they pay; the second danger is that they may not be able to keep up their payments, in which case, in most of the societies, all they have paid will be lost to them. Hence their lives are a perpetual condition of potential pauperism.

With regard to the first danger, is it right to stand by and see the providence of the industrial classes flow into channels that do not give them the return their payments should secure them? The effort being so generally abortive, cannot but discourage providence and lead to recklessness in respect of the future.

The second danger shows the unsuitability of the Friendly Society as at present generally constituted, and also the unsuitability of Life Assurance, as an investment for the wage-earning classes. Theirs should be an investment based on the principle that all they pay will be secured to them, and the societies should arrange their tables of payment exclusive of any benefit from lapsed policies. But how much better would it be if a man's assurance was paid up for life before his family expenses pressed on him; and most of our young men might readily secure this if an organization for the purpose was arranged. It has been stated by the Rev. William Lewery Blackley, and confirmed, we believe, by the authority of the well-known actuary, Mr. Finlaison, that 2s. per week for three years in early manhood, say from eighteen to twenty-one, would be sufficient to buy 8s. per week sick relief throughout life up to seventy, and 4s. per week pension for life after seventy. Three shillings per week for three years would, of course, buy half as much again; 4s. per week twice as much; and so on in proportion.

The age of eighteen cannot be objected to as too young to enter an association for such assurance, for the Trade Union Amendment Act, 1876, legalises the admission of members between *sixteen* and twenty-one years of age (unless the rules of the society provide to the contrary) to enjoy all the rights of members, to execute all instruments, and give all acquittances necessary to be executed or given under the rules, except that such persons may not be members of the committee of management, trustees, or treasurer.

We have it also from Mr. Blackley's authority, worked out from the registries of marriages and registries of births and deaths, "That

a moderate and easily spared weekly payment during one year before marriage will assure 3s. per week to every fatherless child to the age of fourteen."

These are benefits that might be put and ought to be put within the reach of our industrial classes to secure. What a comfort would it not be to them throughout life to know that they had no further payment to make to secure their future, but that their future was already secured; and while their family expenses were weighing on them, the ease and relief this would give them would not only be a comfort and pleasure, but it would also be a strength to them.

Mr. Blackley, in an able article in the November number of the *Nineteenth Century* for the year 1878, and in another article in the *Contemporary Review* of July last, proposes that every young man shall be compelled to insure against want by the purchase of the minimum of 8s. per week for sickness up to seventy years of age, and 4s. per week pension for life after seventy; the title to payment being not destitution, but sickness, or having attained the age of seventy. And Mr. Blackley estimates that if everybody assured, as a third would not claim, the payment of £10 would be sufficient to provide the necessary funds for payment of the claims of 8s. per week during sickness up to seventy, and 4s. per week for life after seventy; and he proposes that beyond this minimum the purchase price shall be £15 for every 8s. per week during sickness up to seventy, and 4s. per week for life after seventy. He further truly observes that those who are rich in their youth may in after life require to be maintained, and that every man should guarantee the State against his ever being an expense to the State. He further suggests that those who do not claim will be amply compensated for their £10 payment by the reduction the arrangement will effect in their poor-rate; and with this organization enforced he looks forward to pauperism being at once diminished, and to pauperism and the poor-laws ultimately dying out.

Waiving for a time the discussion of the subject of compulsion, why should not a National Association be organized embodying these several modes of assurance? At any rate, surely the matter is worth attention and a crucial investigation. To start with, an inadequate scale of payment would be most undesirable; for, unless self-supporting, the plan would not be satisfactory or command respect. At the same time it must have a national guarantee, the same as the Post-Office Savings Bank, and while no expense to the State, it would give the arrangement an undoubted security, making it as safe as the English funds.

The industrial classes are generally manifesting a desire to make some provision for the future. The large number yearly joining Friendly Societies; the £1,400,000 paid last year to one London

office for Life Assurances, of small amounts per policy; and the £30,000,000 on deposit at the Post-Office Savings Bank on the 31st of December, 1878, of which £3,360,636 were deposited during the year 1878 in amounts averaging £2 16s. 5d. to each depositor—these evidence both their anxiety and their efforts to secure their future, and we rejoice to know that this amount of £30,000,000 is in safe keeping.

Why should not the millions now paid yearly to tottering Friendly Societies be paid into keeping equally secure with the Post-Office Savings Bank, to the advantage of those who struggle to pay, and whose future is dependent on the produce of their payments? Of the four million members connected with those Friendly Societies that have made returns to the Chief Registrar, it will be found, on reference to the returns, that over two million members are associated with societies whose assets have been dwindling, and are now less than £1 per member, some even less than 1s. per member.

				s.	d.	
The average assets of	these	societies were in	1875	19	1	per member.
,,	,,	,,	1876	16	8½	,,
,,	,,	,,	1878	10	4	,,

Is it a matter of small moment that these two million members, representing two million families, should be disappointed of the provision for which they have for years paid, and that after years of self-denial on the part of themselves and their families to make these payments, when they are in want of the aid for which they have paid, and to which they are justly entitled, instead of receiving it, they shall find themselves precipitated into pauperism?

For political economists to say the industrial classes should be left to make their own arrangements and protect themselves is impractical; they do not set out this principle in regard to the organizations for water supply or other sanatory arrangements, for savings banks, or any other general want. When the Post-Office Savings Bank was proposed there were many who opposed it. Some said the poor should be left to make their own arrangements. Many predicted that the scheme would fail, that the people would be distrustful of the Government, that the expense of management under Government would be very great, and that it must result in a loss to the State; but the result has given a complete denial to these forebodings. Instead of a loss, the accounts of the Post-Office Savings Bank have shown a profit realised, and the confidence of the public is evidenced by the £30,000,000 on deposit.

Similar objections are now raised against a National Benefit Society. "People should be left to manage their own affairs;" "working men especially prefer to manage their own affairs;" "the

training it involves is beneficial to them," &c. Working men, like others, prefer that which is most convenient, and most remunerative. Are we dissatisfied because we are not left to arrange for the conveyance of our own letters to their destination? Do we complain of the loss of training of which this deprives us—loss of training in organization and loss of training in geographical knowledge? Are we not well satisfied to have this Post-Office benefit secured to us at so small a cost?

But, besides all this, how are the industrial classes to discriminate between the sound and the enduring, and the unsound and ephemeral Friendly Societies? They are generally influenced by their confidence in the local agent representing the society; and the more doubtful the society, the more careful are the management to seek out agents that will command that confidence. Instead of leaving the provident efforts of the industrial classes to be thus thrown to the winds, it is for the governing minds of the country to organize ready and convenient means for the effort, and security for the result. Shall we rest satisfied to see the industrial classes left in their present undesirable position, the victims frequently of incapacity, and sometimes of fraud? Are not their efforts deserving of guidance, and such guidance as shall insure the desired result? Reader, will you not assist to develop a sound and healthy national growth, that shall put security and comfort within reach of all, and promote a national expansion to improved means and power? If a humane consideration for the industrial classes does not influence us to action in this matter, we should remember that to permit the perpetration of an injustice on them that renders their self-denial abortive and discourages providence, is not only cruel to the classes primarily interested, but also prejudicial to our own interests. Does a pauper population add to the value of property or strengthen our national resources? Is it not a thrifty saving people that promote the growth in value of the property around them; a people that year by year require more elbow-room, and are prepared to pay for it; a people of producers that grow as taxpayers, thus, as time goes on, carrying a larger share of the national burdens and adding to our national strength?

The question is, Shall we put within their reach an organization that will enable them to carry out the desire they so generally evince to secure their future against want, or shall we leave their provident efforts to bring them disappointment, and thus drive them to improvidence? Is it not our *duty* to put within their reach an organization by which they may secure themselves against want?

Till this is done we cannot deal with the poor-laws in a way that would be beneficial to those who are now corrupted by them, and that would also be a relief to the payers of poor-rates; and our only

plea for not doing this is the difficulty of effectually checking sick relief; and shall we, who have inherited dominion over 240 millions of people—in health and in sickness, in plenty and in famine—shall we, who have taken on ourselves this far, far larger responsibility, shall we go on proclaiming to the world that we cannot organize an efficient check against fraudulent claims for sick relief over less than half a million of sick claims immediately around us. As a government as well as a social question, are not the savings of the industrial classes entitled to legal protection as well as the acres of the wealthy?

While the attention of the Government was absorbed on foreign complications it could not be expected that home matters would have their attention; but now that the distant horizon is clearer we trust that the subject of a National Benefit Society will have their consideration, and that they will not allow the provident efforts of the industrial classes to be left to reap only disappointment. But if we wish Government to move in this matter we must force the subject on their attention, and to effectually do this we must press the subject on the attention of the constituencies. There must be a demand for it out-of-doors before there will be a demand for it within the walls of Parliament. Our intercourse on the subject with the wage-earning classes has impressed on us the conviction that we have only to put the subject before them generally to engage their interest and to enlist their active co-operation. There will be opposition, no doubt. Every publican who has a Provident Club that uses his house will consider his vested interest attacked. The managers of those societies that are carried on for the benefit of the management and not for the benefit of the members generally will be clamorous against us. Old members of societies whose claims are being paid from the moneys paid in by the younger members, which, instead of being so appropriated, ought to be invested for the future benefit of those who pay—these old members, we say, will dread the truth being brought before the young members, for they know that as soon as the young members recognise the fact that they are providing not for themselves, but for the debts of the society, they will quickly withdraw from sowing where they are not likely to reap. We may also expect for opponents the managers of those societies who use their benefit funds for strike purposes, or for purposes other than pension or sick relief; and we may expect further opposition, with the best intention, from many good philanthropic people, who, while their horror will be excited at the thought of compelling the reckless and improvident to secure provision for their own future, overlook the fact that during the past they have perpetrated, and during the present are perpetrating, not a just compulsion but a compulsion that is unjust, by compelling the provident to provide

also for the improvident. Which is the most objectionable compulsion—to compel each man in his youth to provide for himself, or to compel those who do provide for themselves to provide also for the careless, the dissipated, and the improvident? As regards the youth of the generation now bursting into manhood and womanhood the provision for them can be secured.

Young men from eighteen to twenty-one earn generally as much as those of more advanced years who have family expenses on them, and they can readily spare the 1s. 4d. per week for three years to build up the £10 that will protect their future to the extent of 8s. per week in sickness up to seventy years of age, and 4s. pension for life after seventy. The Post-Office Savings Bank returns inform us that female servants constitute the most numerous class of depositors; for female service wages are now high, and 1s. 4d. per week less spent on dress will neither diminish the attractiveness nor lessen the usefulness of our female service. Those who are apprenticed to millinery or other occupations, or engaged as pupil-teachers, will not be in a position to give effect to the arrangement at the age specified; and those young men who are apprenticed to handicrafts will also be exceptions, but at the termination of apprenticeships the earnings are those of skilled labour, and the £10 can then be quickly paid.

There is a further organization required for those who, in the present generation, have passed the unencumbered age, and these, we fear, must depend on continuous weekly or monthly payments to secure their future.

It is desirable to arrange an organization to include these, and to be effective as a depauperiser such organization must be tabled to all degrees of health, to both sexes, and to all ages, and it should be tabled to scales of relief payments that will meet the requirements of the highest as well as the lowest of the industrial classes—say from 1s. to 10s. per day—and the tables of payment must be such as to insure the organization being self-supporting. What we ask is individual independence secured to every one who will pay for it. The necessity for such organization is at once apparent when we consider that the wage-earning classes cannot insure strength and power to continue working till enough has been saved to meet contingencies. Sickness or accident may intervene and destroy the power to work; hence it is evident that the provision for sickness must be co-operative.

Looking at the returns made to the Chief Registrar, it is equally evident that the existing Co-operative Societies do not secure the future of the industrial classes, for more than half their members, though they have paid to secure their future, are hanging over the abyss of pauperism.

With the youthful assurance which it is proposed to make compulsory on all, to the extent of 8s. per week in sickness up to seventy, and 4s. per week pension for life after seventy, it would be for each person to elect whether he would avail himself of the assurance beyond the minimum.

With such an assurance for the young and a further organization for those of riper years within ready reach of the industrial classes, wherever they may be located, we may hope the desire they have shown to secure themselves against want will not only be maintained but expanded; that the desired result being secured will encourage their efforts to carefulness and providence, and that the receipt of parish relief will then soon be regarded as a position that all men and women with the least self-respect will secure themselves against.

The poor-rate will then no longer absorb any portion of the wage fund, and we shall then be able to cease the injustice we are now perpetrating of coercing the thrifty and provident to support the thriftless and improvident.

JAMES S. RANDELL.

JULY 14TH, 1880.

(ON THE REFUSAL OF THE AMNESTY BY THE FRENCH SENATE.)

THOU shouldst have risen as never dawn yet rose,
Day of the sunrise of the soul of France,
Dawn of the whole world's morning, when the trance
Of all the world had end, and all its woes
Respite, prophetic of their perfect close.
Light of all tribes of men, all names and clans,
Dawn of the whole world's morning, and of man's,
Flower of the heart of morning's mystic rose,
Dawn of the very dawn of very day,
When the sun brighter breaks night's ruinous prison,
Thou shouldst have risen as yet no dawn has risen,
Evoked of Him whose word puts night away,
Our Father, at the music of whose word
Exile had ended, and the world had heard.

A. C. SWINBURNE.

THE EUROPEAN CONCERT.

FEW terms have of late been used more freely or with less appreciation of their meaning than the "European Concert." Throughout the long campaign which preceded the general election it found its way into every Liberal speech. In those days it was often described as a precious possession which the late Government had wantonly thrown away. The popular notion of the attitude of the great Powers on the Eastern Question was that of sympathising friends yearning to do all that England could properly desire, but prevented by the obstinate and wrong-headed isolation imposed on her by her rulers. Since the change of Government the European Concert has become an equally favoured subject with Conservative orators. The impossibility of obtaining it plays much the same part in their speeches on foreign policy as the ease of obtaining it if it were really desired used to play in Liberal speeches. They will not acknowledge either that things apparently beyond reach are sometimes brought within it by patience and tact, or that a particular step may have to be taken, even if it does not promise to lead to much of itself, because it is an indispensable prelude to the taking of some other step. Amid so much confusion of opposite kinds, it seems worth while to state what the European Concert means, and in what sense and to what extent it is a fitting object of English endeavour.

The European Concert stands for a joint action of the great Powers, directed specifically to the execution of certain unfulfilled articles of the Treaty of Berlin, and generally to the settlement of the Eastern Question. It is possible that some Liberals have been fascinated by the prospect which they have supposed this joint action to afford of leaving the work to be done by others and only the benefits to be shared by ourselves. The European Concert was loudly praised six months ago by men who in the same breath condemned the late Government, not for spending money on warlike preparations directed to wrong objects, but for spending money on warlike preparations at all. To men of this temper the real meaning of the words they used could never have been disclosed. The European Concert is an undertaking on the part of five or six Powers to attempt the solution—partial or complete—of a political problem of the first magnitude. If such an undertaking is to be worth anything, the parties to it must have counted the cost, and be ready if called upon to bear their fair proportion of it. The European Concert is not an expedient for enabling Great Britain to have the credit of doing something, while all the time she has not done and

has never meant to do anything; it is an instrument by which Great Britain may hope to do with less cost to herself, and less risk to the peace of Europe, things which, however done, must entail some outlay and some danger. There can be no real agreement between those who take the term in the first sense and those who take it in the second. After all, the European Concert is a means not an end, and it will be valued in proportion to the value set upon the end to which it is to minister. If there are any Liberals to whom, from this point of view, it has no value—who hold that the Eastern Question is not a difficulty to be settled, but a mess to be let alone—they are quite consistent in setting no store by the European Concert. But they may fairly be asked not to profess to set any store by it. There ought to be no uncertainty as to the aspect in which the party which controls the foreign policy of Great Britain regards the Eastern Question. In what follows I shall assume the magnitude and the urgency of that question. It is because it is at once difficult and urgent that the maintenance of the European Concert is important. If there were nothing to be done, it would matter little whether the great Powers were or were not agreed what to do.

The late Government, by a curious irony of fortune, were successively the impugners of the European Concert on two opposite grounds. They first acted on the assumption that the Eastern Question was of so much more moment to Great Britain than to any other Power, that it was necessary for them to go in advance of the European Concert. They afterwards acted on the assumption that the Eastern Question was of so much less moment to Great Britain than to certain other Powers that they had no need to care about the European Concert. The foundation of both theories was a disproportionate dread of Russia. In the first instance they held her to be so dangerous to Great Britain that the other Powers could not be trusted to bear their part in restraining her. When, at a later period, it turned out that Germany and Austria were determined to restrain her, the English Cabinet argued that, provided Russia was out of the way, it did not matter by what means or at what cost she had been got out of the way. The first of these errors was the more excusable of the two. There were points on which Great Britain had special reason to fear Russia, because they were points to which Russia attached importance, while the other continental Powers cared little or nothing about them. The mistake of the late Government was not that they recognised the existence of such points, but that they did not understand what they were, and consequently did nothing to make them secure. Those purely British interests about which so much was said three years ago, and to protect which Sir Richard Cross probably believes that he outwatched the stars every

night that he was in office, are worse guarded now than they were then. But the second error ran counter to the whole tradition of English policy in the East. This policy had always been that Constantinople was too important a position to be suffered to fall into the hands of any one of the great Powers or of any mere creature of a great Power. For this traditional policy the late Government substituted an entirely new one. They persuaded themselves that so long as Constantinople did not become Russian it did not much matter what happened to it. This, at least, is the only intelligible sense to be got out of Lord Salisbury's joy at the news of the Austro-German alliance. He accepted that alliance as an arrangement by which the Eastern Question was made over to Germany and Austria; and as at the bottom of the Eastern Question lies the possession of Constantinople, this was tantamount to accepting it as an arrangement by which it was left to Germany and Austria to say whose Constantinople should be. This is the justification of the action of the Liberal Government since they took office. It is constantly made a charge against them that they have reopened the Eastern Question, and undoubtedly the charge is true. But they have reopened it because it had been wrongly closed, because they would not acquiesce in a settlement of it, to which Great Britain was not a party. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury were willing to let Germany and Austria do what they liked in the East because they thought that they could be trusted not to do anything that Russia wished. Even on this head their confidence was perhaps excessive; but apart from this, Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville were not prepared to act as though the predominance of Russia was the only thing to be guarded against in Eastern Europe. They held that the predominance of any one of the great Powers in Eastern Europe was a thing to be guarded against. Germany and Austria might be trusted to repress Russian ambition, but as they could not equally be trusted to repress German or Austrian ambition, it was necessary not to leave them in entire and undisputed possession of the ground. It is this return to the traditional policy of Great Britain that has made the European Concert so important a feature in the action of the Liberal Government. If none of the great Powers are to be paramount in South-eastern Europe, the resettlement of Eastern Europe cannot be safely made over to any one among them.

The attitude of the Opposition upon this question has naturally been determined by their attitude while in power. They admit that in the abstract and as a matter of theory the European Concert is a good thing. But for practical men, they say, a thing is not really good unless it is attainable, and the European Concert is not attainable. To make it, as the present Government are making it, the principal object of a policy, is to run after a shadow. To this there

are two things to be said. In the first place, the possibility or impossibility of establishing the European Concert can only be ascertained by actual trial. The experience of the late Government is not conclusive upon the point. No doubt it was unfavourable so far as it went, but it did not go very far. They were disqualified for making the experiment by the want alike of faith and desire. The second want may be said to have brought the first with it. To believe in the European Concert as possible you must be ready to take part in the common action which can alone render it possible. This readiness can only be looked for from men who wish to see the ultimate end of European Concert realised; and as that ultimate end is the settlement of the Eastern Question, the first condition of profitable labour towards its attainment is an effective desire to see the Eastern Question settled. This effective desire was not possessed by the late Cabinet. Its members may have been quite capable of appreciating the magnitude of the problem submitted to them, but they looked in opposite directions for its solution. The common action of men so situated is hardly distinguishable from a common inaction. As neither section can do what they want they both agree to do no more than they can help. It is probable that Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury had at bottom radically different notions of what it would be best to do in the East, and as neither could bring round the other to his view, or induce a majority of his colleagues to agree with him, each had to content himself with hindering what he most disliked instead of accomplishing what he most wished. In this mood the late Government did not find themselves alone. Whatever may have been the views of this or that Power before the outbreak of the war between Russia and Turkey, the efforts of the neutral Governments had from that time been directed first to limiting the area of the conflict, and next to minimising its results. Even the Powers which had of their own free choice contributed to bring the Eastern Question once more within the lines of practical politics seemed to be frightened at the task they had taken in hand, and glad of an opportunity of again postponing it. Accordingly, the English Government found abundance of help in its effort to keep things as far as possible in the state they were actually in. The Treaty of Berlin was the work of a bastard European Concert. Its policy was the policy of the Treaty of Paris over again—no regard being paid to the different circumstances under which the two were concluded. Turkey was to be kept going because Europe could come to no agreement upon what should be set up in her place. But the two-and-twenty years which had been interposed between the two treaties had made this reproduction of the earlier one impossible. The Treaty of Paris had aimed at maintaining a victorious Power; the Treaty of Berlin aimed at main-

taining a beaten Power. The Treaty of Paris had aimed at maintaining a Power which was still supposed to have in it some capacity of reformation; the Treaty of Berlin aimed at maintaining a Power in whose ability to improve itself no one any longer seriously believed. Consequently, while the Treaty of Paris secured to Europe an interval which might have been turned to good account, the Treaty of Berlin secured to Europe no interval at all. The process of Turkish decomposition was not really arrested; it was simply left to go on unnoticed while the great Powers agreed to turn away their heads until they could determine what notice to take of it. For the moment, however, they did agree, though it might be only to turn away their heads; and it was this fact that constituted the success, if success it can be called, of the Treaty of Berlin. The English Government had no theory as to how the Eastern difficulty should be settled; the other great Powers had theories which they were not at the time able to carry into practice. So they all agreed with much parade that affairs in the East should be left as they were. They forgot, or did not find it convenient to remember, that to leave things as they are is not always to ensure that things shall remain as they are. The Powers could refuse to pull the Ottoman Empire to pieces; they could do nothing to provide that it should not fall to pieces of itself.

Thus the Treaty of Berlin, though it displayed all the great Powers in the character of parties to an international instrument, was really a confession that as circumstances then stood an effective European Concert was not to be had.

When the present Government came into office they had to consider how this confession should be dealt with. Though they were not the authors of the Treaty of Berlin, and though they had no special love for its provisions, it happened curiously enough that they were more inclined to give effect to certain unfulfilled articles of the Treaty than the Government which had had a chief hand in concluding it. Little as the Treaty of Berlin did, it said some things that were important. It recognised the Eastern Question as a matter of European concern, and it accepted the transformation of the Turkish Empire as the only method by which that settlement could be brought about. These two admissions were strictly in harmony with the declarations of the Liberal party when in opposition. Whether the transformation of the Turkish Empire is to be effected by reform or by violence, it equally involves the disappearance of Ottoman rule as Europe has hitherto known it; and if this result can be brought about by European Concert, that is plainly a less burdensome and a less dangerous method than the individual action of any one power. No doubt the obstacles that stand in the way are exceedingly serious. The Government that seeks to make the European Concert a reality must put its whole strength into the

effort. But this last necessity has in it an element of encouragement. Hitherto, it is true, the experiment has failed, but then an indispensable condition of success has been wanting. Great Britain has not yet put her whole strength into the effort. The character of a composite result may be greatly modified by a change in only one of the forces to which it is due. One or another great Power may become in earnest simply from seeing that a neighbour is in earnest. There is no need to attribute this to a righteous ambition not to be outdone in virtue. The conclusion that a neighbour for the first time means business may suggest a fear lest those who take more than their fair share of the work may claim more than their fair share of the profit. The success achieved by a Government which does not care to win is no measure of the success that may lie within the reach of a Government which does care to win.

In the next place, the attempt to bring about a European Concert is a necessary preliminary to individual action on the part of Great Britain. If the Liberal Government had not been bound by the utterances of the Liberal Opposition, this motive for making the attempt would rightly have weighed with them. Even though England should be compelled in the end to take the reorganization of Turkey into her own hands, it would be nothing short of a challenge to Europe to do this except in the last resort. From this point of view it would have been necessary for the Liberal Government to try to establish the European Concert even if they had been hopeless of success. The attempt, to rate it at its lowest value, stands in the place of legal notice to the great Powers that if the European Concert proves to be out of reach, Great Britain will hold herself free to act independently. Here, of course, a great difference of opinion at once arises. To hold that for this, if for no other reason, the Liberal Government are bound to labour to bring about the European Concert, is to hold that the object of that concert is so important that Great Britain must by herself take action to obtain it if she cannot obtain it in any other way. The Opposition deny this altogether. They argue that the wisest course for the English Government to take is to leave ill alone. They admit that it would be an excellent thing if the Turkish Government could be reformed. But they limit this concession by the proviso that it shall be reformed without applying force. Experience, they say, has shown that the Turks will not mend their ways of their own free will, and even the reform of the Turkish Government is not worth buying at the price of coercion, when it is remembered that coercion may ultimately stand for the application of force by Great Britain alone. Force applied by Great Britain alone might mean war, and war—except possibly with Russia—is the thing of all others which it is the business of an English Government to avoid. With some differences of manner a section of the Liberal party is disposed to state the issue in very

much the same way. It is true they are partisans of the European Concert, while the Conservatives decry it as a dream. But there is not much to choose between the motives which determine them towards their several lines. The European Concert is deprecated by the one party lest its failure should entail independent action on the part of Great Britain; it is advocated by the other in the hope of making it a substitute for independent action on the part of Great Britain. Neither is prepared to admit that independent action on the part of Great Britain, if the European Concert comes to nothing, may be an indispensable element of a sound Eastern policy. The reason why it may be so is that Turkish misgovernment is a misfortune, not only because it stands in the way of a better state of things, but because it is calculated to lead to a worse. The *status quo* is in itself a source of danger. The Ottoman Empire is no better than a magazine of explosive materials, into which the spark that is needed to set the East in a flame may be dropped at any moment by the neighbouring Powers, the lately freed populations, or the still subject populations. It is sometimes said that this is merely the result of Russian ambition—that if the great Powers had been of one mind upon the necessity of curbing this ambition, or, as it is occasionally put, if Great Britain had had at the critical moment resolution enough to curb it herself, this danger would never have arisen. This plea is really nothing to the purpose. Even if it be allowed, the situation is not altered. We are still confronted by the existence of a particular danger; the only difference is that we have consented to explain it by the existence of a particular ambition. If, indeed, the admission that Russian ambition is at the bottom of the Eastern difficulty promised to lead to any result there might be some value in it. But it promises nothing of the kind. Russian ambition is not in the least likely to be curbed by either of the means suggested. No one is now disposed to say to the Czar, We do not care whether the Christian subjects of the Porte are well or ill governed; all that we care for is that you should not interfere on their behalf. Neither Germany nor Austria will say this; they prefer to warn Russia that if she does interfere they must do such and such things for the protection of their own interests. Great Britain will not say it, because a majority of the nation is resolved not to take any step which shall even indirectly have the effect of maintaining Turkish misrule. When all is over, therefore, we are left just where we were. Turkish misgovernment is a constant source of danger. It is a danger if the subject populations attempt to achieve their own deliverance; a danger if Russia interferes on their behalf and is opposed by force of arms; a danger if her intervention is allowed to run its course unmolested. The almost certain issue of any one of these alternatives is a European war, and if by some unforeseen chance this was avoided

it could only be avoided at the cost of a large measure of Russian aggrandisement. Eastern Europe is in the position of a man exposed to constant danger of small-pox. The policy which underlies the European Concert, and any independent action which Great Britain may take in the event of the European Concert coming to nothing, is a policy of inoculation. The disease can scarcely be escaped, but it may be had under conditions chosen by ourselves, instead of under conditions chosen by others. The objection to reopening the Eastern Question is akin to the old objection to inoculation. It was said to be a mere provocation of disease, and if there had been a reasonable chance of escaping small-pox without inoculation this would have been a perfectly true account of it. But there was no such chance, and consequently prudent people were inoculated. In like manner the Eastern Question is certain to be reopened, whether we like it or not; all that an English Government can do is to determine to the best of its power the time and manner of its reopening.

Those who defend the attempt to bring about the European Concert on this ground are not bound to ignore or disguise the difficulties that stand in the way. Given that the European Concert is a mere form of words, it is still a form that has to be pronounced as a preliminary to something else. It would be necessary to make the attempt even if there were no hope that the difficulties in question would be overcome, because the next best thing to overcoming them is to ascertain and demonstrate that they are insurmountable. Upon this generation has devolved the settlement of the Eastern Question. The realisation of this fact need not arouse enthusiasm; it is enough if it brings with it the conviction that the thing has to be done. Yet though the absence of hope ought not to affect the action of the English Government, it does not follow that they need lay aside hope. The presence in council of a Power which is resolute without being sanguine is not likely to be wholly without effect. None of the great Powers, with the exception of Russia, can really wish to hang up the Eastern Question once more, and she cannot avow that she wishes it. The other Powers may have incompatible views as to the settlement they would like, but they may not be indisposed to accept a settlement which falls short of those views rather than face all the contingencies which may follow upon the further postponement of a settlement. Much has been said about the effect produced upon Europe by the discovery four years ago that England had still a policy. It may be that the influence of this particular revelation was exaggerated, but there is no reason to doubt that when this country knows what she wants, and shows herself resolved to get it, she counts for a good deal in European affairs.

It may be objected that to talk in this way is to talk nonsense—that if the revived desire for European Concert is only to prove an indispensable prelude to independent action on the part of Great

Britain it is a prelude to something that will never take place, that independent action *may* mean war with Turkey, and that war with Turkey is not a conclusion to which the nation will suffer itself to be led with its eyes open. War with Turkey is an imposing name to give to the steps which it may become the duty of Great Britain to take in the East. But even supposing that this is the result, I do not see why the prospect should be so very terrible. Is it war in general or war with Turkey that Englishmen are supposed to be so set against? If it is war in general, I answer that recent events have made it clear that Englishmen have no particular horror of war. If they did not shrink from war in the winter of 1877—8, why should they shrink from it in the winter of 1880—1? If it is war with Turkey that is the bugbear, I answer that such a war would not be more formidable than the war with Russia in which we were so ready to embark less than three years ago. In a war with Russia the subject populations of the East would have been against us, while our action would have been paralyzed by radical divisions of opinion at home. In a war with Turkey, undertaken for a good cause, and as a means of exacting the fulfilment of promises repeatedly made and urgently needing to be kept, the English Government might look to command the sympathy of all parties, except that small minority which can never give its sympathy to any war. To the humanitarian it would be a war of emancipation. To the practical politician it would be a war entered into to avoid worse dangers. To the Liberals it would be a war having for its object the settlement of the Eastern Question on the lines on which the Liberal party have all along declared that it ought to be settled. To the Conservatives it would be a war for the defence of those treaty rights which a Conservative Government created. For it must not be forgotten that in the event of any independent action on the part of Great Britain the existence of the Anglo-Turkish Convention would be an immense advantage. That instrument does undoubtedly give England an admirable *locus standi* in the great controversy to which it relates. If it saddles us with serious responsibilities, it at the same time furnishes us with a complete justification for not allowing those responsibilities to remain a dead letter. The Treaty of Berlin provides that certain things may be done by the great Powers acting together; the Anglo-Turkish Convention implies that these same things may be done in case of need by Great Britain acting alone. The Treaty of Berlin depends for its force on the existence of the European Concert; the Anglo-Turkish Convention comes in at the exact point where the European Concert has broken down. But for this it might be awkward for Great Britain to declare that she meant to go on even though others might choose to lag behind. With this there will be no awkwardness at all. England has taken on herself a special liability as

regards the Sultan's Asiatic dominions, and in consideration of this liability she has exacted a special pledge with regard to their good government. It so happens that the Treaty of Berlin gives a very similar pledge to the great Powers generally, and, if that pledge can be redeemed by the common action of these Powers, there will be no need for England to call for the execution of the special promise given to herself. But supposing nothing to be effected by the common action of the great Powers, England will be within her strict rights in falling back upon the Anglo-Turkish Convention.

It may further be objected that I have nowhere defined what the European Concert is to accomplish. That is true. The European Concert is not a policy but an instrument, and all that I have attempted to maintain is that supposing there is a policy to be carried out, the European Concert, if it can be had, is the best instrument by which it can be carried out; and that, whether it can be had or not, it is an instrument which must be tried before any other can be resorted to. The fault of the late Government was that they did not realize this. They had no aim which needed or could be advanced by the European Concert. All they wanted was to live from hand to mouth, and that is not a policy which gains by being communicated to allies, or looks well in dispatches. It is, of course, conceivable that the present Government may prove equally destitute in this respect. In that case they will in time become equally careless about the European Concert. If the Eastern Question is merely to be tinkered as occasion arises, they will feel a pious confidence that there will never be wanting a due supply of fit persons to serve as tinkers. But if they feel that the Eastern Question is one that it behoves them to deal with; that peace, so far from being secured by its postponement, is really unattainable so long as it remains unsettled; that the problem which has vexed Europe for centuries is on the eve of solution, and that it rests in part with the Government of Great Britain to determine whether it shall be solved well or ill —they will labour to secure the European Concert because they will have a use for it. They will have made up their minds what they wish to see done in Eastern Europe, and though they will be ready, if need be, to do what a single Power can do to accomplish the ends they have in view, they will feel how little that is in comparison with what may be accomplished by the great Powers united, and they will be slow to abandon the hope that they may yet be brought to act together. It may be too soon to conclude from the action of the Government that they set this value on the European Concert because they have a policy which they are resolved to carry out, but it is only fair to them to point out that, supposing them to have it, the action from which the possession of it would be inferred would be precisely the action which they are now taking.

D. C. Lathbury.

THE DECCAN.

HAVING long believed implicitly in the boundless wealth of India, the British public is now in some danger of being led away into the opposite extreme of supposing that one century of British rule has completely drained India of any wealth which she may once have possessed, and that the only prospect before her is chronic famine and ultimate bankruptcy. The economists, who have recently taken upon themselves to open English eyes to the real poverty of the "gorgeous East," have somewhat overshot their mark, for the statistics adduced by them to prove that India's poverty is due to over-taxation would rather, if perfectly trustworthy, make it clear that no possible reduction of public expenditure can materially improve the miserable condition of the masses in India. Meanwhile we are assured by others that the Russians, still believing in the wealth of India, are guided in their Asiatic policy solely by the hope that, after forcing their way across the vast deserts and mountain ranges of Central Asia, they will be able to descend at last upon the fertile and defenceless plains of Hindostan, and repeat the plundering achievements of Timur Beg and Nadir Shah. When the Czar Alexander II. characterized as simply "absurd" the idea of any such invasion, he may fairly be credited with being better informed upon this subject than many of our own countrymen, and with a knowledge of the altered condition of affairs since India was last invaded overland. India is now a great centralized military empire, the only one in Asia, a standing menace to all her Asiatic neighbours, weak indeed financially when judged by a Western standard, but, if backed by the credit of England, more than a match for all the Russias. The increased military strength of India under British rule is certain, but, while she is now better able than formerly to hold her own, is it true that she really has less to hold? It may be assumed as beyond dispute that the great bulk of the Indian population is poor (if compared with any European population, even the Russian), that capital is scarce, that many of the cultivators are hopelessly in debt, that the public revenue fails to keep pace with an increasing expenditure, and that it is difficult, if not impossible, to invent new productive taxes. All this indicates national poverty; but whether the poverty has been caused or even seriously increased by the extravagance and mal-administration of the British Government, is a question which impartial persons in general are disposed to regard as still open for discussion. Doubtless ours is a very expensive Government, and India, having no control

over her own finances, is frequently saddled with expenses which she ought not in justice to bear, while large sums are annually remitted to England, under various heads, for which sums India receives no direct equivalent, and in all remittances to England India suffers a heavy additional loss through exchange. But it is maintained, on the other hand, that this drain upon India is more than compensated by the facilities afforded to the creation of wealth and capital through the establishment of internal peace, of security to life and property, and of great public works facilitating locomotion and irrigation. What is the true state of the case as between the two opposite views—(1) that India is being steadily drained of her life-blood by the fiscal demands of a costly foreign government; (2) that she is decidedly a gainer in material wealth through the investment of British capital in her soil and the importation of European skilled labour? The first view is held by most of the educated natives who have written or spoken on this question, while the second finds favour with Englishmen both at home and in India.

For my own part, I believe that India has already derived great benefit, and will derive still more in the future, from the railroads constructed with British capital, although under the guarantee system there has been a want of due economy both in construction and in management. Railways and internal peace are two genuine boons conferred by England upon India, as all thoughtful natives readily admit; but even these unquestionable benefits of our rule fail to touch the true causes of Indian poverty, which may even be too deep-seated to be greatly affected by such reductions in the public expenditure as can ever be effected by our most economical administrators. The Indian peasant is already so poor that the slightest additional taxation is to him an intolerable burden, and so great is his tendency to become poor, that even the remission of existing taxes would ameliorate his condition only for a very brief period. An increased salt duty and an agricultural cess aggravate his poverty, but they are not its cause, and he would be nearly as poor the day after their abolition, and, perhaps, quite as poor a few years later. He sinks habitually to a very low standard of comfort, in fact to a state of penury, which just enables him and those dependent upon him to subsist in ordinary years; in favourable years he has a transient gleam of prosperity; but when a bad year comes he has accumulated no reserve to fall back upon, and famine is the result.

The fact is that India is greatly over-peopled, and that vast numbers of her inhabitants are over head and ears in debt, many having pledged to their creditors the fruits of their labour for the term of their natural lives. In rich and prosperous countries, such

as France or Switzerland, the owners and cultivators of the soil are also capitalists, through the combined results of industry, frugality, and prudence; they produce far more than they consume, and the rising generation does not dream of marriage unless the future has been rendered fairly secure by accumulated savings. Taxation must indeed be heavy before it can seriously depress the prosperity of a people so acting; and if our just and vigorous rule in India tended to produce such a state of society among the agricultural population, the heavy cost of that rule might yet be borne by the natives with ease and cheerfulness. Unfortunately the actual state of matters is very different, and it would be difficult to exaggerate the gulf which exists between the condition of a Limagne peasant-proprietor and that of a Deccan ryot. France stands erect beneath a burden of taxation amounting to £112,000,000 distributed over a population of 37,000,000, while British India, with 190,000,000 inhabitants, staggers under an amount of taxation hardly exceeding £20,000,000, when land revenue, opium, and tribute from native states have been (as they ought to be) deducted from the gross total. In other words, France, with less than one-fifth of the population, pays in taxes more than five times as much as British India, and grows richer every day, thanks mainly to her industrious, frugal, prudent peasantry. The area of France is 204,096 square miles, that of British India is 897,004 square miles, so that the former country is somewhat more densely peopled than the latter, but is nevertheless, thanks to her great resources, by no means overcrowded with inhabitants.

The main cause of Indian poverty is over-population, an evil which British rule has aggravated by measures which must be characterized as just and humane, at least in intention. We have suppressed female infanticide, we protect the ryots against violence, and we endeavour to insure them against famine, the result of late years being an increase in their numbers which (in Bengal especially) is almost appalling.

The French peasant usually postpones marriage until he has saved or inherited money enough to set up house; the Hindoo begins married life by plunging into debt, and considers himself fairly entitled to incur debt for so laudable an object. This distinction of custom and opinion is a vital one, and has more to do with the difference in their respective conditions than soil, climate, and government.

The Hindoo is industrious and frugal in the highest degree, but he is not prudent, and is willing to bequeath to his son no better portion than that of paying marriage debts incurred before his birth. All Indian natives desire to have male offspring, and none are willing to leave their daughters unmarried; thus one generation crowds upon the heels of another, and the industry of the future is

mortgaged for the necessities of the present. The necessary funds are borrowed at ruinous rates of interest, and are expended, not upon the necessary furnishings for a new household, but upon wedding festivities and caste observances.

Throughout India one hears always the same story. Not merely cultivators, but also servants, soldiers, and government employés are more or less indebted, usually from improvident marriages. A ghorawallah (stable-boy) in the receipt of 7 rupees a month, and labouring to pay off, along with extortionate interest, his father's marriage debts, presents a sufficiently hopeless spectacle, and is compelled in his turn to leave his own liabilities as a burden for his descendants. A servant will ask his European master to advance him 100 rupees, equivalent, perhaps, to one year's wages. "For what purpose do you want so much money?" "For my daughter's marriage, Saheb." "But how do you propose to repay me?" "I will work for you without wages until the money is paid." "That is all very well, but how are you to live in the meanwhile?" "My son is able to support me, Saheb." Thus father and son are reduced to a starvation allowance in order that the daughter may marry, without any dower except a few trifling silver ornaments.

In the "good old times," before the British Raj, this family difficulty was solved after another fashion, but now that the daughters are there, alive and grown up, it is imperative for the honour of the family, however poor, that they should be married, and it must be admitted that their male relatives exhibit no little generosity and unselfishness on the occasion.

We may justly congratulate ourselves on having put down so inhuman a practice as female infanticide, but it is an embarrassing position when an English magistrate is confronted by an aggrieved Rájput father, who presents before him a tall girl of sixteen with such words as these—

"Here she is; I have kept her alive to please you! I have no money for her marriage expenses, and, if you do not assist me, she must remain unmarried to bring dishonour upon her family."

The poverty and indebtedness of the ryot (peasant) are certainly chronic, but some acute symptoms of the evil have been developed recently by our system of government. As regards taxation our system is oppressive, because, being perpetually in want of money, we are obliged to invent new methods of obtaining it from the people, and any new demand, however small, involves oppression in the case of those who are already miserably poor. It may be said that if the Indian cultivator has only 7d. a week to live upon, and has to pay out of this 1d. weekly of taxation, no amount of economy on the part of Government can well give him more than an additional ½d. per

week, and that this cannot make to him the difference between poverty and wealth. This would be only too true if the question were one of remitting taxation, but unhappily the case is worse, and rather seems to stand thus: the ryot has 6d. a week to live upon, after paying the customary dues of the Government, and in ordinary seasons this is just about sufficient to maintain him, but, when extra funds are required for rectifications of frontier, the salt duty is raised, or an agricultural cess is levied; there is absolutely no surplus from 6d. a week out of which these new taxes can be paid, and the result is an amount of suffering altogether disproportionate to the value of the sum collected. If it be true that the natives of India pay cheerfully any taxation to which they are accustomed, but display an "ignorant impatience" of new fiscal burdens, this is not to be explained merely by the fact of their strong conservative instincts. The truth appears to be that the Indian masses have always gravitated to a state of poverty as deep as the permanent conditions of their life would permit, and have been only too contented to remain in that state. A sudden increase of taxation, like a failure of rainfall, must therefore produce widespread misery, and an aggressive foreign policy is criminal on the part of the Indian Government, whose income in time of peace is insufficient to meet its expenditure. Even the proposal of the Indian Government to create a special famine insurance fund by means of additional taxation is thus open to many serious objections. In order to raise the extra sum of one million and a half sterling annually, we have been obliged to invent new taxes, and to increase in Bombay and Madras the impost upon salt. The effect of such a proceeding must be to impoverish the people generally, while it develops a dangerous tendency on the part of the famine-stricken to put their trust for the future in Government aid, and to relax even the small amount of foresight and prudence which they have hitherto displayed.

Another danger has already been made manifest, viz. that the money when raised will not be honestly appropriated to the purpose for which it was originally intended, and will not be applied either directly to famine relief or to the reduction of debt incurred on account of famines. Indian Governments never find themselves in possession of a true surplus, but they sometimes succeed in persuading others, perhaps even themselves, that a surplus exists, and already the famine insurance fund has been made to figure in that capacity.

Any attempt to make out that this sum is available for general purposes, for frontier wars, or even for so-called reproductive works, would be an act of gross dishonesty on the part of the Indian Government, injurious to the native taxpayer, and unfair to the British nation. The people of England do not wish to impose upon

India burdens which she is unable to bear, and at the present moment they are willing to be just, and even generous, as regards the expenses of the war in Afghanistan, but their generous impulses will undoubtedly be checked if they are told what is simply untrue, that there is (or ever has been) any genuine surplus of revenue over expenditure in India. But, after all, the Indian Treasury has practically declared its own insolvency by accepting £2,000,000 from the Imperial Treasury as a loan without interest. This arrangement ought to open the eyes of the British people to the true state of the case, for it is the first step towards placing upon their broad shoulders the whole burden of the Indian debt.

Impoverishment of the soil and of its cultivators is the most serious evil to be apprehended in India, which is essentially an agricultural country, and contains very few large cities.[1] The vast majority of the population is rural, living in villages, and cultivating the soil, so that the prosperity or poverty of the people means in India the favourable or unfavourable condition of the villagers. In different parts of the country this condition varies according to race, climate, and soil, the tenure of land, the pressure of population, and many other causes; but it varies within comparatively narrow limits, and there is a strong family resemblance between the cultivating classes throughout all India. It so happens that a considerable amount of information has been recently collected about the peasantry of the Bombay Deccan, who differ in many matters of detail from those of Hindostan proper on the north, as well as from the Dravidian population of the extreme south, but who furnish a very fair type of the Indian cultivator in his strong and in his weak points. Special attention has been directed to the condition of these districts, not only on account of the famine by which they were desolated in 1877, but also because of some agrarian disturbances which took place a couple of years earlier, when the villagers rose against the money-lenders. Although few acts of violence were committed beyond the destruction of bonds and account-books, an outbreak on the part of this much-enduring class is so unusual that it was deemed expedient to institute a special inquiry, and the Deccan Riots Commission has accordingly reported after accumulating much useful information. The Famine Commissioners have since visited the same districts, and, although they have not yet reported, a good deal of official literature relating to the famine in Bombay has been lately published in the form of Government minutes and otherwise. We have thus before us materials enabling us to estimate the present condition and future prospects of these important districts.

The Mahrátta "Kunbi" (cultivator) is industrious, vigorous, and

(1) In British India there are only forty-four towns containing each 50,000 inhabitants and upwards, altogether less than one thirtieth part of the total population.

frugal; he endures privations with remarkable hardihood, contrasting favourably in this respect with his feebler Dravidian neighbours in the south. The country which he inhabits and cultivates is not generally fertile, and is liable to deficiencies of rainfall which are both frequent and severe. The land is held on the ryotwaree system, each peasant separately holding from the landlord, to whom he pays his rent, whether that landlord be the State or a private individual. The holder of land directly under Government cultivates it himself as a general rule, and the land-tax which he pays is a rent-charge fixed for thirty years after a careful survey and assessment. That this land-tax does not absorb the whole of the true rent is clear from various facts. About twenty-five per cent. of the Government land is sublet by the holders, who pay the revenue assessment, and usually provide one-half of the seed. A very large extent of country held in Jághir (private freehold) has been brought under the survey settlement at rates of assessment far higher than those in adjacent Government lands, and only upon such terms would the Jághirdárs consent to the Government system of assessment, which their ryots were eager to adopt.

But the most conclusive fact is that land subject to revenue assessment possesses a high saleable value, and is daily sold or pledged as security for large sums to the money-lenders, who are well qualified to estimate correctly the value of any security. In the Deccan the rates actually payable may be said to vary from 1 anna (1½d.) per acre on poor arable land to 3 rupees (6s.) on good land near cities. The various areas are carefully defined by survey, and all private improvements are secured to the maker in full enjoyment.

Thus the British Government, by the revenue survey and settlement, has established a transferable and heritable tenant-right at moderate rents fixed for thirty years, and with liability to eviction for non-payment of rent only. With this form of Ulster tenant-right, under an all-powerful but just landlord, whose practice it is to grant remissions and allow outstanding balances in specially bad years, the position of the Government ryot is as favourable as that of any cultivator can be who does not occupy a freehold of his own; and whatever may be the hardships of his lot, only a small portion of these are attributable to the rent payable upon his land. If the land revenue were to be sacrificed to-morrow throughout India, as it has been already sacrificed in Bengal, a landlord class would doubtless be created and enriched, but the actual cultivators of the soil would not reap a large share of advantage.

After all, it is admitted on every side that the root of evil in the condition of the Indian cultivator is his indebtedness. Among the improvident Mahrátta Kunbis one-third are embarrassed with debt, and of this debt, as estimated by the Deccan Riots Commission, one-

third is on mortgage of land and two-thirds on personal security. Sir R. Temple tells us that "the nominal debt has not nearly so much economic significance as might at first sight appear, because a portion only of it represents money actually borrowed, the remainder being made up by charges of compound interest and by renewal of bonds, under a system which is faulty indeed, but which can be remedied by legislation."[1] Here is, indeed, a humiliating confession from the mouthpiece of a Government possessing almost unlimited powers of legislation, and intrusted with the welfare of this helpless agricultural population.

Another member of the Bombay Government, the Hon. L. R. Ashburner, C.S.I., speaking of the indebted Mahrátta ryots, says, "This class is, no doubt, in a very depressed condition, for the law places them entirely at the mercy of a very merciless race of foreigners from Márwár, who are little influenced by local public opinion. Their impoverished state is due in great measure to the operation of our laws, and it must be admitted to be very discreditable to our administration; but measures are now in progress to relieve and protect them, so far as it is possible by legislation to protect an ignorant and improvident man from the consequences of his own improvidence. This reproach will soon be removed."[2]

The Márwári money-lender from Northern India occupied under the Mahráttas a social position somewhat similar to that of the Jews in Roumania and other Eastern countries. He was not popular, but he was necessary; his rate of interest was extortionately high, but then capital was scarce, the prospect of repayment was precarious, and even security of person for a too grasping creditor was by no means complete. Under British law this state of matters has been altered, and the "village Shylock" can now demand his pound of flesh in safety, and with perfect confidence that "the law allows it, and the court awards it."

A tremendous lever has been placed by our civil courts in the hands of the money-lender, and he has used it to oust from his holding the cultivator, the right of occupancy having become, under our fixed and moderate assessment, a real and valuable property. The Márwári, or Baniá, is still essential to the cultivator, whom he supplies with capital, and without him a large proportion of the land could not be cultivated at all; but our judicial system has given him unfair advantages over his client, and has exercised a depressing influence upon agriculture.

Among Anglo-Indians many of the ryots' best friends attribute

(1) Minute by the Governor of Bombay, dated 29th October, 1878, p 7, par. xxxii.

(2) The disturbed condition of the Deccan, like that of Ireland, has necessitated special legislation on behalf of the cultivator, but it remains to be seen whether Mr. Hope's Act, recently passed, will afford any permanent and substantial relief to the ryot.

to this cause a large share of his troubles, and maintain that he is better off in a well-regulated native state than he can be within our territory, because *there* he is less liable to be vexed with new modes of fiscal extortion, and because he is beyond the jurisdiction of the civil courts.

Mr. H. M. Birdwood, of the Civil Service, who is deservedly popular with the natives throughout Western India, thus describes their condition:—

"It is true, in too many cases, that the Indian peasant is born in debt; but he generally adds to the debt himself so long as he has any property, which a creditor can accept as security or a court sell in execution of its decree. In a good season he may have some money in hand after selling his crop and paying the first instalment of the revenue; but he does not keep it for the remaining instalments and other necessary expenses of the year. He squanders it senselessly, much of it (in some districts) in the liquor shop, and he is soon as badly off as in bad seasons, when he borrows to pay every instalment. When he is once in the Sáukár's (village banker's) books his case is hopeless. He signs bond after bond, often not knowing what he is signing. When sued he makes no defence, or else, perhaps, a false one; or in some cases it may be that he has received no proper notice of the suit. A decree is made against him, and to satisfy it his property is sold by the court. But the satisfaction is seldom sufficient and final, for, as a rule, property is sold for much less than the amount of the decree and much below its apparent value. Field by field the peasant's land passes into the Sáukár's possession, and at last the peasant himself becomes the Sáukár's slave, though sometimes he may prefer imprisonment in the civil jail. If the Sáukár has refused from the first to advance money for the Government assessment, then the Ráiyat's property is sold by the collector. Whether his ruin is accomplished through the agency of the civil courts or by the direct action of the revenue authorities, it is equally complete."

This is a terse and clear account of what takes place every day in India, and it is here stated by a judicial officer practically familiar with the subject in all its bearings that the case of an indebted cultivator is "hopeless." Now even in Bombay, where the annual production per head of the population is double the average for the rest of India, the lowest trustworthy estimates give one-third of the agricultural population as being in this hopeless condition.

The evil is deeply rooted in the customs and traditions of an intensely conservative people; but if we cannot convert the Indian cultivator to habits of forethought and saving, we can at least modify the mischief wrought by our own legislation. Mr. Birdwood has

made various suggestions upon this subject. In particular he urges the expediency of restricting the number of licensed liquor shops, which have been unduly multiplied in certain districts (notably in and around Surat), to the advantage of the revenue and to the injury of the people. It is, of course, desirable thus to diminish the chances of the ryot getting into debt, but practical reforms are also proposed in the procedure of the courts, to which he is amenable as a debtor, *e.g.*, registration of bonds and attestation of signatures to accounts by a public notary; also regular inspection of the work of the subordinate civil courts by the European district judges and their assistants. The proportion of civil suits decided *ex parte* is so great as to render it probable that in many cases due service of the summons is not made on the defendant, while adjournments are often granted on frivolous grounds, causing needless expense and trouble to the poorer suitors and their witnesses. Careful inspection by competent persons might do much to prevent these and other evils, whereby our civil courts are rendered an engine of oppression to the cultivator, while they enable the money-lender to combine Oriental rates of usury with European certainty of recovering his principal. It has even been recommended by a high authority that the power of alienating land should be limited in the interest of the small landholders. At present the ryot's wearing apparel, his implements of husbandry, and cattle used in agriculture, are not liable to attachment and sale, but all his land and interest in land may be attached and sold in satisfaction of his debts.

To place restrictions on the free transfer of land would be, I think, a very serious error, but legislative reform is still necessary in order to secure to a judgment debtor a fair price for his land when it is sold in execution of a decree. By the New Code of Civil Procedure (1877) it is provided that the proclamation of a court sale shall specify, as accurately as possible, the property to be sold and any encumbrance to which it is liable; also that no decree-holder shall, without express permission of the court, bid for or purchase the property. A certificate is received by the purchaser at a court sale, and Mr. Birdwood considers that the description of the property in that certificate should state what the right, title, and interest purchased have been found to amount to, and that it should be held good against all persons subsequently claiming under unknown liens created by the late owner. Under the old law no provision whatever existed for ascertaining the title which was sold; the purchaser generally bought an unknown thing, and might even incur serious liabilities, being liable for a mortgage of which he had no notice, and under these circumstances it was only natural that there should not be much competition at a court sale. It is also desirable at once to abolish (in accordance with the proposal

of the Deccan Riots Commission) the creditor's power to imprison for debt.

The working of the civil courts under the old system has, indeed, provoked a strong feeling of antagonism between Sáukárs and ryots, but these classes are not necessarily hostile to each other. When the Famine Commissioners recently visited Ahmednagar, the scene of bitter disputes and even of rioting a few months ago, the opportunity was taken by Mr. W—— of the Civil Service to bring together representatives of the two classes, in order to attempt a reconciliation between them. The bankers agreed to forego half the amount of their claims against the cultivators provided the other half should be paid; and in this condition the cultivators gladly acquiesced. Thus the long-pending disputes at Ahmednagar have been satisfactorily settled without litigation, and an excellent precedent established for the revival of Lávad (arbitration) courts and the ancient Panchâyat system, which Mr. W—— advocates as being calculated to give cheap and rapid justice to the natives, and to relieve them from the heavy burden of stamp duties and judicial fees. In legislating upon the agrarian difficulties, which have been complicated, but not originated, by the famine in the Deccan, it would be well if the Bombay authorities would condescend to take a hint from the civil procedure in the adjoining territory of the Nizam, where the childlike ignorance and helplessness of the ryots are fully recognised, and equitable considerations are allowed to prevail against the strict interpretation of the creditor's bond. Certainly no community ever stood in greater need of paternal government and legislation than the "ill-used race of men who till the soil" of India.

Sir Richard Temple has stated that he expects to recover all the famine arrears of land revenue except some 3 lakhs of rupees, thus making the ultimate loss of revenue amount to 2 per cent. only in the nine Bombay districts affected. This would be satisfactory, if we could feel certain that it does not involve indebtedness and permanent depression of the so-called "well-to-do" ryots, with increased thriftlessness and dependence on charity of those who are "not well-to-do." [1]

It is matter for regret that the Commission appointed to examine into the causes producing the recurrence of famines in India should have been composed almost entirely of distinguished European gentlemen, and should have included among its members only two natives, both being officials of native states. It is not by sitting at Simla, or even at Ootacamund, receiving official reports and examining official witnesses, that any new evidence of value can be collected. The evidence of persons high in office has been abundantly supplied to parliamentary committees and to royal commissions, while the

(1) Subsequent events have not confirmed Sir Richard's sanguine expectations.

opinions and ideas of "laymen," whether European or native, have been systematically ignored by the Government.

The information necessary can only be collected in each case upon the spot from the mouths of local witnesses, and in such an inquiry the assistance of native Commissioners familiar with the inner life, with the habits, thoughts, and prejudices of their own countrymen, would have been invaluable. As it is, the reliance of the natives appears to be chiefly upon Mr. Caird, the only Commissioner unconnected with the Indian Government, for past experience has taught them that the report of an official Commission is apt to degenerate into a mere eulogium on the conduct of every one in authority. India will have to pay very dearly for these Famine Commissioners. Most of them are gentlemen holding high appointments and receiving large salaries. During their absence on special duty, highly paid substitutes must discharge their ordinary functions, and many persons are inclined to be sceptical as to whether India will get her money's worth in fresh information, or independent criticism.

The cardinal error of Sir Richard Temple's famine policy appears to have been changeableness and a tendency to rush into extremes; but in this respect, as in others, he may be said merely to have followed the lead of the supreme Government. He issued instructions that the arrears of land revenue were not to be collected in the famine districts, but were all to stand over for another year, although many individuals were at the time able and willing to pay their dues. This order was, however, soon followed by another, directing that "outstandings" were to be collected at once, and that no remissions were to be granted without the special sanction of Government in each case, the effect being to oppress many unlucky cultivators who had just managed to struggle through the famine with twofold demands before they had reaped one good crop, and while drought, blight, and rats were still threatening their fields. It will take some time to pauperise the Hindoo in a strict sense, for, however *poor* he may be, he has not hitherto been a *pauper*, looking to the Government to support him in bad times; he has only been accustomed to receive help from more prosperous relatives or from charitable and wealthy neighbours; failing these resources he has silently starved to death, and has whitened the wayside with his bones. The full horrors of former famines, such as men now living may recollect, have been averted in recent times in British territory, and Sir R. Temple can perhaps say with truth that in his Presidency "no evidence is perceptible of any considerable mortality from starvation." But this result has been attained at a heavy cost. Many improvident and idle persons have been maintained at public charges in return for nominal labour at useless jobs, while the so-called "back-bone of the community," the industrious cultivator who has

contrived to "keep himself off the parish," is compelled to pay every pice of his old taxes and to bear new burdens imposed upon him as a poor-rate for the future. Nay, more, the proceeds of this new poor-rate, or famine insurance, are no sooner collected than they are diverted to pay for a war, foreign alike to the territory and to the interests of India.

In Sir R. Temple's minute of 24th December, 1877, there is one paragraph which seems to have been written without reflection. He says that in 1874 emigration was justly recommended as a remedy against famine in densely peopled Bengal, then suffering from drought, and having a population of from 600 to 900 persons to the square mile. Such a remedy, he adds, may be quite inapplicable to a thinly peopled country like the Bombay Deccan, having on an average only 150 persons to the square mile. As a matter of fact the fertile tracts of Bengal are less overcrowded than the Deccan, although their population may be six times as dense. Much of the latter country, as Sir R. Temple himself states, is "unculturable waste," and the bringing under cultivation of new land within the last few years, of which he speaks so cheerfully, is a proceeding fraught with serious danger. The pressure of population causes poor grazing land to be broken up in favourable years, and in dry years this lapses into "unculturable waste," while those who attempted its cultivation and trusted to it for a livelihood are left without resource.

The Famine Commission have doubtless inquired how far it is possible to improve the permanent prosperity of India by means of emigration. Hitherto the migrations of the inhabitants of distressed districts have been made mainly in search of temporary relief, and with a distinct *animus revertendi*. Permanent depopulation, if such a thing were possible, might even now render the Bombay Deccan fairly prosperous; and there are great tracts of land in Khandoish which only require inhabitants in order to become prosperous also. Some attempts have been already made to transplant settlers from the crowded districts of Bombay to those which have never recovered the population and prosperity destroyed by Mahrátta and Pindári, but the results have not yet been very encouraging. The Hindoo cultivator does not take kindly to a new soil, and fever is apt to attack those who break up fertile land that has lapsed into jungle. On the other hand, those remote villages in the Deccan which were left pretty much to their own resources during the famine, and whose inhabitants betook themselves to temporary emigration, have ultimately suffered less from depopulation than villages where large sums have been expended in Government relief.

A minute by Sir Louis Mallet, dated 17th December, 1877, appeared simultaneously with that of Sir Richard Temple on the famine, and

the divergence of opinion between these two high authorities as to the condition of the peasantry in the Deccan is so wide as to be almost ludicrous. If Sir R. Temple is to be believed, the Deccan Kunbis only require a few favourable seasons in order to be as well off as the peasantry in any part of India. Their "condition is improving, and goes on prospering and to prosper in a rude but substantial way." According to Sir L. Mallet, these same peasants are steadily sinking into hopeless penury, and the smaller proprietors are actually cultivating their land at a loss. The Governor of Bombay has issued a minute dated 29th October, 1878, in answer to Sir Louis Mallet, and has appended to it memoranda by the leading members of the Bombay Civil Service. The particular question, as to whether the land assessment in the Bombay Deccan is or is not excessive, and whether the land-tax is the principal cause of poverty and indebtedness among the peasantry, of whom one-third are admittedly embarrassed with debt, must, I think, be answered in the negative; and it may be maintained that not only in the Deccan, but throughout India generally, the British Government is not a hard landlord as regards the *amount* of rent exacted. The British land revenue is not a rack-rent; it is less than that which is received, under similar circumstances, by native princes or private freeholders known as Inámdárs and Jághirdárs. Thus, in the Deccan, the assessment on fair cultivated land does not amount to more than one-eighth of the average value of the gross produce, and much less than this on inferior land, being even as low as one-twenty-fourth. This amount does not absorb more than half the true rent, so far as rent can be ascertained in a country occupied and cultivated mainly by peasants, with no intermediate proprietors between them and the Government. In the British Deccan the land assessment is fixed for thirty years, and is now in its second period, the first regular survey and settlement having been commenced in 1836, and the second in 1866. Under the Mahráttas the land-tax was higher than it is under British rule, but was less strictly realised, and the strict realisation of revenue rather than the amount demanded by the British Government is the grievance complained of generally. It is indeed alleged, on behalf of the Government, that "for the collection of this land-tax it is comparatively seldom necessary to resort to distraint, and very seldom to effect any transfer of property;" but the fact remains that the land revenue is a paramount charge on the land, and that for default of payment a right of forfeiture vests in the revenue authorities, and the collector can sell an absolutely unencumbered right of occupancy in the land. An Indian ryot clings to his right of occupancy with all the tenacity of an Irish peasant, and would rather submit to rack-renting than to the risk of eviction for non-payment of a moderate rent; and although the proportion of evictions made directly by the revenue

authorities may be small compared with those effected by private creditors, still the natives' grievance against the British Government seems to be, not the amount demanded in payment, but the penalty inflicted for non-payment. Even when deprived of his land, the only thing of value which he possesses, he is not free to make a fresh start, without property indeed, but also without debt. Although he may be insolvent from no fault of his own, and may have surrendered all that he has to his creditors, if any balance remains against him he is still liable to imprisonment and to be stripped of any property subsequently acquired, to meet a debt of which the actual amount borrowed may have already been paid over and over again.

Many causes are operating mischievously upon Indian agriculture, and as regards several of these our Government has done more to check than to aggravate the evil; *e.g.*, the denudation of forests and the steady depletion of all fertilising elements in the soil. All the materials which ought to restore the exhausted fertility of long-cultivated land, and which in China and Japan are so carefully utilised for that purpose, are in India consumed as fuel or buried in useless and dangerous accumulations. The outskirts of a Chinese city are perhaps even more offensive to the nostrils than those of Indian villages; but in the former case the eye is gladdened with the sight of luxuriant market-gardens, where in the latter case are heaps of pestilential rubbish. In a few instances arrangements have been made by Indian municipalities with the neighbouring cultivators for the utilisation of street-sweepings and other manures, to the mutual advantage of all parties; but the general prejudice is strong against such "unclean" proceedings, and they are only carried out under the pressure of authority. This process of depletion is, of course, chronic in its operation, and in long-settled districts has been going on for many centuries, so that no great change can be attributed to it within any very recent period. Certain important facts, however, go far to prove that over-population, the grand difficulty of India under the British régime, is due in some districts rather to the diminished productiveness of the soil than to the increased number of the inhabitants. While the most powerful Mogul emperors concentrated on the banks of the Jumna all the wealth and power of Hindostan, a great independent kingdom flourished in the Deccan, and regal Bijapur rivalled imperial Agra and Delhi. This great Mahometan kingdom is now divided into two or three impoverished collectorates, and a few famine-stricken villagers shelter themselves under the stately battlements of Bijapur.

During a period of scarcity so difficult is locomotion in the interior, that when I wished to proceed from Sholapur to Bijapur in February, 1877, with only a limited amount of time available for the excur-

sion, it was impossible to obtain relays of bullocks to convey servant and kit, either through rupees or magisterial influence. No forage was to be found along the road, and water only in a few places, so that the bullocks employed in carrying grain had also to drag loads of "karbi" (millet) stalks for their own sustenance, and their progress was of the slowest. The cattle by the roadside seemed to be actually starving, and too feeble to get out of my horse's way; I brushed against a bullock in riding by, when it at once subsided in a heap, and made no attempt to rise again. The road, indeed, was in good order, the rivers were easily forded, and the smaller streams were dried up; but the lack of forage neutralised all other facilities of transport, and rendered it impossible to convey supplies such as a great city would require. The appearance of the country was that of an arid desert, except immediately around the villages, which were conspicuous at intervals as spots of green, oases due to the existence of permanent wells, on the face of a dark brown landscape, stretching away to the horizon in long low undulations, with neither hill, river, nor wood to break the monotony.

Occasionally, as I cantered along, a lean figure would project itself upon its face at full length across the road just in front of my horse, to the imminent peril of all concerned, a mode of begging better calculated to arouse irritation than compassion. Besides the beggars, I passed on the road numerous bullock-carts toiling slowly along with loads of grain; but on the face of the surrounding country not a living creature was visible except a solitary antelope, for which there seemed to be absolutely nothing to eat. The heat of the sun was scorching, the only trees were the stunted acacias by the roadside and some wild date-palms in the water-courses—reduced to a few miry pools, where buffaloes were wallowing, and where horses declined to drink. It seemed incredible that this country could ever have been the seat of a great population, which would now find it impossible to obtain subsistence on the spot, and almost equally impossible to import it from a distance. But from the crest of a low ridge a huge dome appeared on the horizon; it was then eighteen miles distant, and increased very slowly in apparent size as I approached, while numberless smaller edifices with cupolas and minarets seemed gradually to spring up around it.

Here, in the desert, spreading over an area of many square miles, are the remains of the great city of Bijapur, with mighty walls of lava, still almost perfect, and countless mosques, palaces, and tombs, many of them gems of architectural beauty, and as yet uninjured by time, the elements, or the hand of man. Above all towers

> "The dome—the vast and wondrous dome,
> To which Diana's marvel was a cell—"

the tomb of Mahmud Adil Shah. Of Bijapur it is literally true that

> "Its columns strew the wilderness, and dwell
> The hyæna and the jackal in their shade."

Two centuries have not yet elapsed since this Mussulman city and kingdom fell before the assaults of Mogul and Mahrátta, when still at the height of its splendour, and now its site is desolate as those of Baalbek or Pompeiopolis. In other parts of India may be seen ruined and deserted cities of great size and magnificence, but these are usually in fertile plains and near large rivers, where a numerous population can even now find the means of subsistence. Very different is it at Bijapur, where the hovels of the present inhabitants are sparsely scattered among the relics of the past, where the palaces are in ruins, and the tombs only are in repair. Bijapur is a city of the dead, and for the few survivors there is now neither food nor water. During my visit all the ancient tanks were dry except one, which was used for bathing, drinking, and washing clothes indiscriminately, while the corn bazaar was full of hungry women and children, gleaning the stray grains that had been dropped by the wayside, and making their livelihood at the expense of the sparrows. The surrounding country is without wood, and no means exist of bringing timber and fuel from a distance by water-carriage, for there is no river near Bijapur. Nothing in fact is now found in the neighbourhood suitable for building a great city or for maintaining a dense population. But two centuries ago fuel could be obtained sufficient to bake bricks for the construction of many colossal domes, and numberless vacant sockets show how abundant were once the huge teak beams, of which a few specimens remain *in situ*, having escaped the hand of the modern spoiler. History and tradition may be utterly misleading as to the departed glories of a fallen dynasty, but here exist records of wealth and power which cannot deceive. The Gol Goomuz (round dome) has but three rivals in dimensions, all three in Italy, and two in the Eternal City itself—the Pantheon and St. Peter's. The Malik-i-Maidan (monarch of the plain) is believed to be even now the largest piece of ordnance in the world, and it still lies upon the bastion constructed for it at Bijapur, because its vast weight has deterred the British Government from attempting to bring it as a trophy to England. Nearly two hundred and fifty years ago, however, this huge howitzer was actually taken in triumph from the rival kingdom of Ahmednagar, and was then conveyed to its present situation across a country, where the lack of roads and bridges would now seem to render such a feat an engineering impossibility. The seats of power and population in India have

always been liable to shift at the caprice of a prince, although such a move as that from Fathipur-Sikri to Agra was merely a change of camp from one part of the great plain of Hindostan to another, equally well adapted for the purpose. But the story of the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur, so well told by Colonel Meadows Taylor, is the most brilliant episode in the annals of Southern India. Under these princes arose in the barren Deccan a kingdom which quickly overthrew or overshadowed all its numerous rivals, Hindoo and Mussulman, which flourished during two centuries as a splendid centre of wealth, learning, and art, and fell before the military power of Aurungzebe while still apparently at the zenith of its splendour, although its foundations were sapped by Sivaji and the rising power of the Mahráttas.

Bijapur is an extreme case of past riches and present poverty, but the causes which here "have dried up realms to deserts" are at work in other parts of the empire, and are tending to produce a similar state of decay. Is the evil beyond remedy? Can the process of exhaustion be arrested?

Sir Richard Temple is cheerful as to beneficial results from the recent famine, and tells us that "the people have learned a hard lesson of self-dependence, that their gratitude will have been excited towards the Government, and that a fresh impetus has been given towards that material improvement of the country which is the best safeguard against famine in future." The reasons assigned for such optimistic views are the fresh start given to irrigation works, the construction of additional railroads, and the fact that every one is now convinced as to the necessity of restoring the jungles which once clothed the hills of the Deccan. Sir Richard also has schemes of sanitation, of purified water and utilised sewage—excellent schemes in their way, but liable, if carried out by stringent laws and under centralised departments, to result in crushing the unhappy ryot under new and unaccustomed burdens.

Instead of doctrinaire legislation for the relief of the "indebted agriculturist," it would be well to try a few practical experiments. When it has been found possible to carry out advantageously the Government schemes in a few model villages, legislative reforms for the whole Presidency of Bombay, if not for the rest of India, may be attempted with a fair prospect of success. There are districts of India where the soil is fertile and the rainfall abundant, as there are districts which are not over-peopled; but the Deccan is not one of these, and its material improvement must be very slow at the best.

A visit to Sholapur during the crisis of the famine of last year was enough to make hopeless the most sanguine. This part of the Deccan is peopled far beyond the numbers which it can properly main-

tain; the rainfall is scanty and uncertain; the soil is so unproductive that much of the cultivated land pays only a few annas per acre of land-tax, and is even at that rate sufficiently burdened; many of the cultivators have no personal property (except their bullocks) that would sell for 10 rupees, and many are hopelessly in debt. The same sort of land which in the Deccan supports (in favourable years) a population of cultivators numbered by thousands, would in Queensland be considered poor feeding for a flock of merino sheep, of which numbers would perish in a season of drought. A country so circumstanced cannot be rendered secure against famine by any precautions that Government can take; it is not possible to turn it into a sheepwalk; the inhabitants cannot be deported and will not emigrate; they can just wring a bare subsistence out of the soil in ordinary times, and have, as a class, no reserve to fall back upon. Much of the land ought not to be cultivated at all, being too uncertain in its returns to support the necessary labour, and the normal condition of these patient, frugal Kunbis would be regarded as one of starvation by any people with a moderately high standard of comfort. Nothing is or can be laid by for a *dry* day; there are no prudential checks upon population; when the rains fail they lose their draught cattle from scarcity of forage and water, and, even if they can keep themselves alive, they are thus crippled as to the means of planting their next crop. No permanent improvement will be produced in the condition of the people in the Sholapur and Kaládgi districts by the relief works, on which numbers were employed when I visited that country, and which might be described as making roads calculated to last for one dry season, digging tanks capable of holding water during the rains, and cutting down prickly pear thickets, every fragment of which is the germ of a fresh plant. With such labour as was available, it was difficult at the time to do more than this, and in particular as to tanks the nature of the country is such that much of the advantage attributed to them is illusory. In a flat country with a porous soil water cannot be stored at such elevations as will render it available for extensive irrigation, and even where a tank has been constructed (as near Sholapur) capable of retaining a large amount of water throughout a prolonged drought, it has been mainly useful as affording a good supply of drinking water in return for the ten or twelve lakhs expended upon it. The cultivators seldom appreciate extensive irrigation works, and even decline to use or to pay for them; additional wells, on the other hand, are an indisputable benefit, and are everywhere highly appreciated by the natives; but Government engineers despise such work as digging wells, and prefer to conduct operations on a grander but less profitable scale. An important chord line has been constructed between Dhond and Munmar, and

railways have done and will do more than any other public works to mitigate famines in India. In Northern India, since menaced in its turn with famine, grain was abundant in the spring of 1877, and nearly every railway station between Delhi and the Deccan was encumbered with sacks of grain awaiting transport, which a single line with a limited rolling stock was unable to furnish, tasked as it was in addition by the conveyance of the multitudes who had attended the Imperial Assemblage. It was painful in those days of famine to see the havoc which damp and vermin were making in the unprotected masses of food.

Above all it is desirable, before attempting agrarian legislation in India, to take the natives into confidence; and until something like genuine representation of the people has been introduced into the legislature, the administrators of the executive can only ascertain the popular desires, grievances, and opinions through indirect means, such as general conversation and the columns of the vernacular press. The value of the latter source of information has been seriously affected by the Gagging Act, even in its modified form; and all well-wishers of India must sympathise with those public bodies in Calcutta, Poona, and elsewhere, who are continuing the agitation for its total repeal. On many matters of policy the common gossip of bazaars and other public places, if heard and listened to, would save the Government from the commission of serious blunders. I have more than once heard judicial officers well acquainted with the natives express their utter sense of helplessness and ignorance, after trying an important criminal case, in some such terms as these: "I am unable, after the most careful investigation, to feel any certainty as to whether the accused is guilty or not; there is plenty of direct inculpatory evidence, but I have no means of knowing how far it is trustworthy, and the whole thing may be a well-organized conspiracy. But the most painful part of the business is, that there is, perhaps, not another man in court, besides myself, who does not know well enough how the matter really stands, and whether the accused is a criminal or a victim of calumny. If instead of examining witnesses formally in the witness-box I could talk the matter over quietly with a few of the spectators, I could give judgment with a fair degree of certainty that I am doing substantial justice." If this holds good in judicial matters, where all is open and above-board, the executive, which sees and hears only through its subordinate officers, is even more apt to remain in ignorance of what is thought and felt by the masses of its subjects, and ought to seize every possible opportunity of learning the *non-official* opinions of the country.

DAVID WEDDERBURN.

PUBLIC OPINION AND ITS LEADERS.

THE past four months, it is probable, will long be reckoned among the most memorable in the political history of England. April opened with the sudden overthrow of a Ministry, the flatterers of which had hailed it but a few weeks before as immortal; and May saw a new Government installed, having at its head the man who, by general consent, was regarded as the ablest as well as the most popular of English politicians. The Conservative collapse had been so complete, that even its own organs in the press had for the moment abandoned all hope of the revival of the party; whilst the nation at large, rejoicing in the victory which had been attained, was speeding Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues on their path with encouragement and good wishes of the most enthusiastic kind. But a change seems to have come over the scene almost as sudden and unexpected as that which took place when the Conservative Administration crumbled into dust at its first contact with the free air of public opinion. We see Ministers labouring heavily under the burden laid upon them, and in some cases at least not walking with particularly steady feet; we see Parliament—this newly-elected Liberal Parliament—factious, discontented, prone to indulgence in the dangerous recreation afforded by personal squabbles, and apparently desirous rather to harass and obstruct than to support and assist Ministers in their task; whilst in the recognised organs of public opinion—in the London newspapers, and the clubs and other centres of political gossip—we find a general disposition not only to condemn the Government on the ground of its alleged incapacity, but even to speculate upon the possibility of its overthrow. Thus within four months it would almost seem that the country had passed through a revolution and a counter-revolution; from Disraelism in April to Gladstonism in May, and now in July to a violent anti-Gladstonism.

This, I say, is the outward aspect of affairs as it may be viewed in the columns of those London newspapers which claim to be the only authorised and infallible interpreters of public opinion. These journals have more than once within the past six weeks spoken of the present Government in the style in which they might be expected to speak of the moribund. No sensible Liberal will of course look to Sir H. D. Wolff or Mr. Chaplin, or any of the other gentlemen who have apparently undertaken to lead the Opposition, for a fair or trustworthy description of Mr. Gladstone's policy. But a great many Liberals do expect to find in the *Times* and the other morning newspapers such a description; and they must have seen with some-

thing like dismay the manner in which these "leaders of public opinion" have of late been vying with the extreme members of the Opposition in their antagonism to the Prime Minister. It cannot, I think, be denied that if we were simply to take the "tone" of London society and the London press as conclusive with regard to the state of opinion in the country, we should be driven to the conclusion that the new Government had been already greatly discredited, and that its fall could not be far off.

To enter into any discussion of the intrinsic merits of the ministerial policy forms no part of my present object. The conduct of the Ministry can, I believe, be defended and explained in a perfectly satisfactory manner; but such defence and explanation lie outside the limits of this article. It seems, however, to be necessary to consider whether after all the judgment of the authorities I have named, the writers in the morning newspapers and the loungers in the clubs—not excluding those loungers who in the rush of last April succeeded in seating themselves on the Liberal benches in the new Parliament—is to be regarded as final and infallible. Freely admitting that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have fallen greatly in the estimation of those who represent the political opinion of London, many of us must yet maintain that there are no signs of their having fallen in a similar manner in the opinion of the country at large. So far indeed from this being the case, those of us who happen to live in the provinces cannot fail to observe that public opinion among the constituencies is at this moment greatly exercised, not by the alleged offences of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, but by the action of those Liberal members who have re-echoed in the House of Commons the captious criticisms of the clubs and the newspapers. But, on the other hand, we see that those Liberal members who have not given the Ministry a hearty support in its recent difficulties have been called to book—in some cases with not a little sharpness and rudeness—for their want of loyalty to their leader. Everybody has read the correspondence between the members for Hull and the Liberal Association of that borough; and there are many other towns the representatives of which have received admonitions, perhaps gentler in tone, but just as firm in purpose, as that which was addressed to Messrs. Norwood and Wilson. Any one who reads the provincial newspapers will see that almost without exception they continue to express the utmost confidence in Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, and dwell with impatience upon the defections from the ministerial ranks which have been witnessed upon such questions as the Irish Tenants Compensation Bill and the Bradlaugh controversy. The few political meetings which are held in the provinces at this season of the year reveal to us a similar state of feeling, and the evidence furnished by

the bye-elections is of the like character. I defy any critic or opponent of the Ministry, in fact, to produce proof that the country constituencies, either in boroughs or counties, have changed their minds since last April, or are less disposed now than they were at that time to give Mr. Gladstone the warmest support in his administrative and political measures.

Still, the serious fact remains that in what is known as "Society," and in the chief London newspapers, with the exception of the *Daily News* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, there is this strong sentiment of opposition to the course taken by Ministers. Readers of the *Times* cannot help being struck by the fashion in which that journal chides Mr. Gladstone and the Government. Deploring the state of public business and the disorder which has prevailed more than once recently in the House of Commons, it sorrowfully declares that the Prime Minister is chiefly responsible for all the evils which have overtaken us; and then with a touch of pathos it tells us how it "frankly accepted" the result of the General Election, how anxious it was to give the new Government all the assistance in its power, and with what deep concern it now sees Ministers outraging the national sentiment and deliberately disregarding the wishes of the country. It is, I repeat, a serious matter when writing of this kind, which, coming from such a quarter, must necessarily exercise a considerable amount of influence, is directed against Ministers. It would, however, be far more serious if there were reason to believe that it was an accurate representation of public opinion. Happily, cynical readers may reflect that leader-writers in the *Times* are no more superior to the foibles of humanity than mere politicians like Lord George Hamilton or Mr. Gorst; and that men who for more than four years had been devoting themselves to the task of proving that Mr. Gladstone had made himself henceforth impossible as an administrator, were not likely to be slow in pointing out what they regarded as proofs of the correctness of their predictions, even though for a brief interval they had "frankly accepted" a verdict which they might possibly have found it difficult to dispute. The same remark applies to nearly all the other London newspapers. Except in the case of one well-known evening journal, the gentlemen who are writing in them to-day are the gentlemen who from 1876 down to the beginning of the present year were incessantly protesting against the action of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party. So far, therefore, as these adverse criticisms are personal expressions of opinion, they may fairly, I think, be regarded as the testimony of hostile witnesses. In some cases, indeed, our morning newspapers have professed to make a change like that to which the *Times* alluded when it spoke of its "frank acceptance" of the result of the elections; but the spirit by which they are animated

remains the same. The hand may be the hand of Esau, but the voice is still the voice of Jacob; and it would be too much to expect from those who during long years have been vying with each other in the vehemence of their opposition to Mr. Gladstone and his followers, an altogether impartial judgment upon his conduct, now that he is in office.

There is, however, a far more important question than that of the spirit which animates those metropolitan critics of the Ministry who, with seeming unwillingness, have lately ranged themselves in opposition to it. It matters little whether a writer in a particular newspaper, who has been compelled by circumstances to "accept" frankly or otherwise a great political revolution which he profoundly dislikes, has so far overcome the weakness of human nature as to be able to give true and cordial help to those of whom he was recently the bitter opponent; but it does matter a great deal whether such a writer is or is not a faithful interpreter of the ruling opinion of the country. One may well feel a certain amount of diffidence in undertaking to maintain the negative side in this inquiry. For not only are the London newspapers loud and emphatic in giving expression to their belief that Mr. Gladstone's Administration so far has been a failure, but they appear to be supported at least by the current opinion of Pall Mall, as well as by no inconsiderable portion of the House of Commons. Still, it is not so difficult as might at the first glance be supposed, to show that the press of London does not in this matter represent the opinion of the country. I have already spoken of the evidences to the contrary which are to be gathered from even a hasty survey of the situation. I have pointed to the fact that outside of London none of the marks of dissatisfaction are visible which are to be seen inside it. No meetings are being held to protest against the action of the Government; the casual references to that action which are made in the ordinary gatherings of public bodies, such as farmers' clubs, town councils, chambers of commerce, and trades union congresses, are almost uniformly favourable; and, above all, the provincial press, so far from sharing in the disquietude of that of the metropolis, is zealous and unwavering in its support of the Administration.

To the foreigner it might seem that these were of themselves sufficient proofs of the fact that the provinces did not share the distrust of Mr. Gladstone which apparently prevails in the capital. But the Englishman has been so long accustomed, in all matters political, to regard London as the centre of light, and the London newspapers as the only authoritative exponents of public opinion, that I fear many of my readers will smile at the notion that any evidence which can be drawn from provincial meetings or the provincial press can weigh in the balance against that which is

furnished by the talk of the clubs and the tone of the *Times*. When the Government are condemned by these great authorities, then, in the opinion of no inconsiderable portion of the public, they must indeed be in a bad way. Is it presumptuous in these circumstances to call attention to the fact that once already during the present year the London clubs and the London newspapers, with the *Times* at their head, have been egregiously mistaken in their judgment of the opinion of the country? If it can be shown that the great journals, which society and those who arrogate to themselves the title of the governing classes regard as the only true representatives of public opinion, have been hopelessly in the wrong already in their estimate of the political situation, and have altogether misunderstood and misrepresented the feeling of the nation, it may, I think, be not unfairly inferred that there is at least the possibility of their repeating the blunder. And in self-defence I would urge that it is by no means unnecessary to undertake this investigation of the claim of the London press to speak for the country. As I have already pointed out, if we were to judge simply by the manner in which the majority of the London newspapers are now criticising Mr. Gladstone and his Ministry, we should be driven to the painful conclusion that the great Liberal reaction which culminated last April had been attended by failure, and that the nation had already repented of the course which it then took. Those of us who are firmly convinced that this is not a true representation of the case, and that in this matter, at least, the *Times* and its ring of contemporaries do not accurately express the opinion of the public, may fairly ask to be allowed to give a reason for the faith that is in us.

Is it the case, then, that those London newspapers have already during the present year mistaken the feeling of the country, and the realities of the political situation, in a manner which must seriously discredit their claim to anything beyond a local authority as organs of public opinion? Nobody, who remembers what happened immediately before the General Election, can fail to answer this question in the affirmative. The amazement approaching to consternation with which the Liberal uprising at that time was regarded in London, and by society of all ranks, from its most illustrious personages downwards, affords sufficient proof of the fact that the people who might reasonably be supposed to be the most intelligent and best-informed in all public affairs, had been kept in the profoundest ignorance of what was happening all round them in the country. It may be taken for granted that not one of them had the faintest notion that the dissolution of Parliament was to result in the overthrow of that which had so often vaunted itself as "the strongest Ministry of modern times," and in the positive destruction of a party whose faith in the permanence of its fortunes had almost reached the

point of insolence. How came it to pass that this deplorable ignorance prevailed so largely among the upper classes and in the metropolis? Is it not notorious that it was due to the course taken by the London newspapers? Where everybody was more or less wrong regarding the movements of feeling in the constituencies, the journalists of London, with one or two notable exceptions, were the most hopelessly and absolutely wrong of all. Day by day down to the very moment when the decision of the nation was declared through the ballot, they led their readers to believe that there could be no possible doubt as to the result of the appeal to the country; and it is a fact, specially noteworthy in view of their present attitude, that in almost every case they based their faith in the triumph of Toryism upon the alleged blunders and extravagances of Mr. Gladstone. With marvellous unanimity all our great organs of opinion, with the exception of the *Daily News*, clung to the belief that Lord Beaconsfield and his policy had the warm support of the great majority of the nation; that the Liberal party was divided, disheartened, and discredited, and that such men as Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright were no longer to be regarded in the light of responsible statesmen, but were henceforth to take their place among those factious and fanatical agitators who from time to time have brought disgrace and destruction upon those who have had the misfortune to be associated with them in politics.

This, I say emphatically, was the view held in all these London newspapers down almost to the moment when the secrets of the ballot-box were revealed to an astonished world. That the tide had turned months and years before throughout the country, and that not in Scotland only, but in the great manufacturing districts of Northern and Central England, public opinion had undergone a great and remarkable change, was never so much as suspected by these infallible and omniscient guides and instructors of the great world. One and all chanted the same tune, almost in the same words. Consideration for the space at my disposal must prevent my drawing illustrations of the teaching which prevailed down to the end of March from the whole of the London newspapers. It cannot, indeed, be necessary that I should do so. The unctuous fervour with which the *Daily Telegraph* pleaded day by day in favour of what it called "an English policy," and the indecent ferocity with which it denounced its quondam idol, Mr. Gladstone, for having misinterpreted those "national instincts," the key to which, it appeared, was to be found in Peterborough Court alone; the spasmodic wrath with which the *Morning Post* from time to time delighted its select circle of readers; and the ever-ascending scale of shrill hysterical vituperation with which other well-known papers and reviews assailed the Liberal party and the Liberal policy, must be fresh in the recollection of all

my readers. Strange to say, the *Standard*, the avowed organ of Conservatism, was the fairest and most moderate of these journals; and whilst, like the rest, it was wholly in the wrong in its judgment on public opinion, it showed that it knew how to defend its own principles without making personal attacks upon those from whom it differed.

But the course taken by the *Times* at this period cannot be so easily dismissed. We are all proud of that which has long been known as "the leading journal." It exhibits in a conspicuous degree the merits which generally distinguish the English press; and there have been times when the skill and judgment shown in its management, the judicious audacity exhibited in steering it through troubled waters or past dangerous rocks, have almost amounted to genius. Yet it cannot be denied that along with the merits it has the defects of its quality and its class. It is a delicate task to speak of the way in which these defects have recently been exhibited. One would wish to show a due amount of respect for a journal which has risen to the dignity of an English institution; but in considering how far the London press is a faithful interpreter of public opinion, it is impossible to ignore the course taken by the *Times* at the period of which I am speaking.

Professing to be nothing more than the weathercock which shows us how the wind is blowing, the *Times* possesses exceptional authority in the eyes of its readers as a guide to public opinion. Men read it not so much to learn what may be the opinions of its editor upon any particular question, as to discover what, according to his judgment, is the prevailing opinion of the public upon that question. It is a journal which appears to have one great object in view, that of always being found on the side of the majority; and it is only fair to say that during a long course of years its editorial management has been so skilful that it has seldom failed to accomplish its purpose. The result is that it has had a kind of double influence, such as hardly any other journal in the world possesses. It has had, in the first place, the influence justly arising from the intelligence shown in its management, and the ability and power with which the views it has held from day to day have been expounded in its columns; and in the next place it has had the influence arising from the fact that its readers believed that, in taking any particular course, it did so because its editor knew it to be a course which had already found favour with the public at large. In consequence of the position which it thus held in the estimation of the public, its views with regard to the political situation were freely accepted before the late General Election by the upper classes of this country, and by the public abroad, as accurate representations of the feeling current among the electors of the United Kingdom.

And what were those views? Can anybody have forgotten that the position of the *Times* towards Mr. Gladstone down to the middle of last March was not so much one of bitter hostility towards his policy as of undisguised contempt for him as a politician and a statesman? In a thousand ingenious phrases it was broadly hinted that he had become intolerable as a public man; that for him at least there could be no resurrection; and that the one chance for the Liberal party of regaining at some distant day a respectable position in the regard of the nation was by its instantly parting company with this discredited fanatic, and formally renouncing those doctrines which he insisted on promulgating with such "damnable iteration." The persistency with which the *Times* maintained this position with regard to the Opposition might, in itself, one would have thought, have raised some suspicions amongst its admirers. If the weathercock points unvaryingly to the east, not only in the chill days of May and the early June, but through a sultry July and a sweltering August, it is not unreasonable to suppose that something has gone wrong with it, either by accident or otherwise, and that for a time it has ceased to fulfil its useful, albeit humble, functions. But popular faith in "the organ of the City" was so firm that members of Parliament and members of clubs, the rich merchants of the City, the dwellers in country houses, and the foreign observers of English politics, were one and all content to accept its views as an accurate representation of English public opinion. In these circumstances there can be nothing unfair in gathering together a few extracts from its leading articles during the critical weeks which immediately preceded the General Election, in order to refresh the memories of my readers with regard to the doctrines which it then propounded in the name of the British public.

It will be remembered that in February last Lord Beaconsfield and his friends were greatly cheered by two interesting political incidents—the elections for Liverpool and Southwark. These Conservative victories undoubtedly furnished the party with some just cause for rejoicing; though, looked at from our present standpoint, the rejoicing appears to have been ridiculously out of proportion to the event. But what can be said of the discretion and sagacity shown by *the* guide to public opinion, when we find it thus explaining the Liberal defeat at Liverpool, a borough notoriously Conservative in general character:—

"Vituperation has overshot its mark, the demand upon the popular credulity has been strained too far, and accumulated charges have collapsed under their own weight. If Mr. Bright's passionate denunciations of the personal character of the Ministers be just, *if Mr. Gladstone's elaborate indictment of their policy be consistent with the truth*, the nation itself cannot escape lasting discredit for complicity in a long course of criminal folly. From this conclusion the common-sense of Englishmen revolts."

This was what the *Times* had to say on the 9th of February, just two months before the final disappearance of Lord Beaconsfield's majority. But a week later it had reached a still higher pitch. The Southwark election had been won by the Tories, and on the 16th of February the *Times*, in commenting on that event, after charging the Liberal party with "a violence of invective and recklessness of imputation unparalleled in the annals of modern parties," proceeded to say—

"It is not surprising that Englishmen of all parties should be *revolted by such outbreaks of passion, and should be driven to suspect those who yield to them of abandoning all the restraints of honourable strife.* . . . . . The leaders of the active section of the Opposition are apparently as incapable of understanding the character of the new electorate as of appreciating the new difficulties at home and abroad, which make the old familiar formulas inapplicable. . . . . Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone, and Sir William Harcourt seemingly believe that the electors in the great towns will be attracted and convinced by the style of attack which merely repels and irritates people of education and social position. The mistake is a grave one."

A "grave mistake" indeed, judging by the verdict which "the great towns" pronounced upon the subject barely six weeks later. These two extracts will suffice to show, however, in what direction "the leading journal" was leading its credulous public during the early part of the present year. There is a quaintness about such a passage as that which I have just cited which makes it well worthy of preservation. Yet on the day when it appeared in all the glories of leading type, the "people of education and social position" for whose special benefit it was written, accepted it in the spirit of implicit confidence in which they have since accepted the opinions of the *Times* on Mr. Gladstone's Irish legislation, or his endeavour to stop the irrelevant slanders of Mr. O'Donnell. But let us see how far our great newspaper was successful in interpreting public opinion when the battle had actually been begun. What was the course taken by the *Times* then? On former occasions of a similar character it has either been fortunate enough to forecast the result of the appeal to the country, or has saved its reputation under vague and dubious phrases as judicious as those of an ancient oracle or a modern medium. Not such was the course which it now took. On the 9th of March, the day after the announcement of the dissolution, we find it commenting upon Lord Beaconsfield's manifesto, not, it is true, with unmingled approval, but still with an unfeigned belief in the virtue and importance of the appeal it makes to the constituencies; and once again we find expression given to the cool assumption that the Liberal party stands discredited and disgraced in the eyes of the country, with no hope of retrieving itself unless it be purged of all complicity with such men as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, the Duke of Argyll, and Sir William Harcourt.

"The Liberal party during the last few years have made so many errors that it may almost be said of them they have left no further faults to be com-

mitted. . . . . It will be impossible to place in power men who cannot be trusted to carry forward at the present time the policy of which the country approves."

These are among the glittering gems of wisdom which I cull from the *Times* of the 9th of March. How completely the worthy Philistines who believed in "the leading journal" must have been reassured as to the results of Lord Beaconsfield's appeal to the country when they read such sentences as these! But they were to be still more strongly cheered and reassured on the following day. The *Times* of March 10th devoted two leading articles to the discussion of the political crisis and the probable result of the appeal to the constituencies. In one of these articles, with curious infelicity of prediction, it casually remarked that "it may be doubted whether the Opposition at large are at present in the humour to lead forlorn hopes into the counties held by the Ministerial party;" and then, venturing to be unusually precise in its statements, it declared that "not even the most sanguine of Liberal wire-pullers expect that the Liberals in the new Parliament will outnumber the Conservatives and the Home Rulers taken together. A Liberal majority, therefore, will mean a majority including Home Rulers, and depending for its effective force upon the co-operation of Mr. Parnell, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Donnell, and Mr. Finegan." The other article of March 10th was so important and significant that I make no apology for giving a somewhat lengthened extract from it.

"The Liberal leaders, it is said, are to meet to-day to consider the address which Lord Hartington proposes to issue, and the most vital consequences both to the party and the country will turn upon the course which may thus be determined upon. The present position of the party is unmistakable. They are seriously discredited in the eyes of many who were formerly their supporters by their conduct on foreign affairs and their treatment of the Home Rulers. . . To put the case moderately, the conduct of the Liberal leaders on the domestic questions to which Lord Beaconsfield refers has not left a pleasant impression on the public mind, and a prejudice prevails more or less which they have to overcome. The value of an occasion like the present is that they have to a great extent an opportunity to overcome it. What they ought to have been considering and what they must determine is whether they will, once for all, abandon the tactics and the tone which have been so utterly unsatisfactory during the last two years. Will they go to the country reiterating the fierce accusations of their extreme supporters, or will they adopt a tone which, whatever may be the immediate result of the elections, will place them in substantial harmony with the general spirit of public feeling and induce a confidence in them which has not of late been felt? . . . . They owe it to their party and to the public not to permit themselves to be forced into a position in which they would be practically powerless. There is no disguising the fact that nothing less than this might be the consequence of a false move at the present moment. Lord Beaconsfield has become of late a singularly powerful Prime Minister. . . . . But what would be his position if the coming election were made a mere repetition of the disputes of the past three years, if it were fought out on the same ground and led to the same result? The immediate effect would be to augment incalculably Lord Beaconsfield's personal influence, and to render him perhaps the most powerful minister we have seen in our generation. If the English constituencies close up their ranks in support of a

Conservative Government because they see no adequate guarantee in the language of the Liberal leaders against the mischievous tendencies of the past two years, the Prime Minister might easily win a victory which would for a time completely crush his opponents."

My readers will hardly fail to be struck by the strong similarity in tone which exists between these remarkable observations, and the criticisms which have more recently appeared in the *Times* on the proceedings of the Government. In both cases Mr. Gladstone and his political associates have been warned in lofty and even menacing tones that they were "terrifying," or "revolting," or at least irritating and displeasing the country by their course of conduct, and they have been solemnly assured that a persistence in that course must inevitably lead to the entire withdrawal from them of the public confidence. They ventured to disregard that warning last March—and we know with what result. They declined to accept the prophet at his own valuation; and, strange to say, the fire from heaven with which they were threatened failed to descend upon them. Is there anything very audacious, therefore, in the conduct of those who venture to assert that the *Times* and its great colleagues of the London press were almost ludicrously ignorant of the state of public opinion at the period of the General Election? They were talking of the forlorn and hopeless condition of the Liberal party at the time when that party had organised victory all along the line; they were even imploring Lord Hartington not to follow the example of Mr. Gladstone by taking a course which would "compel moderate men to regard him as impossible in politics," within four weeks of the day when the Queen summoned Mr. Gladstone to Windsor. In short, whilst speaking with that assumption of authority which can only properly belong to those who really represent the opinions of the nation, they were as a matter of fact completely in error as to what the nation thought and what it intended to do, and were unconsciously palming off upon their readers the ideas of certain limited circles in the West-end of London as the political faith of a great people. As one turns over the pages of these newspapers—not yet six months old—it is impossible to avoid seeing how completely the "governing classes" must have been misled at the moment when their illustrious chief gave the signal for the appeal to the country. Louis Napoleon and his friends were not more completely misled in 1870. But on this occasion it was the *Times* which played the part of Marshal Lebœuf, and lured its idol to his ruin.

Is there anything extravagant in the assumption that those who have been so egregiously wrong in their interpretation of public opinion on one occasion may now again have fallen into a similar error? I have already called attention to the strong resemblance between the tone of the *Times* towards the Liberals in March and that which it has adopted towards them in July. In the latter month, of course, there is at least a decent show of respect towards

Mr. Gladstone, and he is no longer treated to the insolent disdain which he was supposed to merit in the spring of the present year. But he is still lectured in the old fashion; and the "leading journals" still take upon themselves to tell him not only their own opinions but the opinions of the English people. There is, moreover, another point of resemblance between the situation at present and the situation as it existed in March. I have said that I cannot find in the leading provincial papers those traces of discontent at the conduct of the Government which abound in the newspapers of London. It is noteworthy that there was a difference of the same kind between the metropolitan and provincial journals before the General Election. An ingenious writer, seeking to account for the blow which the London press had sustained by the result of the appeal to the country, declared that under the Household Suffrage and the Ballot Acts the movements of opinion in the constituencies must necessarily be beyond human ken. In future, according to this gentleman, the course of politics in England was to be like the course of Fate itself, and nobody was to know what party or what policy would be cut short by an appeal to the country until "the blind Fury with the abhorred shears" had done its work. This, I take leave to say, is merely a fresh instance of that very ignorance of the political realities of our time of which I am complaining. As a matter of fact, the great change in public opinion to which the people of London and the majority of the London newspapers were so hopelessly blind was discerned and formally recognised elsewhere. Whilst nearly all the London newspapers were entirely at fault in their interpretation of the movements of public opinion, and their predictions as to the result of the elections, the leading provincial papers almost unanimously took what we now know to have been the correct view of those subjects. It is not for me to enter into any discussion of the relative merits of the metropolitan and provincial press. Like other country editors I have "learned my place," and am well aware of the enormity of the offence I should commit if I were even to hint at the possibility of a comparison in merit or ability between the newspapers of Fleet Street and the newspapers, let me say, of Edinburgh or Manchester. Do I not see day after day that whilst the press of London forms a sort of mutual admiration society—in whose discussions it is true the parliamentary rule as to not naming the "honourable friend" from whom you happen to differ is strictly observed—the newspapers which have not the inestimable privilege of being published within sound of Bow Bells are ignored with a severity which must doubtless tend to crush out any spark of independence or self-respect by which they may chance to be distinguished? Still, the fact remains that whilst the leading journals of London had no notion of what had happened throughout the country before the General Election, the leading provincial journals perceived

it all, and foretold more or less plainly the actual issue of the struggle. The result was that whilst the readers of the *Times* or the *Daily Telegraph* were overwhelmed with amazement when they found that the country had turned against Lord Beaconsfield, the readers of the great newspapers of Scotland and the North of England were fully prepared for that change, and were surprised only by the sweeping character of the Liberal victory which drove the Ministry from power.

May I not be allowed to make use of this fact in treating of the present situation, when a similar difference exists between the representation of public opinion in the London press and its representation in the country press? The reason why the *Times* and its great contemporaries were misled last spring, whilst the provincial newspapers were in possession of "the secret of the ballot-box," is one which must be evident to those who give a little attention to the subject. It is to be found in the fact that the political centre of gravity has shifted from London to the country. It was in the provinces that the great Liberal victory was organised, and its signs were plainly to be observed there many months before the dissolution of Parliament took place. If the London newspapers had only been willing to look for those signs they would never have suffered the terrible discomfiture of last April. Their enterprise in most matters is wonderful. They tell us day by day all about the political intrigues at Candahar or Cabul, at Constantinople or Chicago. It would have been well for their own reputation if in the early part of this year they had extended their investigations into the provinces of the United Kingdom. They need not have gone to a very large expenditure, nor need they have risked the life of a single "special correspondent" in order to obtain that accurate information regarding the movements of public opinion in the constituencies in which, as the result proved, they were so lamentably deficient. It would have sufficed for them to make some slight sacrifice of their absorbing belief in their own importance and omniscience. If, for example, those evening papers which furnish the people of London every night with a series of elegant extracts from the leading articles of the metropolitan press, which have already been duly digested at the breakfast-table, had occasionally condescended to reproduce the utterances of the *Scotsman*, the *Glasgow Herald*, the *Manchester Guardian*, or the *Birmingham Post*, it would at least have been seen that political opinion throughout the country was not quite so much on one side as in London it was generally supposed to be. But Naaman himself could not have turned with loftier scorn from the proposal that he should bathe in the Jordan than that with which your average London journalist turns from the suggestion that he can have anything to learn from the newspapers published in the country. So

the blind led the blind, and the inevitable result ensued. Leaders and followers alike fell into the ditch.

Is it not at least possible that they are pursuing a similar course now, when they are pronouncing censures upon the Ministry which find no echo in the provinces? It would be absurd on my part to suggest that at the time of the General Election the provincial journalists were right because they were personally abler or shrewder men than their metropolitan colleagues who happened to be wrong. They were right chiefly because of their geographical position. Like their brethren in London, they judged from what they saw around them. The writers for the London newspapers convey to us with admirable force and accuracy the opinions of Pall Mall, or of the Lobby, or of the cultured circles in which they themselves move. But that which either their pride or their indolence does not permit them to do is to convey to us the opinion of the country—I mean of the country which lies outside the radius of the metropolitan boroughs and the Home Counties. They ignore, except on the rarest occasions, both the provinces and the provincial press. Their survey of public opinion is confined to its local manifestations in London, and like the untravelled cockney who believes that Primrose Hill is a fair specimen of mountain scenery, they too often delude themselves with the notion that the ideas of the West-end and the City are typical of those of the kingdom at large. It is quite possible that at the time of the General Election the country journalist acted very much in the same spirit. He had, indeed, one marked advantage over his colleague in London arising from the comparative lowliness of the position he occupies. His fate not permitting him to be inflated with a sense of his own importance, he was not above learning something both from the London newspapers and his contemporaries in the provinces. But in the main he judged public opinion as the journalists of the capital, did by its manifestations in his own locality; and he judged rightly instead of wrongly, because Fate had placed him in the midst of our new masters, and he must have been blind indeed if he had failed to see the direction in which they were travelling. He gave utterance not to the opinions of the "people of education and social position" in London, whose views the *Times* doubtless represented accurately enough, but to those of the country constituencies and of the great mass of the electors. When the time of trial came it was the opinions which were thus expressed—expressed, I admit, through comparatively humble channels—which prevailed, and which brought about the political revolution of last April.

The moral, I think, is obvious. It is that public opinion, the opinion upon the support of which statesmen and parliaments must rely if in these days of Household Suffrage they wish to succeed in the work they have undertaken, no longer finds its exclusive or

even its most authoritative organs in the London press. The result of the General Election showed conclusively that a statesman against whom were arrayed not merely those powerful forces which are represented by wealth, fashion, and the culture of the day, but almost the entire body of the metropolitan press—a statesman whose success was assumed to be an utter impossibility, and who was supposed to have discredited both himself and his party in the eyes of the nation, had, in reality, the overwhelming mass of public opinion on his side. What happened three months ago may be—and I believe is—happening once more. The grumblings and the menaces of the *Times*, the hysterical vituperation of other newspapers, may no more represent the feeling of the nation to-day than the extracts I have quoted from the leading journal represented the public opinion of last March. The country outside London, it seems clear, is satisfied that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, though weighted by the embarrassments bequeathed to them by their incompetent predecessors, and by the difficulties arising from the action of the Opposition and the existing composition of parties, are really doing their best, and doing it upon the whole as successfully as could be expected. The provincial electors, at any rate, do not believe that Mr. Gladstone, or Lord Hartington, or Mr. Forster, would be likely to bring forward a "measure of confiscation;" and they laugh to scorn the notion that the liberties of Parliament are endangered when, at the invitation of the Speaker, the Prime Minister asks the House of Commons to prevent a fanatic abusing its forms in order to utter slanders which must be equally shocking to the moral sense of Mr. Bradlaugh and to that of Sir Henry Tyler. Both in their newspapers and their public meetings, in short, they exercise a faith and patience with regard to the new Government which contrast strikingly with the haste and irritation which appear to prevail in London. And though, as I said at the outset, we have become to a large extent wedded to the idea that public opinion is concentrated in London, and has no organs save the London newspapers, it would not be surprising if Ministers at least have broken loose from the old superstition, and, mindful of what happened four months ago, remember that the antagonism of London society and the London press is not necessarily the same thing as the antagonism of the country. No one will deny that the criticisms of the trained political writers of the metropolitan newspapers are worthy of attention; but a statesman cannot be blamed if he should remember that it is not in their hands that the voting power of the country rests, and that in one of the most important crises of our times they proved to be wholly in error in their interpretation of public opinion. It is in the belief that they are once more in danger of falling into a similar error that I have ventured to remind them of their former mistake.

T. Wemyss Reid.

THE POLICY OF COERCION.

THE jubilee of Belgian independence occurs at an opportune moment.

No one can read Lord Dalling's description of the difficulties surrounding the Belgian question fifty years ago without being impressed by the similarity between the dangers which Lord Palmerston averted and those which are now threatening Europe in another quarter. After describing the local questions requiring settlement, Lord Dalling points out that all these local difficulties were aggravated by "the German sovereigns on one side, fearful of the extension of France and the expansion of French principles, and the French Government on the other, excited, jealous, ambitious, and under a new system which had as yet neither an ancient authority nor a newly-acquired prestige. Nor was this all; here was the Dutch nation, proud of its historical renown, smarting under its recent humiliation, governed by a sovereign obstinate in character, and rendered more so by the conviction that right was on his side—there the Belgians, inflated by their late triumph, believing that they had it in their power to create an European war if they thought proper, and disposed to use or abuse this power."[1] To make the parallel still more curiously exact in its relation to this country, the Belgian question was raised when a Conservative Government was in office, and left for settlement to its Liberal successor. The Duke of Wellington first pooh-poohed it, predicting the speedy collapse of the Belgian insurrection against our ancient allies the Dutch, as confidently as another Conservative Minister, forty-five years later, predicted the suppression of the Slavonic rising against our ancient allies the Turks, and then—astounded and dismayed at the non-fulfilment of his predictions—pronounced it a "*diablement mauvaise affaire*," and was filled with the dread of a general war.[2] General war might have taken place had the Conservatives not opportunely been removed from office, and the Liberals been afforded an opportunity of settling the question on those popular principles which the Tories abhorred, by means of an alliance with the Power which the Tories detested, entered into for the purpose of enforcing the decision of that European concert, in the existence of which the Tories disbelieved. The complete success which crowned the policy of Lord Palmerston in dismembering the Netherlands to satisfy the national aspirations of the Belgians, has, at least, a happy augury as to the prospects of a similar policy in

(1) Dalling's *Palmerston*, ii. 24. (2) Stockmar's *Memoirs*, i. 145.

the hands of Mr. Gladstone for dismembering the wreck of the Ottoman Empire to secure the natural development of the races of the East. But if that success is to be attained, the means without which Lord Palmerston would have achieved nothing must not be neglected. The great lesson which is taught by the happy establishment of the Belgian kingdom, is that the Powers must not only agree to prescribe, but must unite to execute, the arrangements which they regard as indispensable to the general peace. In brief, the Belgian jubilee recalls the necessity and commemorates the success of a policy of coercion.

Upon the adoption of such a policy the peace of Europe once more depends. The condition of the Ottoman Empire is such that not even the most sanguine optimist can venture to hope that the demands of the Powers for the fulfilment of the obligations entered into at Berlin will be acceded to by the Sultan without the display, and probably the exercise of, force. Even if the Sultan were unexpectedly to abandon the attitude which he has hitherto maintained, it is doubtful whether the mischief he has already done in fomenting opposition to the decrees of the Congress could be undone by commands issued from Constantinople. The executive and military authority of the Sultan is in a condition of paralysis, more or less complete, and in some provinces, notably in Northern Albania, it might be regarded as non-existent, were it not that the power of the Porte, absolutely impotent for good, still exercises a certain influence for evil, in inflaming the hostility of tribes which it cannot control, so that in these districts, so far as the Powers are concerned, the situation is rather worse than it would be if the Sultan's government were overthrown altogether. Those who seriously consider the nature of the demands which are being and have still to be pressed upon the Porte, will find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that it would have been much better—better for Europe and better for the Turks—if the Russians, instead of making peace at San Stefano, had pressed on to Constantinople and finally extinguished the Ottoman Empire. The Duke of Wellington expressed a similar conviction after the signature of the Treaty of Adrianople. "There can be no doubt," he wrote, "that it would have been more fortunate and better for the world if the Treaty of Peace had not been signed, and if the Russians had entered Constantinople, and if the Turkish Empire had been dissolved."[1] The sick man was so nigh unto death in the early months of 1878, that his extinction might have been almost painless. Instead of insisting upon the completion of the operation, the late Government took the lead in insisting upon his resuscitation. He was "consolidated," and was to be regenerated, and some of his physicians assured him of a new lease of life

(1) *Wellington's Despatches*, vi. 219.

for at least forty years. To perfect his recovery, they prescribed a regimen which, however necessary it may be for the completion of the cure, cannot appear to the patient as anything but a prolonged process of amputation and vivisection. It is a cruel kindness to restore a patient to life as a preliminary to dissection, but this was the course which found favour in the eyes of the late Government, and from which most of our present difficulties spring. The hunters who sold the skin before they killed the bear were wise men compared with the statesmen who insisted upon the restoration of the expiring Turk to some degree of vigour before they set about the distribution of his limbs. In consequence of that original mistake, the Powers have first to overcome the opposition of the Porte before attempting to deal with the resistance of the local population. By the law of its existence the Turkish Government struggles and must struggle against the execution of the Treaty of Berlin. The limit of its strength will be the limit of its resistance. All analogies based upon the submission of the Porte to the demands of Europe in the past are misleading. Europe never before made demands, the practical effect of which is the extinction of the executive authority of the Sultan throughout his dominions. As Count Andrassy remarked four years ago when contrasting the demand for the autonomy of Bulgaria with that for the autonomy of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, a man may consent to the amputation of a limb, but he is certain to resist the excision of his spine.[1] The demand for the cession of Dulcigno to Montenegro, and of Southern Thessaly and Epirus to Greece, are mere bagatelles compared with the demand for the fulfilment of the twenty-third and sixty-first articles of the Treaty of Berlin. They concern mere strips of distant provinces, the fringes of the empire, whereas the twenty-third and sixty-first clauses deal with the whole body of dominions still subject to the Sultan. Mr. Goschen has already pressed significantly for the execution of the Armenian reforms, and Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice is busily engaged on the International Commission at Constantinople in drawing up schemes for the decentralization of the empire, and the establishment of provincial autonomy.

The establishment of autonomous governments more or less on the Eastern Roumelian model in all the provinces remaining to the Sultan in Europe, which Sir A. H. Layard and Sir H. D. Wolff declare to be indispensable, completely finishes the Sultan's direct administrative authority on this side of the Bosphorus. The substitution of an overlordship over semi-autonomous provinces for the unlimited despotic authority he has hitherto possessed, will cost the Sultan more than the cession of Thessaly and Epirus, and there is no sign that as yet he has even contemplated such a sacrifice. In

(1) *Blue Book, Turkey* (1877), i. No. 207.

Asia, the realisation of the ameliorations and reforms which are demanded by the local wants of the provinces "inhabited by the Armenians"—an elastic phrase, which may be stretched to cover much more than Armenia proper—was promised "without any delay" two years ago. Nothing has yet been done. There, as elsewhere, the elimination of the executive power of the ruling Turks of Stamboul is the first condition of reform. Even Sir H. D. Wolff, by his references to the "complete decentralization of Turkey," and the "appalling" state of the Government of Constantinople, seems to be pretty much of Mr. Carlyle's opinion, that "the unspeakable Turk should be immediately struck out of the question," for he has already seen in Eastern Roumelia that "improved management of these unhappy countries might begin on the morrow after this long-continued curse was withdrawn, and the ground left free for wise and honest human effort." But not unnaturally the "unspeakable Turk"—by which, of course, is meant not "the peaceful Mongol inhabitant," but the ruling Sultan or Pasha of Stamboul—does not see things in the same light, and before he is "struck out of the question," the Powers will be obliged to resort to some more or less drastic method of coercion. If the Greek and Montenegrin questions stood by themselves, there might be some plausible pretext for ignoring the opposition of the Sultan and confining attention to that of overcoming the resistance of the local populations. But standing as they do, merely as the advance posts of other questions, all leading up to the great question, the elimination of the direct authority of the Government of Constantinople from its subject provinces, it is necessary to take into practical consideration the whole subject of coercion.

The admission by such eminent authorities on the Conservative side as Sir H. D. Wolff, to say nothing of Sir A. H. Layard, of the essential rottenness of the Government of Constantinople, and of the importance of severing all direct connection between the Sultan and the local administration of his dominions, clears the air considerably. When Lord Salisbury, in 1877, was confronted with the duty of coercing the Sultan he shrank back, lest by so doing he should overthrow "the only government which now keeps some thirty millions of people in some kind of order;" but now that Lord Salisbury's own Eastern Commissioner has proclaimed that the *sine quâ non* of remedying existing disorders in Turkey is to free the provinces inhabited by the millions aforesaid from the direct administrative control of the appallingly corrupt Government at Constantinople, it is no longer an effective reply to the demand for coercion to say that coercion may be equivalent to extinction. On the contrary, there are many grounds for regarding such a consummation with satisfaction. No substituted government which owed its existence to the charter of the Powers

would be either as weak, as vile, or as impracticable as the Porte. Of course there is the risk that the Powers might not be able to agree as to the substitute who should succeed Abdul Hamid as doorkeeper of the Bosphorus, but that risk, on the admission of the same eminent authorities, will have to be run in any case. If the Sultan is left to himself he will not reform, and if he does not reform his empire will collapse. The general overturn will compel Europe to address itself to the consideration of the question in the midst of the crash of arms and the roar of cannon. Great as are the difficulties in the way of agreement as to the adoption of a substitute for the Sultan, they are less now than they will be if the question is postponed until *la culbute générale*. That upset may occur at any moment. An assassin's knife, the mutiny of a starving regiment, a sudden fit of insanity, or the success of a palace intrigue might fling the great city into the pool to-morrow, to be scrambled for by all Europe. The possibility of having to utter "the last word on the Eastern Question," if things are left to take their course, is so great that the added risk from coercion hardly signifies. In any case, Europe would do well to set about trying to pronounce that "last word" betimes. The suggestion that the new Emperor of Byzantium should be the son of the Queen of England, and the son-in-law of the Emperor of Russia, is at present the only practical contribution to the discussion of a question which coercion may precipitate or postpone, but which, failing coercion, will certainly present itself for an early settlement, possibly when this country is least prepared to give it adequate consideration, or to make its influence felt in the councils of Europe. Against the risk of killing the patient whom we seek to cure by a resort to coercive treatment, must be placed the consideration that we can choose our own time for running that risk, whereas, if he is left alone, he may drop off when his decease is least expected, and nothing is ready. If the sick man should die under coercion, his executors will be there in force to maintain order pending the distribution of his effects and the establishment of his heir. Should he perish unexpectedly, anarchy might ensue, and in that anarchy one or two ambitious Powers on the spot might find an opportunity which it is the object of English policy to prevent. So far as the ownership of Constantinople is concerned, a policy of *laissez faire* is surrounded by even greater perils than a policy of coercion.

We have purposely stated the worst contingency first. But we do not thereby imply a belief that coercion must necessarily destroy the Turkish Government. On the contrary, it is, perhaps, a more serious objection to a policy of coercion that it would tend to prolong the existence of the sovereignty of the Sultan. The Turkish Government, as the present system of organized plunder and oppression is termed by courtesy, is doomed. The Berlin Treaty, thanks almost exclusively to the provisions which it took over from the Treaty of

San Stefano, will, if vigorously executed, root out the direct administrative authority of the Government of Constantinople from Europe, and from the provinces inhabited by the Armenians in Asia. In place of Turkey in Europe there will be a congeries of local self-governing States, paying tribute to the Sultan, and recognising his sovereignty, but as free from any interference from him or from the pashas at Stamboul as Eastern Roumelia is at present. This arrangement, although an immense improvement upon the *status quo*, will be rendered very difficult to work for lack of a willing instrument of the Powers at Constantinople. The Sultan may sanction Albanian and Macedonian autonomy, as he has sanctioned that of Eastern Roumelia, but, as in Eastern Roumelia, so elsewhere he will do all he can to thwart the intention of the Powers, and his overlordship, instead of being, as it might be in European hands, a source of security, tranquillity, and order, will be just the reverse. Nothing but the danger of a difference amongst the Powers as to his successor would justify an attempt to govern the Ottoman Empire through such an instrument. The difficulties of governing an empire by a committee of the representatives of six foreign Powers are enormous, even if they work through a willing instrument; they become well-nigh insuperable when their wishes have to be executed by an Asiatic Mussulman who bitterly resents his altered position. Nevertheless, although it would be like ploughing with dogs, it is the only solution short of changing the dynasty, and if the Sultan submits to the demands of Europe, the experiment must be tried. If he can be induced to recognise his altered position, which, under the Berlin Treaty, is practically that of a viceregent under the tutelage of Europe —possessing nominally the full attributes of sovereignty, but under treaty engagements to all the Powers to permit their superintendence of a system of administration established by them in all his provinces —the Ottoman Empire may continue to exist for many years.

But the prolongation of the Sultan's sovereignty can only be purchased at the price of his independence, and if the Turkish Empire is not to perish, the Turks must do as they are told. Of this the Sultan has not seen the necessity. He signed the Berlin Treaty without fully realising the change it made in his position. It is now time that he should be taught. Nothing but a demonstration that the Powers were prepared, if needs be, to take the law into their own hands, will have the slightest effect upon the Sultan. Only the revelation of a Divine decree incarnate in the shape of irresistible strength arrayed against him will suffice to convince him that Fate has spoken, and that henceforth he reigns in Constantinople on the conditions defined in the Treaty of Berlin, that is to say, as a sovereign whose executive authority is not only rigidly limited in his provinces, but is also subject to the supervision and control of the Powers. Even that might not succeed, but everything short of

that is certain to fail. Sir A. H. Layard has placed on record this deliberate conclusion at which he arrived at after the experience of two painful years, that "if we are in earnest in wishing to save this country, but at the same time so that its populations may be justly and impartially governed, we must be prepared to go farther than mere menaces." In other words, if anything is to be done the Turks must be coerced.

Before considering the nature and degree of coercion necessary, it is necessary to bear in mind the nature and degree of the submission required. If, for instance, the cession of Dulcigno were the only matter in dispute, a local application of coercive force would suffice, without exercising any pressure at Constantinople. If even the cession to Greece exhausted the demands of the Powers, local coercive measures, by cutting off supplies sent from Salonica by a judicious use of the fleet, and, if needs be, by landing a small body of troops, after the Syrian precedent of 1840, would suffice to help Greece to her own. But these questions are of comparatively minor importance, which might be settled to-morrow without removing the root of the evil—the indisposition of the Sultan to recognise the conditions to which he has pledged himself, and under which he can alone be permitted to continue to exercise his sovereignty. After local coercive measures had suppressed manifestations of hostility to the decisions of Europe at two remote points on the frontier of the Empire, the primary object of the powers, the recognition of the hopelessness of evading the provisions of the Treaty or of resisting the will of the Powers, at the centre of authority, would still remain unattained. However cautiously the essential truth may be draped by diplomatic phraseology, the central necessity of the situation is that the Sultan should learn once for all that the will of Europe, which in this case is simply that the Sultan shall fulfil his treaty engagements, must be obeyed. To bring that home to the mind of the Sultan, coercive measures can most effectively be directed against the city which is the seat of his government and the heart of his empire. Local applications may secure the cession of a province, nothing but force directed against the capital will effect the reconstruction of Turkish administration decreed in the 23rd and 61st articles of the Treaty of Berlin.

Whatever may be thought of its policy, there can be no doubt of the efficacy of a naval demonstration in the Bosphorus. Mr. Gladstone was inclined, in 1876, to rely upon the establishment of a naval cordon between the European and Asiatic shores of the Ottoman Empire. That is merely one of the forms of the naval demonstration which would suffice to bring the Sultan to understand his impotence in presence of united Europe. The efficacy of such a demonstration was recognised in the discussions which preceded the assembling of the Constantinople Conference. Count Andrassy may

be regarded as the original author of the proposal to coerce the Turks by a naval demonstration at Constantinople. On the 12th September, 1876, he told Sir Andrew Buchanan that he wished to impose the armistice and conditions of peace on the Porte. "I asked him how he could impose them if the Porte refused, and he answered, by imposing force, which could easily be done by a naval demonstration at Constantinople. An occupation of Turkish territory would lead to war, the limits of which could not be foreseen, but conditions dictated by a combined fleet at Constantinople would be accepted."[1]

The Italian Government at a somewhat later date appears to have been of the same opinion, for while protesting against a military occupation of Turkish territory, it was not prepared to admit that the Turks would be at liberty to reject the demands of Europe.[2] In the debates on coercion at the beginning of 1877, the ministerial argument against a naval demonstration was not that it would not be effective in destroying the opposition of the Porte, but that it might destroy the Porte itself. Lord Salisbury dwelt largely upon the dangers of a bombardment of Constantinople, but, apart from the probability, almost amounting to a certainty, that the Sultan would be unable to hold his own in the capital if it were seriously menaced with bombardment, the whole course of history is against the supposition that the Turkish Government would risk an attack. As Mr. Gladstone pointed out three years ago, no Power in Europe is so amenable to pressure when it is directed against their capital. Almost every nation in Europe has prolonged its resistance after its capital has been either captured or besieged; whereas the Turks have invariably capitulated before their enemies were within striking distance of Constantinople. The resistance which might be made at the Dardanelles has never deterred England from forcing the passage single-handed, and the allied fleets would hardly be prevented from executing the mandate of Europe because of the threats of the Porte. Two members of the present Government—the Prime Minister and the Lord Privy Seal—expressed themselves very unequivocally on the subject of coercion, when in opposition, and there is no reason to believe that they have changed their opinions in office. In the spring of the present year Mr. Gladstone, speaking at a small place in Midlothian, explained his view of coercion more clearly than he thought it wise to do in the debate upon his Resolutions.

Speaking of the demand for the establishment of the autonomy of Bulgaria, Bosnia, and the Herzegovina, which, he contended, would have been conceded by the Turks if Europe had said, "You must," Mr. Gladstone said:—

"There are those who say that the Turk would have resisted, and would have raised a most bloody war. That is nonsense; that is pure nonsense. And

(1) *Blue Book, Turkey*, 1877, i 206. (2) Ib., ii. No. 29.

I will tell you why I say so. Because there is not a case upon record in which, united Europe having made up its mind to tell the Sultan of Turkey what must be done, the Sultan of Turkey has not had the good sense to do it. Why, gentlemen, just see what power, what command, we had over the condition of Turkey. In the first place Turkey was an empire dependent for—I think I may safely say—three-fourths at the very least of her soldiery upon Asia. We had only to say, 'No troops, no guns, no munitions of war, shall pass by sea between Asia and Europe,' in order to reduce the Turkish Government to terms—if, indeed, she had ever carried it to that length, which she never would have done. Well, you tell me, 'Oh, but the Turks had a very good fleet, and could have made resistance by sea.' Yes, she had a good fleet; but how was that fleet navigated? Who were her enginemen? Who were the men that worked the machinery of her ships? They were Englishmen and Scotchmen, and the Queen had only to issue the proclamation requiring all these Englishmen and Scotchmen to quit their employment, in order to bring every one of them out of the Turkish fleet, and to leave the Turkish fleet waterlogged upon the sea. Therefore, gentlemen, the fact is this: never were such means of peaceful and bloodless coercion so fully and indisputably in the hands of any Power, or collection of Powers, as were then in the hands of the European Powers, applicable against Turkey, had Turkey been obstinately determined to resist."

The Duke of Argyll, in February, 1877, replying to the Marquis of Salisbury's assertion that coercion of the Turks meant the bombardment of Constantinople, said:—

"I have thought out all the possible meanings of the word 'coercion,' and I dissent from the dogma of my noble friend that it means nothing but the bombardment of Constantinople. I have a distinct and clear opinion that if Europe had been really united, if you had brought Europe, as you might have done, abreast of you for the purpose of imposing your will on Turkey—there were more meanings than one of 'coercion,' more modes than two or three or six by which you might have brought Turkey to her knees, and avoided the whole of this terrible danger to Europe."

If that was the case when the Turks were in full possession of their territory, the task of bringing Turkey to her knees now that her resources have been shattered and her arsenals emptied by a disastrous war, ought to present no insuperable difficulties to the European Powers.

The common cry in reply to demonstrations of the necessity for coercion is that coercion is equivalent to war. It may therefore be well to point out that although coercion may involve the adoption of measures almost tantamount to acts of war, coercion is not only theoretically distinct from war, but has repeatedly been exercised in the past, without involving those who engaged in it in actual warfare. The exercise of coercion by the European concert is an international act of police, an exercise of force for the attainment of a special and limited object altogether distinct from a state of war in which the whole resources of the belligerents are exerted for the purpose of mutual destruction. This distinction will be perceived more clearly by referring to some of the instances in which coercion was employed in the course of the present century.

The first of these, the coercion of the Turks by England, Russia,

and France in 1827—9, is full of lessons for statesmen of to-day. When the Greek war began, the English Government was as much opposed to the coercion of the Turks as Lord Beaconsfield in 1877. The policy of leaving them to fight it out among themselves, which is popular in certain quarters, was persevered in for six years with terrible results. The struggle degenerated into a war of extermination. Its horrors the Powers witnessed with stoical indifference. Not sympathy with suffering humanity, nor even an enthusiasm on behalf of classical Greece, led to the Protocol of 1826 and the Treaty of 1827, so much as a dread of the extension of Russian influence and an anxiety to prevent a general war. It was declared to be "no longer possible to admit that the fate of Greece concerned exclusively the Ottoman Porte," and England, France, and Russia agreed to "offer" the Porte their mediation, and to "demand an immediate armistice." To the Treaty of London, embodying this agreement, there was appended an "additional and secret article," whereby the contracting Powers bound themselves, if the armistice was not granted in a month, "to exert all the means which circumstances may suggest to their prudence" to prevent "in so far as may be in their power all collision between the contending parties" by conjointly employing "all their means in the accomplishment of the object thereof, without, however, taking any part in the hostilities between the two contending parties." Orders were to be issued to the admirals in accordance with this agreement, and, finally, if, "contrary to all expectation," these measures failed to accomplish their object, the Powers would "discuss and determine the ulterior measures to which it may become necessary to resort." Although for a long time the Austrian ambassador in London had been furnished with full powers to sign this Treaty, Austria at the last moment declined to accede to it, and Prussia followed her example.[1] The Greeks accepted the armistice. The Turks refused it. The stipulated interval having elapsed, the admirals of the allied fleets received instructions to compel a cessation of hostilities. France proposed a blockade of the Dardanelles, Russia an occupation of the Principalities. Lord Palmerston strongly urged upon the English Cabinet that eight thousand English troops should be dispatched to clear the Morea of the Turko-Egyptian forces, and if necessary they should act together with a French contingent. All these proposals were rejected, and the Powers contented themselves with attempting, through their fleets on the coast of the Morea, to induce the Turks to suspend hostilities. When entering the harbour of Navarino, in order to seek an interview with Ibrahim Pasha to induce him to cease burning and slaying on the mainland, fire was opened upon them by the Turko-Egyptian fleet. It was returned with interest, and before night the Turkish fleet was partially destroyed. But as the

(1) Stapleton's *Canning*, iii. 285.

allies were not at war with the Turks no captures were made, and when Turkish resistance was crushed the Turks were left in undisturbed possession of the remnant of their fleet.

Notwithstanding this unforeseen and unexpected incident of Navarino, the allied Powers continued to be at peace with the Porte. Their ambassadors were not withdrawn from Constantinople until a later period, and the English Ministry refused to sanction a vote of thanks to Sir E. Codrington "because when the attack took place England was at peace, as she is still at peace, with the Ottoman Power." The Duke of Wellington was very emphatic in his assurances that the use of force was not contemplated by the Government, whereupon Sir James Mackintosh pointedly remarked that if such were the case, it was strange that the Treaty should direct that instructions should be sent to the admirals, for "admirals can only negotiate effectively with their great guns. That was the only kind of representation that could have any effect upon the understanding of our ancient allies the Turks."

The Duke of Wellington's views as to the sinfulness of coercion underwent a rapid change, when the declaration of war by Russia on her own account, on grounds that had nothing to do with Greece, led Metternich to press for an immediate pacification of the Morea. It is noteworthy, as illustrating the distinction between coercion and war, that when Russia went to war with Turkey on the Danube and in Armenia, she waived her belligerent rights in the Mediterranean in order to continue her concerted coercive action with her allies under the Treaty of London, who were still at peace with the Porte. The blockade of the Morea was continued by the allied fleets, but the war still continuing, it was determined to clear out the Turks by a French army. 18,000 French soldiers were embarked on board English and French transports, and escorted by the English fleet they arrived in the Levant, to find that the blockade had succeeded in compelling Ibrahim Pasha to promise to return to Egypt. He was sailing off with an army of 21,000 men when the French arrived in the bay. Only 8,000 Turks remained in garrisons in the Morea. The reduction of these garrisons was accomplished in six weeks. The castle of the Morea alone made any resistance. At other fortresses the Turkish governors replied, "The Porte is not at war with the French or the English, no act of hostility will be committed, but the place will not be given up." The French then took down the gates, or made a breach in the walls, and took the garrison prisoners without firing a shot. After the Morea was cleared the army of occupation proposed to complete the clearance of Greek territory, but they were arrested by the jealousy of the English Government. But even after the Morea was freed from Turkish occupation, and the Turkish fleet had been destroyed, Lord Palmerston frankly declared that he heartily wished Russia success in her

war with the Turks, as that was "the only chance of making a good settlement of the Greek State." [1] Russia was successful, and Lord Palmerston's expectations were fulfilled. What the most stringent measures of local coercion failed to effect was secured when pressure was applied at the capital, and the Treaty of Adrianople effected what the battle of Navarino and the occupation of the Morea had left undone.

The establishment of the Greek State had hardly become a matter of history when the revolt of the Belgians against the Dutch gave rise to another act of collective European coercion which has been fraught with the happiest results to the tranquillity of the Continent. The Powers in Conference decreed the establishment of the Belgian kingdom on a basis of eighteen articles, embodied in the Protocol of June 27, 1831. Holland rejected these articles, and on the 4th of August threw an army of 50,000 men into Belgium. The Belgian army fled, and Leopold was surrounded at Louvain. The Powers had not pledged themselves in any way to enforce the stipulations of their Protocol. Fortunately the French immediately intervened, an army crossed the frontier, and its advance saved Louvain. The situation between England and France became somewhat strained, but the immediate danger was averted. The Dutch retreated. An armistice was agreed upon, and the French army shortly afterwards evacuated Belgium. The Powers were thus left face to face with the situation. England and the Northern Powers were jealous of France, which was believed to aim at the partition of Belgium; but it was wisely determined to act throughout as if France were really in good faith desirous of acting in concert with the Powers to secure the independence of Belgium. Another Conference was held and twenty-four articles were drawn up on the 14th of October as the new basis for Belgian independence. The most significant clause in the new treaty was that which declared to Holland and Belgium simultaneously that the five Powers guaranteed the execution of these articles as containing their irrevocable decisions, and that they were determined to obtain, by force if necessary, the complete acquiescence of both parties. Lord Grey told Baron Stockmar that the Conference not only had the means at its disposal to enforce its decisions, but that it would use them if the occasion should require it. He also warned him that if Belgium refused to fulfil the conditions imposed upon her by the Conference, "we shall occupy her territory with an army of execution composed of French, Prussians, and English." Belgium, however, submitted, and a treaty was signed on the 15th of November, guaranteeing to her the execution of the twenty-four articles if Holland proved recalcitrant. The question arose as to the means to be employed to compel the Dutch to obey the mandate of Europe. Prussia declared her readiness to admit three

(1) Dalling's *Palmerston*, i. 329.

coercive measures. 1. The remission of payments which Belgium is bound to make to Holland. 2. Coercive measures against the Dutch mercantile marine. 3. Blockade of the French ports; but she protested strongly against the entrance of a French army into Belgium: "If the French march in, the Prussians will march down the right bank of the Meuse." The English showed little sympathy with the Belgians. "I am convinced," wrote Stockmar, "that the Ministry would be left in the lurch by the House of Commons if they were to call upon it to make a sacrifice in favour of Belgium. If Grey and Palmerston thought they would be supported in their measures by Parliament, they would to-morrow blockade the Dutch ports."[1] Lord Palmerston, however, who was in no way daunted by the alleged unpopularity of coercion, "declared in the most positive manner that the Ministry were in a position to believe that they ought to take such measures in the interests of England, and that they would therefore employ them, whether it was popular or not."[2] The Dutch offered to negotiate. Belgium refused. For four months matters remained in a dead-lock. At last Belgium offered to negotiate, when it was found that the Dutch were obstinately determined to resist the Belgian claims. Upon this the eventual employment of coercive measures against Holland was in principle admitted on all sides, by all the Powers.[3] The Eastern Powers, however, would not participate in measures of material force, but only in coercive measures of a pecuniary kind. Although passive, they were not hostile to more active measures by others, and after a delay of some weeks, partially due to the reluctance of William IV. to assent to the attack upon Antwerp by a French army, England and France concerted measures of coercion against the Dutch. A treaty was signed on October 22nd, 1832. On the 2nd of November the King of Holland was summoned to evacuate Belgian territory within ten days. He refused. On the 5th an embargo was laid upon Dutch ships in English and French harbours, and cruisers were commissioned to seize Dutch shipping on the high seas. On the 15th, Belgian territory still not being evacuated, the French army crossed the frontier. Four days later the siege of Antwerp began. On December 23rd that fortress capitulated. In May, 1833, a convention was concluded which secured to Belgium an armistice, and the enjoyment of a very favourable *status quo* until Holland would accept the Twenty-four Articles, which she did five years later. Belgium reluctantly gave up the advantageous provisorium which Dutch obstinacy had secured her. "She struggled violently against it, but was forced to give in owing to the unanimity of the great Powers," and thus at last the Belgian Question ceased to distract the attention of Europe.

The third instance of concerted coercion was that afforded by the operations of England, Russia, Austria, and Turkey against

(1) Stockmar's *Memoirs*, i. 275. (2) Ib., i. 276. (3) Ib. i. 287.

Mehemet Ali in 1840. In the case of Belgium, coercion was successfully applied by two Powers acting with the passive consent of the other. The coercion of Mehemet Ali was undertaken against the protest of France, and without the express sanction of Prussia. When it was undertaken Europe was filled with doleful predictions of disastrous consequences certain to ensue if coercion were attempted. Russia was to seize Constantinople, if, indeed, Ibrahim Pasha did not forestall her in overthrowing the Ottoman Empire, while all the population of Syria would rise as one man to resist the intervention of the infidel. These predictions were emphasised by the fact that Mehemet Ali, one of the ablest men of his age, had an army of eighty thousand seasoned warriors encamped in Syria, while both the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were under his command. So critical was the state of things in the West that Sir Charles Napier was warned before he began the blockade that war with France might be expected any moment.[1] Nevertheless, Lord Palmerston persevered. Entrusting the duty of defending Constantinople to Russia, he sent the English fleet to blockade, in concert with a few Turkish and Austrian warships, the whole coast of Egypt and Syria. Mehemet Ali was given twenty days to submit, and at the expiry of that time the blockade was enforced. During that blockade, the relations between the English commanders off Alexandria and the Egyptian Pashas were characterized by the utmost courtesy and good feeling. On the Syrian coast sterner work was afoot. Sir Charles Napier battered down one seaboard fortress after another, and landing with a force of 6,000 Turks, 1,500 marines, 200 artillerymen, engineers, &c., and one or two hundred Austrians, he roused the mountaineers against Mehemet Ali, and in a very short time succeeded in compelling the acceptance of the terms of the Allies. No enterprise could have been more hazardous, but none was ever more completely crowned by success.

It is not usual to point to the war between Russia and Turkey in 1853, as a signal illustration of the success of coercive action as distinct from war; but that is because the war occasioned by the invasion of the Crimea obscures the earlier phases of the conflict. Nothing is more striking in the History by Mr. Kinglake than the clearness with which he points out that the object of the Powers, the repression of Russian aggression upon Turkey, was finally attained by the coercive action of Austria before a single shot had been fired against Sebastopol. All the Powers acted together against Russia, and but for the spirit of adventure on the part of England and dynastic necessities on the part of France, the peace of Europe would have been restored, when Austria, with the support of Prussia and the German states, compelled and coerced Russia to evacuate the Principalities.

(1) *Life of Sir Charles Napier.*

The last instance of concerted coercion to which reference need be made is that of the Lebanon. In 1860, at a time when England, full of suspicion of the designs of the French Emperor, was forming her volunteers on every village green to resist invasion, the English Government did not find it impossible to join in a concert of the Powers for coercive measures for the pacification of the Lebanon. A protocol was signed defining the conditions under which the intervention of a European force ought to take place. The Sultan on being informed that the European force would be sent whether he consented or not, prudently resolved to accept the assistance of the twelve thousand men, which the Powers declared were necessary to restore order. Napoleon promised to furnish six thousand to proceed without delay; "the other six thousand to be furnished by such one of the Powers as on further consultation shall appear to be expedient." An English squadron was sent to the coast of Syria "with power to land marines if necessary," and a Russian naval force was ordered to co-operate with the British squadron in protecting the Christians. The intervention was signally successful, and, although much anxiety was experienced as to the prolongation of the French occupation till the latter end of 1861, the Syrian expedition returned as soon as its work was effectively accomplished.

In none of these five instances did coercive measures result in "lighting up the flames of a general war," although in nearly every case the danger of such a result appeared much greater than that which faces Europe to-day. In every case coercion succeeded in attaining its objects, although, in the case of Greece, a hesitation to carry it out to its logical conclusion deprived it of its full result. In no case did any practical difficulty arise from the co-operation of the armed forces of the allied Powers. Neither did the Powers applying coercion in any case conclude by turning their arms against each other.

The chief difficulty in the way of coercion by concerted Europe now, arises from the moral certainty that at least one Power out of the six will have reasons of its own for refusing to take part in the naval and military operations. But experience shows that this difficulty is not insuperable. Coercion by united Europe does not necessarily imply that all the Powers should actually be represented in the force entrusted with the execution of a European mandate. It is of course most desirable that all the Powers should jointly execute the mandate which they have jointly signed, but it would be a dangerous mistake to abandon all hope of coercive measures should one, two, or even three Powers prefer to play a passive part. Three powers held aloof when Holland was coerced. Two powers were passive when Greece was established. Only two powers were actively engaged in the coercion of Mehemet Ali. France alone landed troops in the Lebanon, and Austria single-handed under-

took to rid the Principalities of the Russian invaders. Although joint coercion by all the Powers is infinitely preferable to single-handed coercion by one, even single-handed coercion if undertaken in the name of Europe is infinitely preferable to the war to which it will probably be the only alternative.

No, not the only alternative. An alternative even more bloody and terrible lies immediately before Europe, if the coercion of the Turks is not vigorously taken in hand by the Powers. Should the great Powers definitely refuse to act, their refusal would immediately bring the small Powers on to the field. If the Ottoman Government is not placed under control by a demonstration of irresistible force, it will have to face an explosion of all the elements of disorder within its frontiers. The Hellenes, whom Europe has decreed shall be freed, will rise in insurrection. The Greek Government will put its armies in motion to occupy the territory staked out at Berlin, which it has been invited by the Powers to accept. The Montenegrins, thrown upon their own resources, betrayed by Europe, at whose bidding they abandoned Dulcigno, and by whom they are now denied their lawful equivalent, will endeavour to gain it by the sword. If the English plenipotentiaries at Berlin had not created the fatal mistake of partitioning Bulgaria, the Porte might, in its supreme hour of distress and peril, have counted at least upon Bulgarian quiescence when engaged in a war with the Greeks.

The division of Bulgaria rendered that impossible. The Bulgarians in re-enslaved Macedonia will rise in arms, and appeal to their brethren in Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria to assist them in recovering liberties lost at Berlin. A dread of the restoration of the Balkan garrisons will stimulate the Bulgarians of Eastern Roumelia to lend a willing ear to the cry from Macedonia. The vials of wrath will once more be emptied upon the miserable peninsula, and Europe will see with horror, on a large scale, the renewal of the frightful orgies of slaughter which followed the retreat of General Gourko from the valley of the Tundja. Bulgarian, Turk, Pomak, Albanian, Circassian, and Greek will close in death grapple, and from Bourgas to Durazzo, from the Balkans to the mountains of Thessaly, there would hardly be a village or a valley that would not be blasted by the simoom of universal war. Nor would the struggle be confined to Europe. "In Syria," says Sir A. H. Layard, "detestation of Constantinople rule, and a determination to cast it off, appears to form a bond of union between the (Arab) Mussulmans and the Christians. The state of Arabia, according to all accounts, is very critical, and a formidable insurrection against the Turkish Government may at any moment break out." A general uprising of all the populations of the Empire, followed by desperate attempts at repression by massacre, provoking in their turn the most ruthless refusals—such is the in-

evitable alternative of leaving the Turkish Government to go its own way uncontrolled and uncoerced.

Nor is this all. When blood has been poured out like water in every province of the Ottoman Empire, when a war of extermination with all its frightful accompaniments of lust and torture has raged for weeks or months, it will be discovered that all this massacre has been but the thinning of the pawns in order that the pieces may come into action. The internecine war will provoke European intervention, whether the Turks win or lose. If they conquered, Europe will not again witness with indifference the desolation of the Morea or the bombardment of Athens. Neither will Russia tolerate the re-establishment of the Turkish gallows in the streets of Philippopolis or the reappearance of Bashi Bazouks on the heights of the Skipka. If, on the other hand, the Turks go down before the onslaught of their foes, the whole of their dominions in Europe and Asia, with Constantinople as first prize, will be thrown into the field to be scrambled for; nor would the scramble be confined to the races who are natural heirs of the Sick Man. If the Turk is not coerced, neither the peace of Europe nor the Ottoman Empire is worth six months' purchase from the date on which the definite refusal to coerce is pronounced by the Powers.

With such a prospect plainly revealed before us—and no one who is conversant with the events of the last four years, and is familiar with the present state of the Ottoman Empire as delineated in the farewell dispatch of Sir A. H. Layard, will deny its substantial accuracy—the duty of Europe is plain. Every danger which can be alleged as standing in the way of concerted action now will be aggravated by delay. It may be difficult for a man sweeping down the rapids to save his life, but it will be impossible when he is plunged over the falls. In the East there is still a chance of peace, but its price is the coercion of the Turk. In the naval demonstration at Constantinople—the only measure which will be efficacious in convincing the Sultan of his true position—it would be well for all the Powers to unite. England's naval strength would alone be amply sufficient for the purpose; but, as Lord Palmerston remarked nearly fifty years ago, when discussing the contingency of having to blockade the Scheldt, should Belgium reject the arrangement sanctioned by the Powers, "the moral effect of a combination of the fleets of all the Powers might prevent the necessity for land operations."[1] The risk of coercion is minimized by concert. The more irresistible the force employed, the more remote is the danger of resistance, and the greater the security for the peaceful acceptance of the mandate of Europe.

There are some excellent men who deprecate a policy of coercion

(1) Dalling's *Palmerston*, ii. 81.

on the ground that it is a policy of intervention involving at least the possibility of an appeal to the sword. These objections might have some weight if they had been able to prevent the intervention of England in 1878; or they could undertake to prevent that intervention when the general overturn takes place, which non-intervention would inevitably bring about in a very short time. As the policy of England two years ago is chiefly responsible for the perpetuation of the existence of the Eastern Frankenstein which troubles Europe to-day, Englishmen are not at liberty to adopt a policy of non-intervention when they are summoned to remedy, as far as possible, the fatal consequences of their past intervention. Neither can the non-interventionists undertake to prevent the participation of England in the war which the adoption of their policy would precipitate. By preventing a pacific, limited, and concerted intervention now, they render inevitable a warlike, unlimited, and isolated intervention, in far more dangerous circumstances, hereafter. Afraid of wetting their feet by crossing a pool, they cling to their sandhill till they are overwhelmed by the rising tide. The objection to the appeal to the sword which is threatened in a policy of coercion, carried to its logical conclusion, would resolve society into anarchy. But that the magistrate beareth not the sword in vain social order would be impossible. The sword in the hands of soldiers, summoned after due reading of the Riot Act, is a potent instrument of the law for the maintenance of peace. The application of coercive measures by the European concert is the nearest approximation, in international affairs, to the lawful exercise of force, with which every one is familiar in the administration of municipal justice. The European concert, that voluntary association of sovereign States for dealing collectively with one of the most difficult of political problems, contains within itself the germ of a federated Europe. In a rude but practical way it supplies an international tribunal with sufficient force at its command to render impossible any appeal from its decisions. Should it exercise the power to enforce the decree which it has had the wisdom to pronounce, it will not merely prevent war in the East, but it will offer to Europe a prospect at no very distant future of escape from the crushing armaments which are inevitable in the present state of international anarchy. But if that bright hope is to be realised, the European concert must not be a mere concert in counsel, but a concert in action; it cannot be tolerated as a concert in impotence. The earnest advocates of peace principles, so far from shrinking from coercion by united Europe, should rather hail it as a widening of the area of political action, an extension of the boundaries of the law, and a mighty stride towards the realisation of their sublime ideal—the federation of the world.

WILLIAM T. STEAD.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

It seems probable that Parliament will be prorogued just as the House of Commons is developing a capacity of united and rational action. During the last ten days it has shown that it possesses the same power as its predecessors of transacting the business of the country with dispatch, as well as thoroughness, when the fact is once clearly borne in upon it that the business has to be done. The sense of novelty, and the more or less anarchic influences arising from the fact that upwards of one-third of the members of the popular chamber of the legislature have never been in Parliament before, are beginning to disappear, and parties, sections of parties, and individuals are fairly settling down to their work. The scope of the measures introduced by the Government is more correctly understood. It is perceived that they deal after all only with the inevitable; and this being the case, that there is nothing in them to cause a Whig panic or even a Tory scare. That there should have been much apprehension and irritation rife, that the cries of confiscation and revolution should have gone up from the Conservatives, and that the air should have been filled with rumours of a Whig Cave—all this was only to have been expected. Independently of the circumstance that exceptional suffering in Ireland had to be provided against, it must be remembered that for the first time during the space of three or four years the business of domestic legislation has been approached in a sincere and strenuous spirit. The Conservative defeat at the general election did not only mean the transition from Lord Beaconsfield to Mr. Gladstone, but the passage from a regime of legislative inaction and sterility to one of honest legislative effort. The political history of England since 1876 has been the history of a nation which had no time to spare from foreign broils and colonial difficulties which were the result of administrative rashness, for looking after its own concerns at home. When the constituencies gave Mr. Disraeli a majority in 1874 they did so for the avowed purpose that there might come a period of tranquillity and barrenness at Westminster. They were not thankful, but they were resolved to rest. That disposition would not indeed have continued for long; and had it not been for the outbreak of the European troubles in 1876 the demand for legislation would have come from a people that had already shaken off its lassitude, and begun to weary of its leisure. But in 1876 the reign of wild excitement set in, and during four years the English people greedily devoured the most stimulating dishes served up to them at the prolonged feast of unreason. The Herzegovina

insurrection, the Bulgarian horrors, the Servian war, the Russo-Turkish war, the Jingo fever, which raged in England as a result of these commotions, preoccupied the country, and relieved the Government of the day from troubling themselves about domestic reforms. Then came the Afghan war and the Zulu war, and nothing was easier than to postpone home legislation to a more convenient season. But early in the present year it was plain that the period of postponement must end. There was the condition of Ireland to be dealt with; there were various questions of vital moment to our industrial, manufacturing, and commercial system to be solved. The proposal was an unwelcome one to Conservative statesmanship. Lord Beaconsfield made a last experiment to convince the country that the peril of Europe was really the pressing question of the hour, and that it was for the British constituencies to say whether the peace of the world was to be preserved and Ireland to continue a part of the United Kingdom.

It is not surprising that some obstinately sanguine politicians should have discovered consolation and encouragement in their view of the internal constitution of the Liberal majority. The yawning chasm which separates Whigs and Radicals was disclosing itself earlier than could have been expected. The beginning of the end was at hand, and the dissolution of Mr. Gladstone's majority might speedily be expected. The reasoning by which these anticipations were justified was extremely simple. Between Whigs and Radicals, it was said, there is a deadly feud; the Radicals had the ascendancy in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet; therefore it was a mere question of time when the Whig secession should be witnessed. Again, the legislation on which the Government had decided menaced property, and there was nothing which carried with it more hereditary sanctity to the Whig mind than property. It was therefore clear that, even if the Whigs should overcome their objection to the Employers' Liability Bill, they could not tolerate such measures as the Irish Compensation for Disturbance Bill, or the Hares and Rabbits Bill. Presumably Lord Lansdowne resigned the Under-Secretaryship of State for India because he could not bring himself to accept the former of these legislative schemes. This step was held to justify all the predictions of impending doom. The councils of the Government, it was declared, were now seen to be hopelessly distracted; their so-called unity was cleft right asunder; schism reigned in the Cabinet, and a series of important resignations would be speedily forthcoming. It was taken for granted that in the first session of the new Parliament the Prime Minister had alienated the whole of his Whig followers, that without the Whigs he would be impotent, that the Radicals could only appear as a malignant and discredited faction, and that con-

sequently nothing remained but for the Whigs secretly or openly to make common cause with the moderate Conservatives and speedily to accomplish Mr. Gladstone's overthrow.

There is reason to believe that this view of the situation was seriously taken by several Conservative politicians and publicists. At no time had the calculation anything which was either plausible or probable about it. It assumed that the dominant sentiment of the Whigs as a party was class prejudice; that they were at the mercy of any cry of panic which might be raised by Conservatives; that they were willing to break up a Liberal administration rather than recognise the march of events and the political necessities of the time. If the Whigs were indeed capable of acting in this manner they would, for political intelligence, deserve to be classed with the Bourbons and other traditional embodiments of picturesque and impervious bigotry, who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Among the Whigs there may be some who come under this category, but they do so, not in virtue of any peculiar quality of mere Whiggism, but of an innate idiosyncrasy of temperament. Inability to understand the conditions of an epoch and the general drift of its political tendencies is less the distinctive note of a particular school of politicians than of a particular variety of human character. Moreover, if the opinion was ever sincerely entertained that the Whigs had taken alarm at Mr. Gladstone's legislation and were ripe for revolt, it involved a remarkable forgetfulness of the recorded utterances of some of the most representative of Whig politicians. For instance, the speeches made by Lord Hartington during the past three years, both in and out of Parliament, abound in passages which might be cited in support of the programme that, it was said, had so shocked and terrified Whig susceptibility. It is barely a year ago that the Secretary of State for India, speaking in the House of Commons, placed on record his conviction that changes in our system of land tenure were, sooner or later, inevitable. On half-a-dozen occasions during the last twelve months Lord Hartington has said that the time had arrived when we should make a new point of departure in our relations with, and our government of, Ireland. Lord Granville has expressed himself, whenever the occasion has occurred, with almost equal decision and distinctness. The prediction, therefore, of a rupture between Radicalism and Whiggism never rested upon a more solid foundation than idle hopes and empty speculation. Of all the preposterous and impracticable notions which have ever been ventilated, that of a genuine union between Whigs and Conservatives is the most visionary and absurd. Mutual jealousies alone would fatally militate against such an arrangement. Whiggism and the democratic Conservatism of Lord Beaconsfield

have nothing in common, and the pressure which dread of Radicals might apply could only endure for a brief season.

For some of their troubles, however, ministers are themselves directly responsible. If their legislation challenged criticism and provoked resistance, it was the more incumbent on them that they should make no false steps; that they should tread firmly the line which they had clearly and deliberately marked out; and that their measures, when they were brought forward, should be beyond the reach of technical censure. Now these are precisely the merits which the action of the Government had lacked. The method of procedure has been far from perfect; it has been easy for the tyros of debate to find grave blots in the drafting of ministerial bills. No one will suppose that these errors arise from incapacity. A Government so strong in the combined possession of intellectual power and political experience as that of Mr. Gladstone has seldom existed in this country. It would be more likely that a Ministry thus composed should have made the mistake of depreciating the strength of the Opposition with which it had to count, than of making mistakes from any innate tendency to blunder. The simple truth is that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues had to present a legislative programme to the country before it was possible that they could have collectively considered in a complete shape the effects of their proposals. These circumstances have not so much rendered attack possible as they may be said to have invited it. Ministers may complain of the kind of opposition which they have encountered over the Irish Compensation for Disturbance Bill, but they must recollect that much of this opposition is exclusively due to the manner in which they brought in and have since conducted the measure. The resistance to the bill has been often contemptible and vexatious. The arguments, both particular and general, in favour of the measure, are, as we shall presently see, overwhelming. The Bill itself was introduced by Mr. Forster in a speech of extraordinary power. Yet notwithstanding all this its progress has been tempestuous, and some of the tempests were those which a little more foresight on the part of the Government would have effectively prevented.

The first mistake was made when the proposal was submitted to the House of Commons not as a substantive bill, but as a subordinate clause of a measure for the relief of Irish distress, for which Mr. Gladstone's Government were in no way responsible. Now, it is perfectly true to say that the Disturbance Bill is as much as the other a bill for the mitigation and prevention of Irish suffering. But it raises issues entirely different. Its *modus operandi* belongs altogether to itself. It deals with a state of things of which the measure for the relief of Irish distress took no cognizance. The Government ought to have foreseen that this is the view which would

have been naturally insisted upon by the Conservative Opposition of the House of Commons. Unfortunately the character of the measure cannot be said to have been definitely fixed even when it made its appearance as an independent proposal. It underwent a second important change when the Attorney-General for Ireland gave notice of his amendment—the effect of which was not, indeed, to vitiate or necessarily to interfere with the original purpose of the bill, but conditionally to qualify its operation. This amendment, moreover, was in itself defective. It amounted to a proposal to extend the Ulster Custom over a certain area, but it supplemented the proposal with no precaution which should prevent such an extension from becoming an empty boon. This was forcibly pointed out by Mr. O'Connor Power, and had the amendment been pressed upon the House it is perfectly certain that it would have been necessary to accompany it with words which should clearly have shown that it was not intended to allow the landlord to avoid a claim for compensation by the mere offer of a right of sale to the incoming tenant which should be unpurchasable, and therefore worthless. Unless a provision to this effect had been added, the amendment might, in many instances, have operated as a device enabling unscrupulous landlords to exempt themselves altogether from the bill. For the third time the measure was recast, when, in place of Mr. Law's amendment, and in lieu of the word "unreasonably," in the third subsection of the first clause, the Prime Minister proposed the addition of the words "without the offer of any reasonable alternative." To Mr. Gladstone's mind these words meant, of course, the same thing as the discarded resolution, or it might be more correct to say that they were looked upon by him as practically including it. In the same way there is no doubt whatever—and Mr. Forster's speech contains conclusive evidence of this—that when the bill was first introduced, the single adverb "unreasonably" anticipated the alternative which the Attorney-General for Ireland a little later explicitly specified. But these explanations cannot be alleged in defence of the wisdom of the course taken by Ministers. The bill was hastily drawn, and it was inconsiderately amended. It submitted to a fourth modification, when the £30 limit, above which it was not to apply, was suggested by Mr. Gladstone. It was clear almost as soon as the limit began to be discussed that it was somewhat arbitrarily chosen, and that it was probably indefensible upon any ground of principle. The statistics cited by The O'Donoghue were, so far as they went, on the point decisive, and the Government admitted their weight by consenting to postpone the clause till further evidence was forthcoming, and the bill was reported to the House.

The scheduled districts, to which this measure will if it become law apply, are equal in area to more than a half of the whole of

Ireland, and the case for the bill is that without it there would be a danger almost amounting to a certainty of a distress, which is even now great, becoming a source of serious peril over this extensive tract of country. Assuming that all which has been said in favour of individual landlords in Ireland, and even of whole classes of landlords is justified, we have still to remember that there are Irish landlords who, from the conditions under which they hold their estates, are likely to resort to extreme measures when they find that they cannot get their rents. The effect of the Encumbered Estates Court Act has been to place a considerable portion of the soil of Ireland in the hands of men who have simply purchased it as a speculation. The "nexus of cash payment" is the only tie which, in these cases, holds landlords and tenants together, and there is an obvious danger of its being abused in the hard times which have already come, and in the harder times which may be coming. Unless the existence of bad landlords in Ireland is denied or disproved —and it has not been—this measure of relief or of insurance to the Irish tenant was imperatively called for. To good landlords it cannot, *ex hypothesi*, have any compulsory application. Morally, it will be open to any landlord who desires to do so to contract himself, so to speak, out of the bill. He has, that is to say, only to come to terms with his tenant, and the bill holds out to him no terrors which he need dread. Is there anything in this arrangement to which reasonable persons, the landlords themselves included, can object? As the Irish land law now stands there certainly is not. It may of course be contended that the Act of 1870 was final, and that there is no elasticity in those of its provisions which were obviously intended to be elastic and progressive. Only, however, territorial selfishness or political bigotry can place such a construction upon the clauses of this measure. Property in land exists after all for the good of the community, and in an agricultural country like Ireland it is not to the good of the community that the tenant should stand in precisely the same relation to his landlord that he does in England. The recognition of this truth was the first principle of the Land Act of 1870, and if the soundness of this legislation is allowed, it is impossible to condemn the Compensation for Disturbance Bill of 1880. This is perceived by the strongest opponents of the present measure, and politicians like Mr. Chaplin do not deny that they oppose the Disturbance Bill for the same reasons that they opposed the Land Act. Such conduct is at least consistent, though it conflicts with a well-established maxim in English politics, that when a measure has once become law it must be accepted both in itself and in its consequences. It is a circumstance worth some consideration that those who most vehemently condemn the Irish land legislation of the present year, would cancel if they could the Irish land legislation

of ten years ago. Either the Irish tenant has or has not a peculiar, and, as it has been called, a proprietorial interest, in his holding. If he has not, then the Land Act of 1870 was a prodigious mistake; if he has, then under the present exceptional circumstances, the Disturbance Bill is a logical and legislative necessity.

It would be out of place here to repeat even in a summarized form the familiar arguments for and against the measure. We shall content ourselves with drawing attention to one circumstance in connection with it that has not yet received all the attention it deserves. It has been justly said that the Irish Relief Bill of the present Government was a legacy from their predecessors from which they could not escape. May it not also be said that the Irish Disturbance Bill was supplementary to that measure? When a Conservative Government introduced the Relief Bill the principle was placed on public record that the State cannot divest itself of responsibility for Irish destitution and want. But how did the measure propose to mitigate such want and destitution? Not by directly ministering to the requirements of a distressed tenantry, but by enabling the landlords and corporate proprietors to improve the condition of their property, and to provide remunerative work for those who sorely needed it. The aim of this legislation was of course to reach and to relieve the sufferings of the people. But it is clear that had this legislation, however beneficent its aim, been left alone it might have been open to abuse. The landlords might have taken advantage of it to improve their holdings, and then, when the improvement had been effected, might have turned their impecunious tenantry loose upon the world. We do not say that instances of such injustice would have been other than rare and exceptional. But it was manifestly the duty of the legislature to provide against them, and it was a duty which, after the Relief of Distress Bill had been passed, the legislature could not with any show of consistency ignore. If the Irish Disturbance Bill had not been brought in, Ministers would have exposed themselves to the charge of helping the Irish landlords, to the neglect of the Irish tenants. For this reason the proposal of the Disturbance Bill originally saw the light as a clause to be added to the Relief Bill. That procedure appears to us, on the grounds that we have already indicated, to have been politically a mistake, but it should serve to remind us that the two measures are mutually correlative and supplementary.

If in the department of domestic policy Ministers have attempted more than they can reasonably hope to accomplish within the limits of the present session, they have taxed themselves not less severely by the foreign burdens which they have assumed. It would be premature to hope that we are yet within sight of a solution of

the European branch of the Eastern Question. Thus far the concert of the Powers has been preserved, but the time is at hand when their capacities for united action will be subject to a severe strain, and the true value of that concert will be put to the test. On the suggestion of France and England, Germany and Austria have consented to sanction the claim of Greece to an extension of frontier considerably greater than she would have been entitled to claim in accordance with the recommendation contained in the Protocols of the Berlin Treaty. The Collective Note has been presented to the Porte, and the Porte has not yet returned its answer. It may be assumed that this reply will not be a flat refusal of the demands or suggestions formulated in the international document. Difficulties will be raised: it may be that compromises will be tentatively put forward. Europe knows very well what this policy on the part of Turkey means. Sooner or later—and in all probability sooner—the Powers will have to face the question whether they are prepared to insist that the Sultan shall make to Greece the concessions specified by the supplemental Conference in the German capital. Mr. Gladstone is apparently satisfied that this question will be answered emphatically in the affirmative, that the Porte will perceive the full peril of the situation, and that it will execute almost with alacrity the mandates of a united Christendom.

If this anticipation be fulfilled, the British Government will have achieved a signal diplomatic success, and one section of the Eastern Question will have been at least temporarily settled. But, unfortunately, there are other facts and considerations to which we cannot close our eyes. The Porte may very well meet the demand of the European Powers with the counter-request that the Bulgarian fortresses shall be demolished, and that Turkish troops shall be allowed to garrison the Balkan line. Both of these stipulations, if they are insisted upon, might be justified by the letter of the Berlin Treaty. Their significance is unmistakable. They would, if carried out, place in the hands of the Porte the power of suppressing any insurrection which might break out in Bulgaria or Eastern Roumelia for the purpose of uniting the two provinces into a single kingdom. There could thus be no greater obstacle to the formation of a great Panslavonic principality on the Balkan peninsula than the execution of those two unfulfilled conditions of the Berlin Treaty. There are already rumours that this is the counter-demand which the Porte really intends to make, and that the reasonableness of it is allowed by Germany and Austria. Nor is it *prima facie* improbable that Germany and Austria should entertain this view. The interests of these two empires and of Russia in the Balkan peninsula are materially and diametrically opposed. The Panslavonic province, which would form a strategical outpost to the dominion of the Czar,

would be a formidable menace to both the Germanic kingdoms. It is thus obvious that Austria and Germany have a much greater interest in weakening the Slavonic element in the south-east of Europe than they have in strengthening the Greek. Hence we are confronted by the possibility that when the Porte, in answering the European Note, dwells upon those conditions of the Berlin Treaty to which effect has yet to be given, and to which it is from its own point of view only just that effect should be given before Greece obtains her new frontier, the Turkish claim may not be disallowed by either Austria or Germany.

For the present, however, all is said to be well. A French and English squadron is in readiness to proceed to Greek waters, and to make an appearance off the coast of Thessaly. The demonstration is to be assisted in by Germany and Austria, and the Porte, it is to be trusted, may be so deeply impressed as to give way at once. If so, the Turkish character will prove to have undergone a sudden and surprising transformation. It is just as likely that the Sultan and his advisers will look upon the manœuvres of the international fleet as a pleasure trip of a not unentertaining character. The Porte may perhaps reflect that, after all, ships at sea cannot wring any important territorial concessions inland from an unwilling and immobile government. The Porte will, perhaps, want to see what comes next, and it is at least doubtful whether the ulterior step which might indeed fairly terrify Turkey, but which would involve a serious cost to those taking it, will be actually adopted. If the European Powers are ready to follow up these naval demonstrations in the Ægean with the dispatch of a land force which should protect the Greek troops while they are possessing themselves of their new frontier, then the Porte might confess that the inevitable hour for yielding had arrived. But can it be really supposed that the European Powers will resort to such an expedient as this? What, for instance, would be the opinion of the English public if they were to hear one morning that an expeditionary force was to leave the shores of Britain for the classic coast of Thessaly to do battle, and to commence a strife of which none could foresee the end, for the Hellenic people? And much the same question may be asked in the case of France. The French Government, we may be tolerably sure, has a clear idea of its own interests, and it is inconceivable that it should be to its interests actively to embark itself in the Eastern Question, however great may be the sentimental attraction of Greek character and history to the French taste. The same reasons which must make France anxious to avoid such a complication must also weigh with Germany, and neither of these nations is likely to commit itself merely that it may please the other by its precipitateness. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville may be in possession of

intelligence that renders them indifferent to such considerations as these, but unless that is the case, we confess that we do not see any prospect of tranquillity immediately pervading the whole south-east of Europe.

In another quarter of the world the Government have abundant cause for anxiety at the present moment. The South-African Question, like the Eastern Question, is always with us, and we are now learning the price that we have to pay for retaining Sir Bartle Frere at the Cape. Events seem only too likely to justify the apprehensions which were expressed when the Government first declared their intention of not recalling him. It was urged by Ministers that the time and circumstances had passed when he could do any mischief. It was replied that Sir Bartle Frere was one of those administrators who would always find the opportunity for doing mischief, and who, whatever the conditions, would not cease to exercise a malignant influence around him. These predictions are now in course of exact fulfilment. The Ministry of Mr. Gordon Sprigg, between which and Sir Bartle Frere there exists the most complete and cordial understanding, has broken faith with the loyal, brave, and industrious Basutos, by enforcing on them a policy of disarmament. The consequence is that war between the Cape Colony and Basutoland is imminent, and already a troop of Cape mounted riflemen have been dispatched to coerce the Basutos. It is satisfactory to know that Lord Kimberley has plainly informed the Cape Colonies that they must look for no assistance from home. On the other hand, this declaration of the Colonial Secretary from a distance, would be more than outweighed by any assurance or even hint to the contrary from Sir Bartle Frere on the spot. That specious, self-willed Governor is the evil genius of South Africa, and it is now clear that until he is removed the country cannot enjoy peace or rest.

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IRISH RENTS, IMPROVEMENTS, AND LANDLORDS.[1]

THE support so consistently given by English to Irish landlords evinces a remarkable *esprit de corps*. This support seems to me to be founded on an entire misapprehension by the English of the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland, which are, and always have been, so different from those prevailing in England, that in their own defence, for selfish reasons if not for justice's sake, the English landlords would do well to dissever themselves and withhold their support from the Irish landlords, whose position is entirely different. In its more general features the Land Question is the same in both countries. The wider distribution of landownership is earnestly to be desired for political, social, and economical reasons; and for this object, as well as for increasing the value and effiaiency of landed property, an easy, certain, and cheap method of transfer is of as much importance in one country as the other.

Effect reform in these matters, abolish entails, settlements, and all those complicated estates in land which obscure the title and render transfer tedious and expensive; establish, to use the current shibboleth, "free trade in land;" and, in the opinion of many land reformers, all that can be done, or that is needed, will have been done. Land will then tend to fall into the hands of those who will make the most of it, to be held in estates of the most suitable and useful size. For those who wish to do so, and who are thrifty enough to save or fortunate enough to have money, it will be possible to farm their own land, to live in their own houses, and the nation will no longer be "dishomed." It is, however, in the relations between landlord and tenant that there is so great a difference between England and Ireland as to make it absolutely necessary for the State to interfere

(1) In this paper I have made use in some few places of matter previously published by me.

in the latter country for the sake of justice, as well as of peace, order, and prosperity.

To appreciate this difference it is indispensable not merely to look at matters as they are, but to bear in mind the past history of the landlord and tenant's relations in Ireland. It is this view that I wish to present. This difference is well and authoritatively described by the Devon Commissioners in their report made in 1845 (p. 16) :—

"It is well known that in England and Scotland, before a landlord offers a farm for letting, he finds it necessary to provide a suitable farmhouse, with necessary farm buildings, for the proper management of the farm. He puts the gates and fences into good order, and he also takes upon himself a great part of the burden of keeping the buildings in repair during the term; and the rent is fixed with reference to this state of things. Such, at least, is generally the case; although special contracts may occasionally be made, varying the arrangements between landlord and tenant.

"In Ireland the case *is wholly different*. The smallness of the farms, as they are usually let, together with other circumstances to which it is not necessary to advert, render the introduction of the English system extremely difficult, and in many cases impracticable.

"It is admitted on all hands that, according to the general practice in Ireland, the landlord builds neither dwelling-house nor farm offices, nor puts fences, gates, &c., into good order before he lets his land to a tenant.

"The cases in which a landlord does any of those things are the exceptions.

"The system, however, of giving aid in these matters is becoming more prevalent.

"In most cases, whatever is done in the way of building or fencing is done by the tenant; and in the ordinary language of the country dwelling-houses, farm buildings, and even the making of fences are described by the general word 'improvements,' which is thus employed to denote the necessary adjuncts to a farm, without which in England or Scotland no tenant would be found to rent it.

"Under the same common term of improvements are also included the various agricultural operations, such as draining, deep trenching, and even manuring, which ought to stand on a very different footing from buildings."

The Devon Commission consisted of five Irish landlords, and, therefore, was not calculated to take an unduly favourable view of the Irish tenant's position. The description given in 1845 is equally true of 1880, and in the facts therein stated lies the essence of the Irish, so far as it is distinct from the English, Land Question. It was to the fact of the tenant having made all the "improvements" that the Devon Commissioners very properly attributed the claim, universally made throughout Ireland by the tenants, to a certain proprietary right in their farms; and it will scarcely be contended by the most strenuous advocates of the landlords' rights, if the facts be as reported by the Devon Commissioners, that the Irish tenants are not justified in making such a claim, and that their position is not wholly unlike that of English farmers.

These facts have been lately disputed by some Irish landlords and

their advocates in the press, and therefore I propose to show by the evidence of other impartial observers, confirming in every respect the report of the Devon Commission, that, as a general rule, it has always been the practice for the tenant in Ireland to make and maintain all the necessary improvements and permanent works on his farm; that rents in Ireland have not in consequence of this state of things been, as stated by Lord Dunraven in a recent pamphlet, lower than in England. On the contrary, they have always been high, and have steadily followed the tenants' improvements.

In consequence of the Irish tenant having thus a large part of his capital embodied in and inseparable from the land, he is bound to his holding in a way that the English farmer is not. These improvements often represent the entire savings of a lifetime, and sometimes of several generations. The landlords in Ireland have profited by this, and have grown rich at the expense of their tenants, without any outlay on their part; and in a time of depression like last year they have been less ready to share the loss with their tenants, and therefore, with some exceptions, they suffered in pocket much less during the last two years than English landowners.

In general corroboration of the Devon Commissioners, I may quote the following sentence which has for years appeared uncontradicted in Thom's *Almanac and Directory*, an acknowledged authority in Ireland, as descriptive of land tenure in Ireland: "Landlords neither erect nor repair the farmsteads, and seldom spend money on permanent improvements." Or, paraphrased in the forcible words of A. M. Sullivan (*New Ireland*, vol. i. p. 271): "Whatever there is on or above the surface of the earth, in the shape of house, or office, or steading, or fence, or road, or gate, or stile, has been created by the tenant's hand."

These statements summarise the evidence of numbers of impartial observers, and correspond with the experience and declarations of disinterested persons at present. It is not denied that there are exceptions to this general rule, that on some estates to a favoured few among the tenantry aid has been given in material or money for effecting permanent improvements, and that the expense of these, generally one-third the cost, has been borne in a *few* cases by the landlords. These exceptions are rare, and the practice of giving, occasionally, this partial aid has been much discontinued since the Land Act of 1870.

I do not include in these exceptions the cases where the landlord, borrowing under the Land Improvement Acts, has added as a perpetual increment to the tenant's rent the terminable annuity by which the loan and its interest are repaid. The net effect of this transaction, which is a common one, is that the tenant pays the whole interest, repays the entire loan, and afterwards pays a rent

to the landlord for an improvement effected at his, the tenant's, expense.

Returning, however, to the opinions of Englishmen on the difference in the relations of landlord and tenant, we find Wakefield, a competent and impartial observer, who spent two years in Ireland for the purpose of collecting materials for his voluminous work, writing in 1810—

"With regard to the landed property of Ireland in general, it will be found to be placed under very advantageous circumstances. The landlord *has no repairs to make*, no land tax to deduct, and, except the agent's fees, his rent-roll is his income" (vol. i. p. 307).

"In Ireland landlords *never erect buildings on their property* or *expend anything in repairs*. The office of an agent is thus rendered very easy, for he has nothing to do but receive his employer's rents twice a year" (vol. i. p. 244).

Agency, management, and law costs constitute still the chief part of the expenditure on Irish estates. As an example of what the nature of this expenditure has occasionally been, the following evidence was lately given to the Endowed Schools Commission:—

"Between 1843—53 £444 was charged on the [school] estate for law costs. Most of it was for notices to quit. At that period every tenant on the estate was served with an annual notice to quit."

Notwithstanding the landlords making no outlay on their estates, the rents named by Wakefield were enormously high. Land was usually let by "public cant." "As landlords," he says, "they exact more of their tenants than the same class of men in any other country" (vol. ii. p. 795).

The same absence of expenditure by the landlords, accompanied by excessively high rents, struck Gustave de Beaumont, who visited Ireland in 1835 and 1837; and his observations on the striking differences between the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland and in England, form a large part of his work, *L'Irlande sociale, politique, et religieuse*. After describing the English landlord resident on his estate, recognising his duties, expending his capital in the improvement and maintenance of his farms, he says (vol. i. p. 236):—

"En Irlande les choses ne se passent point ainsi; souvent le propriétaire est absent: il sait vaguement qu'il possède dans le Comté de Corke ou de Donegal une terre qu'on dit avoir de cent à cent cinquante mille acres d'étendue. Désireux de tirer de ses immenses possessions le meilleur parti possible, il est bien résolu d'ailleurs de ne pas aventurer un obole pour les faire valoir.

"Le grand propriétaire aspire d'ordinaire à exploiter ses terres sans faire l'avance d'aucun capital, c'est-à-dire recueillir sans semer. En Angleterre, le propriétaire donne au fermier une résidence et des outils pour travailler. En Irlande le pauvre qui prend la terre à loyer doit la défricher, y bâtir sa demeure, et y apporter ses instruments de culture."

On the subject of high rents he says (vol. i. p. 358):—

"Je n'ai entendu sur ma route en parcourant l'Irlande, que des imprécations des pauvres fermiers contre le taux exorbitant des rentes qu'exigent d'eux les propriétaires. Cependant je pourrai me défier de mes propres notes sur ce sujet, si je ne les trouvais entièrement confirmées par tout ce qui, en cette matière, peut faire autorité, les ouvrages des voyageurs célèbres et dignes de foi, aussi bien que les documents parlementaires: Arthur Young qui voyageait en 1779; Wakefield, qui parcourait l'Irlande en 1810; Inglis en 1834, et toutes les enquêtes parlementaires de 1825, de 1830, de 1835 et 1836."

In 1844 John Wiggins, an English land agent, and an agent over several Irish properties for over thirty years, wrote thus:—

"The fact of too high rents having long prevailed, especially in the province of Munster, is too notorious to admit of doubt; and the mischiefs arising out of this circumstance are manifold and grievous. . . . . I am clearly of opinion that the rent of land in Munster, and in other provinces partially, is about or nearly double—perhaps 80 per cent. above that in England—in proportion to its saleable produce."—*Monster Misery of Ireland*, p. 47.

Wiggins was agent to one of the London companies in Derry. The history of the management of these estates is to be read in the records of the Irish Society, a Committee of the London Corporation which owns the towns of Derry and Coleraine, and large adjoining estates.

The Irish Society for many years held it to be their duty to supervise the estates granted by them to the other Companies; they have latterly ceased to exercise any such oversight, and the Companies have now assumed to themselves the position of being irresponsible owners. In a debate on the Land Question last year, Sir Sydney Waterlow, Governor of the Irish Society, said that the occupiers in Derry were entitled to tenant-right because their predecessors had taken the land "bare and unimproved," and had brought it to its present state of fertility and cultivation. This, however, has not exempted the occupiers from continued imposition of excessively high rents, imposed either directly by the Companies or through middlemen to whom the estates were leased.

In 1802, Robert Slade, Secretary to the Irish Society, an Englishman, travelled from Belfast to Derry. Speaking of the poverty-stricken appearance of whole families, he says:—

"The husband finds means by working at his loom to pay an extravagant price for four or five acres."

Elsewhere:—

"By means of their looms they are enabled to pay a heavy rent. . . . . The Irishman who cultivates the soil derives no protection by such a rule of conduct (letting to middlemen). He could not be charged with ingratitude if he appeared to feel no obligation to his landlords in subjecting him to a rent far beyond what can possibly be derived from the produce of the soil, and which can only be paid out of the profits of his loom! The lessee of the Cloth-workers' proportion having been obliged to raise the rents of his tenants very considerably, in consequence of the large fine he paid, it produced an almost total emigration among them, and they formed a principal part of that undis-

ciplined body which brought about the surrender of the British army at Saratoga."—Slade's *Journey* in *A Concise View of the Irish Society*.

Deputations of the Irish Society visited on some few occasions the Derry estates of their affiliated Companies, and they reported thus in 1838 and 1841 on some of the "proportions":—

"*Clothworkers* (1841).—This property was long in Chancery. During this period several of the tenants held favourable leases, and were correspondingly comfortable; while those who did not hold leases were rackrented, and paid the highest amount that could be obtained from them. No schools erected by late lessee are seen; no dispensaries or charitable institutions occur.

"*Merchant Taylors* (1841).—Has been let in perpetuity. No schools are supported by the proprietor (*i.e.* middleman); and he subscribes to scarcely any charitable institutions on the property so as to sustain even a semblance of the Society's charter.

"*Skinners* (1838).—Decidedly the worst managed of all the proportions. (1841) Leased to R—— O——. This estate is capable of great improvement. The late Mr. O—— seemed to look upon this vast tract as a property in which his only interest was to realise the largest possible income during his term. No encouragement whatever is held out to the poor tenants to reclaim the land or rebuild their houses.

"*Fishmongers* (1841).—Very little of the income derived from the property is laid out for its improvement.

"*Grocers* (1841).—The agent appears to be more intent upon realising a large income from the estate than ameliorating the condition of the tenants.

"*Goldsmiths* (1838).—This estate has been miserably neglected. (1841) The face of the country is without wood, except here and there a few trees round a farmhouse on two or three freeholds not held under the Company. The tenants are made to pay very high rents, and the cotters live in perfect hovels.

"*Ironmongers* (1841).—Let on lease for lives. The present holders seem only to have used this property for the purpose of making the most of it during the term of their lease. Tenants who have no leases are heavily rented, and little or no improvement has taken place.

"*Vintners* (1838).—They appear quite regardless of the morals or comfort of the tenantry. It is clearly the duty of the Society, as governors of the plantation, to call the Company (or the parties holding under them) to account for the gross mismanagement and neglect of their proportion. (1841) There are no schools on the estate supported by the proprietors. This property partakes of many of the evils arising from absentee landlords, without the fostering care of that Company to whom the lands were originally granted, and who were bound by every consideration to carry out the great purposes of the Charter."

To pursue the history of these London Companies' estates to a later date, I will quote the only Irish evidence I propose to bring forward. The following extracts are from a pamphlet published at the *Northern Whig* office in 1868 on *The Irish Land Question and the Twelve London Companies*:—

"Preface.—The rapid periodical increase of rents on the tenants' own outlay has been the general practice of late years, until the lands on the Companies' estates are let at rents nearly as high as the same lands in England and Scotland, where the landlords made all the improvements, and has had the most crushing effect on the Ulster Tenant-right. The agents don't care for the increase of the towns on their estates, and no encouragement and even security is given for investing capital.

"*Drapers.*—Refuse to give long leases. The result is towns have dwindled away; but they 'allow the custom of tenant-right.'

"*Ironmongers.*—Farms are let from year to year under special agreements, giving Company power to end tenancy on three months' notice. Tenant-right custom has been limited to ten years' rent.

"*Mercers.*—Every tenant is required to sign a special agreement whereby a three months' notice to quit can determine tenancy. Tenant-right custom has been arbitrarily almost abolished.

"*Salters.*—The increase in rents lately made has virtually destroyed the tenant-right custom. The Company have lately driven the people of Magherafelt to distraction by their hard and unjust treatment.

"*Fishmongers.*—The tenant-right custom has suffered most on this Company's estate. The agent requires all incoming tenants to sign a deed of covenant releasing all claims to tenant-right."

On the Grocers and Haberdashers' estates the tenant-right custom was recognised at this time. The Skinners, Merchant Taylors, Vintners, and Goldsmiths' estates were leased to middlemen, or had been sold. The Skinners' estate was let in 1803 on a lease for lives, on payment of a fine of £25,000, and on the expiration of the lease in 1878 the Company signalised their accession by a general increase of rents.

In 1854 the Salters came into full control of the town of Magherafelt by the expiration of the middleman's lease. From a memorial of date 1867 printed in this pamphlet it appears that they at once trebled the rent of the town, which had been built wholly by the tenants. "We complain," said the memorialists, "that your disposition to exact high rents has paralysed trade and improvements, that you have more than doubled the rent of fifty-six tenants in the town, having previously trebled them in 1854; that the prosperity and improvement of the town have been impeded and the public health imperilled; that to accomplish our submission you have resorted to the *notice to quit.*"

The rents on the Mercers' estates have been raised since 1870, and increases are said to be impending on others where it is "the custom," and not an unusual one, to raise them every twenty-one years.

These extracts show how doubtful is the statement made by Judge Longfield in the August number of the Fortnightly Review, that before the Act of 1870, Ulster tenants were generally "well satisfied with their position." My opinion, derived from a study of the history of land tenure in Ulster, and continual intercourse with the Ulster tenants during the past twelve years, is that there is now, and always has been, as much discontent, and with good cause, in Ulster as in other parts of Ireland. For generations landlords have sought, consistently on some estates, capriciously and spasmodically on others, to limit, interfere with, infringe upon, and in some cases absolutely to forbid the custom of tenant-right within Ulster, and the usages

analogous to it outside that province. The history of the Companies' estates, which are supposed to be among the best and most liberally managed in Ulster, is not very different from most others.

And is this process of continually raising rents on account of improvements made by the occupiers still going on? The land agitation, the universal discontent prevalent on this subject, gives a sufficient answer. There are but few cases that come before the land courts, for it is generally the tenant's interest to submit to the landlord's demands. I will mention some recent instances illustrative of what is not at all unusual.

1. An extract from a letter of the special correspondent of the *Standard*, which appeared on the 30th December, 1879:—

"Immediately after the famine, when large tracts of the country were depopulated by famine, eviction, and emigration of the survivors, Lord Sligo let large tracts of the best land on his estate to Englishmen and Scotchmen on long leases at nominal rentals, and, of course, far below the Government valuation. It is said, however, that he has systematically of late years, under the guidance of his agent, been seeking to recoup from his smaller tenants what he has been losing, as it were, from the best half of the property, which is in the hands of the large holders. This part of the estate being let below the Government valuation, it follows as a necessary consequence that the other portion must be let very considerably above to bring the average of the whole property to 17 per cent. over the mean standard. He has the reputation of being the only large landlord in Mayo who has raised his rents since the passing of the Land Act, and *there was no resisting the evidence that this has been done in some cases to the extent of 50 per cent. on holdings on which it was declared emphatically that the tenants had made all the improvements which were the justification of the advance, the landlord never having contributed a shilling in any shape or form.* So far as I could gather, the form in which these improvements were effected, so that it became possible, as it was put to me, for the landlord 'to confiscate the capital of the tenants,' was this: Most of these small holdings are conterminous with large tracts of waste, mountain, or bog land, and the small farmers in their spare time set to work to reclaim portions of these. On the Sligo estate *this practice, which is common all over the west of Ireland*, has been followed; but the agent has had a sharp eye on such improvements, and instead of the equitable rule which seems to obtain over the Dillon estate on the Roscommon side of the county, of leaving the improver to enjoy what he has thus created during his tenancy, the landlord has stepped in and insisted on a share, and, as some insisted, the lion's share, the moment there was anything to divide."

2. A judgment given in a land case at the Cork Summer Assizes for 1880:—

"The facts," said Judge Lawson, "are undisputed. A great many years ago this man became the yearly tenant of this little mountain tract or bog, containing eighteen acres or thereabouts, at the small yearly rent of £7 15*s.*, but quite enough, considering what the condition of the farm then was. It appears that this man, with that industry which characterises very often people in his position, set at once about cultivating and reclaiming that piece of land, spreading lime on it, and gradually reducing it to a better state than before. He so continued as tenant from year to year until 1869, and in that year the

present appellant, Edmond Murphy, having purchased up the interest in the land over him, became the intermediate landlord of Mahony, and induced him to take a lease for ten years at the rent of £18 a year—a most enormous rent. Well, the man struggled as he paid his £18 a year for ten years, and at the end of that time the landlord, in the undoubted exercise of his right, put him out: but if the landlord had an undoubted right to put him out, it was equally his undoubted right to give the tenant whatever compensation would be fairly awarded to him under the Land Act. The tenant having been put out of possession, he makes his claim under the fourth section of the Act for building, reclamation, fences, and unexhausted manures, and the chairman allowed him a certain sum of money, which, with rent and costs deducted, made the total amount of the decree £66 8*s.* 1*d.*—a sum, I am bound to say, quite inadequate to compensate this old man for having been turned out of his holding, on which he lived and laboured for so many years. I think the case of this man comes within the meaning of the Act, and that it was never contemplated he should be deprived of compensation for improvements made by him at any period. This landlord has received for the last ten years a rent considerably more than the letting value of it. He chooses to put this man out and to take possession now into his own hands. He refused in the most obstinate manner to allow this old man to remain in possession himself, and the reason of that was because Mahony's land got into the middle of the farm, because the surrounding tenants were all evicted, and the work of eviction was completed by the landlord ejecting this man. The law allows him to do that, but he must pay for it, and the sum the chairman has given I will not reduce by one single penny. The chairman is a better judge of those manures and reclamations than I am; but I am bound to say that if the chairman had given a considerably larger sum than £75 I would be quite prepared to adopt it. I won't increase the award, but I affirm the decree of the court below, with all costs."

For ten years Mahony paid a rent equal to double the value of the farm in its original state—a rent wholly based on permanent improvements effected by himself, and yet not a word of complaint was ever heard by the public, nor would there ever have been but for the ejectment on title. According to the evidence and statement of Judge Lawson, Mahony had made the farm in 1869 worth at least £10 5*s.* a year more than when he took it—*i.e.* he had more than doubled its letting value, and had added at least £200 to its capital value. For ten years he paid interest on this value, created by his own labour and expenditure, and but for the ejectment might have gone on doing so for ever. If all the landlords in Ireland do not act as Mahony's landlord did—it is plain that they can if they like—the existence of the power is of itself sufficient to paralyse the industry of the country, and to drive away capital from the land. The history of the Irish Land Question tells us that this power has been continually exercised, but this historical fact cannot be made a matter of formal proof to the present Land Commission.

It may not be possible either to prove that rack rents are general, for the existing rents may be based on the tenants' improvements, and yet may not have been raised to such a pitch as to wholly absorb the improved value, or leave the tenants without any interest. That existing rents are usually due to the tenants' expenditure on perma-

nent works is, I think, incontestable, and this is rightly felt by the tenants to be unjust.

No stronger statement could be made than that of the Yorkshire land agent quoted in the second edition of Mr. Tuke's pamphlet on Ireland, who writes thus of a district in Mayo :—

> "I have no hesitation in saying that the tenants' outlay throughout the district I was in yesterday, in building the cabins, fencing the lands, and clearing the stones, exceeds many times the value of the fee simple before such outlay."

Such districts are to be seen in every part of Ireland. At the present time Lord Annesley is raising the rent on his large estate in the Co. Down, most of which is stony and mountainous land occupied by very small farmers, whose expenditure in building and reclamation alone makes it possible to increase the rents.

The advocates of the landlords claim that their rents must be moderate, or at least not rack rents, because nearly every tenant has a saleable interest. When they consider what they might have done they stand, like Clive, "astonished at their own moderation." But the existence of this tenants' interest is not necessarily evidence that the rents are moderate; it does not follow that the interest on the price paid for the tenant-right of a farm represents the difference between the rent of the farm and the extreme rack rent that might be demanded, and which the landlords claim they have a right to demand. The element of goodwill paid for is not part of the value of the land; houses are built on small farms which may add nothing to the letting value. The house is built for comfort, or from necessity, for the farmer must have a house to live in, as much as clothes or food; but the house does not make the farm more productive, and an adjoining farmer would probably pay no more rent for the farm on account of it. To be recouped for his expenditure, the builder of the house must wait till he finds some one who wants a house, and in the case of a sale of tenant-right interest, the cost of the house will then be included in the price of the farm.

Moreover, in the case of a large estate—and estates are on an average larger in Ireland than in England—a man wishing to live within the precincts of such an estate may, and often does, pay such a price for the tenant-right of a farm as may be said to give him no return whatever in the way of interest.

Suppose that a man having returned to Ireland from America with £1,000 wishes to settle near his friends who reside on an estate comprising fifty to one hundred square miles. He cannot buy a plot in a fee simple, however small, but there is for sale the tenant-right interest of a farmer who is unable to make a living out of his land because of the high rent, or who for some other reason wishes to leave it. The American has no choice but to pay the tenant such a

sum as will induce him to leave, or else to give up the object for which he has returned. The amount paid may represent not only the goodwill and improvements of the outgoing tenant, but the price paid for permission to live within a certain district. Such cases are not unusual. In the same way, take the case of a small farmer paying a high rent, and living not altogether by his farm, but working for wages, dealing, &c. His cabin may not have cost £30 to build, but unless he can be sure of getting another, it is invaluable to him. If he lives in a district where sales of tenant-right interests are prohibited, he knows he can get no other residence, and therefore nothing but a very large sum in proportion to the value of his little holding will induce him to leave. Among tenant farmers there is a very general complaint that where tenant-right sales are prohibited or restricted, such limitations tend to prevent the struggling or failing tenant from leaving his farm, and prevent others with capital and enterprise coming into possession. Another complaint often made by tenants is that "there is no security for capital." The same expression is common in the mouths of those who denounce the agitation for land reform; and who say that English capitalists are by it prevented from investing in Irish land. The complaint seems to me to be well founded in the case of the tenants, who must embark their capital, if they do so at all, at the risk of its confiscation wholly or partially by an increase of rent. On the other hand, what possible advantage is there to Ireland in the purchase of an Irish estate by an Englishman? As a rule the traditional management is adopted, and, as in the case of the London Companies, beyond receiving, and occasionally raising the rents, nothing is done for the estate. The Law Life Assurance Society purchased in Galway one of the largest estates in Ireland. They did nothing whatever for it, and, I believe, increased the rents; it was then sold to an Englishman who, Mr. Tuke (*Irish Distress and its Remedies*, p. 78) says, "is non-resident, and, so far as I could hear, does nothing for his tenants."

Evidence such as I have quoted might be accumulated to any extent to the same effect, viz. that the claim of the Irish tenants is founded on the well-attested fact that they or their predecessors have by their own labour and at their own expense brought the land to its present condition from its original state of wilderness.

It is true many of their houses are bad—the improvements often inefficiently made. The tendency of the system has naturally been for the houses to be "as frail as the tenure." But this is not always the case; comfortable houses and homesteads, clean, deep, and careful cultivation, may be seen in many parts of Ireland.

The position of the English landlords is entirely different from that of the Irish; they have not forfeited, but preserved, their full

right to the complete ownership of their estates by the continual expenditure of capital in building, improvements, and maintenance. It sounds strange to an Irishman to hear that an English landlord sometimes bears part of the expense of his tenant in such an improvement as laying land down in permanent pasture. The proportion of rent due to the landlord's expenditure on buildings on English farms is estimated by Mr. Walter, M.P., to be one-third (speech to Berkshire Agricultural Society in 1879). Mr. Caird estimates the average proportional cost of the buildings, &c., on English farms to be £15 out of every £50 of the capital value of the land. Mr. Caird's authority may be cited in confirmation of the evidence given above. He says (*Ireland and the Plantation Scheme*) :—

"Can it be said that landlords generally have expended any capital in providing necessary buildings, &c., on their farms? In that respect there has been no change (since Arthur Young's time); *but as regards rent the advance has been enormous.*"

I have refrained from giving my own opinion or the results of my observations as to these matters, and shall only say that I entirely agree with the opinions and statements I have quoted.

My object is to show as a matter of history what it is quite impossible for the tenant-farmers to prove by legal evidence, even if they had the opportunity, or were bold enough to take it before the present Royal Commission. It is, however, a serious question for English landlords whether they are right in throwing in their lot with the Irish ones. That is the question I wish to raise.

I should like to add a few remarks on a statement of Judge Longfield's in the August number of this Review. He laid down the following proposition, viz. :—"That it is impossible to create or maintain a system of peasant proprietors, and that such a system is not conducive to prosperity or happiness." This is contrary to the experience of all other countries; and the necessary alterations having been made in our real property laws, there is no possible reason why land should not be much more widely distributed than at present, and owned in fee by all classes—agricultural, trading, or small capitalists, who generally prefer living in houses of their own rather than in hired houses.

Judge Longfield maintained that there is an advantage in the severance of occupation of land from ownership, and that it may be more convenient to hire land than to own it. It may be so sometimes, but there is no doubt that a very great desire exists among all classes to own land in fee for the purpose of occupying and doing as they like with it.

The economical argument that a man will seldom possess enough capital to buy land and cultivate it, is not true to begin with, or

simply amounts to the truism that a man purchasing anything parts with some of his money in the transaction. It would be equally true to say that there would be a less expenditure of capital in hiring than in buying houses, in hiring clothes or anything else than in buying them. The ownership in fee of land occupied for farming or any other purpose is the greatest incentive in this and every other country to the expenditure and accumulation of capital on the land. Such land is eagerly sought after by the richest and thriftiest persons, and the tendency of such a system, combined with perfect freedom of transfer, is that the land falls into the occupation of those who make the best use of it. It also becomes more valuable, selling in small parcels for much higher prices than in large estates, or than if it were subject to a rent and to the possible control or interference of another person. Nor need an owner of land be without capital to cultivate and improve; abolish the cumbrous and expensive process of mortgage by conveyance upon condition of the legal estate, and the owner of land can borrow more readily than the owner of almost any other security. The occupying owner of a farm worth £400 is in a much more advantageous position if he borrows £300, secured upon his land, than if he paid a rent, as tenant, equivalent to the interest on the loan. In the one case he can act as he likes, develop and improve his estate with the prospect of paying off his debt; in the other he is subject to control and interference, often capriciously and ignorantly exercised, and if he does increase the value of his occupation he may be deprived of that value by an increase of rent.

Under the present system, it is contended by some that the improvements made by a tenant should, after a lapse of time, become absolutely and rightly the property of the landlord. This principle is embodied in the Land Act, which provides that in giving compensation to a tenant, regard is to be had to the length of time he has enjoyed the improvements. In the absence of any definite contracts, which it has certainly been the interest of the landlords in Ireland to avoid, it has been the case that the value added to the soil from time immemorial has sooner or later become the landlord's property; and the Land Act of 1870 seems to countenance this principle. It seems to be absolutely prohibitive of progress and the accumulation of wealth that the few landowners of Ireland are after any lapse of time to become the owners of the savings and improvements incorporated in the land by the 500,000 tenant-farmers who, in the interests of the nation as well as their own, are fully entitled to "the full amount and complete enjoyment of all the value they impart to the soil they till."

MURROUGH O'BRIEN.

A CENTURY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

POETS, I have sometimes thought, may not improperly be divided, though doubtless by no mutually exclusive division, into two classes, definable by designations borrowed from ancient mythology; the Giants and the Gods. Gods, indeed, there are among them of gigantic stature, and giants of godlike quality—godlike in grace and gentleness, as those others Titanic in port and power: but though the distinction may not always be equally easy to define, it can never in any case be really difficult to recognize. From the days of Shakespeare and Jonson to the days of Shelley and Byron, the difference between the two confronted and contrasted races is in the main perceptible and patent. Not often indeed so patent nor even always so perceptible as in these two crowning instances of contrast; for usually the generations happy enough to be dominated and so made memorable by the presence and the pontificate of a master born and manifest of either kind have not also had the privilege, like those of Shakespeare and of Shelley, of Jonson and of Byron, to bring forth an almost equally notable and admirable exemplar of its opposite.

If ever before the days of Mirabeau there was a giant born at once into the double world of politics and of letters, and foredoomed to show as many blots as he on either side of his literary and political escutcheon, that giant was undoubtedly John Dryden. The catalogue of his various offences against art and manhood, against duty and beauty alike, stands confessed as nothing less than terrible. And yet, when all is said that must or may or can be said in reprobation of all that has righteously been reckoned up to his discredit, the last verdict that leaps to our lips, the last comment that rises in our hearts, is surely always that of Mr. Browning on the "rough-hammered head—great eye, gross jaw and griped lips" of the crown-grasper—What a man! The work of Dryden "does what granite can to give" us the figure and the measure of the workman as surely as what marble can do in like manner is done for us by Milton's.

After a mental enumeration of the main points in Dryden's life and literary action, and a comparison between the ultimate summary of these and the actual impression left by the conclusion of that summary upon the student's mind, the upshot of all seems not less strange than if a most heavy list of charges, proved on all hands, should have been found on the whole to mount up hardly more to a result deserving of condemnation than to a result deserving of

acquittal; nay, rather, in effect, to a result deserving of neither, but simply of general wonder and (so to speak) of wholesale admiration. The sun, we may say, is by no means too bright for us to see the darkness of the spots, but is far too strong for us to feel the chill of the shadow. He wrote some of the most shameful and revolting passages in our literature; he applauded some of the most shameful and revolting passages in our history. He cheered on the hounds of the law and the vermin of the court to merciless cruelties against powerless innocence, to lawless treason against their common country. And for all this he remains yet an Englishman in whom all others worthy to judge of him must naturally and properly take no ignoble pride for ever.

"Full many a better man less bravely dieth," says Artevelde of Gilbert Matthew in the noblest of all modern historical plays; and full many a better man has lived less bravely than John Dryden. It seems to me a shallow and hollow judgment which thinks to detect either cowardice or hypocrisy in the course or the process of his various conversions and conformities. He was, let it be granted, neither a man of strong principles nor a man of spiritual nature. Neither politics nor religion could be to him what either was to Milton. It does not follow that he must have been a cynic or a hypocrite, a Tartuffe or a Talleyrand. He was a strong-headed and stout-hearted man of the world, "indifferent honest," it may be something less than duly tender-conscienced. We feel that morality begins to verge on absurdity when we hear the comments of austere virtue on "the successful profligacy," not only of the wretched Waller, but of Dryden, delivered in a tone which seems to imply a community of infamy between the "triple-turned" old prostitute of all parties and the young rebel against traditions of Puritan training and alliance; between the discredit incurred by the transference of a youth's crude or casual allegiance and the infamy which encircles the hoary head of an impenitent Iscariot. The action of the poet may be condemned or deplored, but all righteous men must reserve all their scorn for the action of the poeticule.

It seems but poor praise for a poet of such high station, to say what must be said of Dryden, that he never works so well or moves so freely or rises so high as in the atmosphere of satire. But to the service of this presiding genius or goddess of his verse it must be owned that he brought such gifts and powers as never man but one had brought before. Nor was even Juvenal, if I may venture to guess, originally endowed by nature with a nobler faculty of speech or song. What he had and Dryden wanted was a firmer temper, a more solid faith. He knew always exactly what things they were that he hated—Imperialism and Democracy; and above all the

horrible and hybrid bastard begotten of their monstrous union. Dryden, being neither an aristocrat nor a republican, wanted both the motive impulses, both the confederate supports, which at once instigated and sustained the satire of Juvenal. He was merely a royalist, and such an one as may be bred and reared out of the middle class. He had nothing in him of plebeian fire, and nothing of patrician chivalry. He had, as we may not doubt, a just and due sense of honesty, but scarcely—his most fervent admirers would scarcely claim it for him—a high or tender sense of honour. For so hardy and kindly a man, he was even deplorably unchivalrous. He is one of the few unhappy examples of the falsity or untrustworthiness of the noble superstition which we would fain hold fast, that a brave man will not hit his enemy when he is down. Dryden, one of the most gallant of fighters after his own fashion, danced and trampled upon his when prostrate at his mercy. He is of course not blameable—he would rather of course have been praiseworthy—for defiance and violation of that most wicked and contemptible rule of conduct or of speech, for ever to be found recurrent on the lips of infidels and cowards who believe in no truth and are afraid of every falsehood—the liar's maxim and the traitor's plea, which forbids us to speak truth when to speak truth is to speak evil of the defeated, the dishonoured, and the dead. The memories of a Judas and a Nero are as carrion to remain gibbeted for ever, that every honest hand may cast a stone in passing towards the completion of a cairn of ignominy which no age will ever see complete. But the offence of Dryden is not capable of extenuation, far less of justification, by comparison with the practice of other great historic and satiric poets, from the date of Juvenal's verses on the dead Sejanus to the date of Hugo's verses on the dead Saint-Arnaud. His own, it must sorrowfully be said, are sometimes comparable rather with those of a poet who should have defiled himself by acclamation and encouragement of a Tiberius or even of a Bonaparte.

And yet—we must always come back to these two words, and always start afresh with them, after a word significant of aught but honour has been linked with the name or the thought of Dryden. "Satire's narrow strait" (as Landor calls it) widened and deepened before the strong sweep of his oar-stroke into the resemblance and the resonance of a sea. He added a new and a majestic note, if not one of the sweeter or profounder, to the harmonies of English verse. Even where the broad loud wind of his sonorous song blows over fetid swamp or malarious morass, it is rather touched than tainted by the maleficence of their stagnant exhalations. The air swept in sunder so proudly by the play of his sailing wings is never dense or dim, never clogged or overcharged with miasmatic pestilence from the political Maremma which they traverse. And

whithersoever they strike out in strong enjoyment of their inexhaustible strength—a strength so nobly bridled and guided by the curb and the compulsion at once of his instinct and his will—they make such mighty music of the most malodorous air that our senses for the minute are conscious of nothing but the large and fresh delight of their passage and their sound.

But after all it is idle—as many a reader may by this time be ready to remind me—it is idle to strain rhetoric and press metaphor into the service of criticism on the subject of a great writer whom no man but himself can properly or even possibly make known. He that would know anything whatever of Dryden must read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the word of his message to his own time first, and secondly to ours. For to ours also he has a message; full of warning to many, but not less full of cheer and even of example for others, if they have ears to receive it aright. "The Bacon of the rhyming crew" he is named by the great poet and critic to whom I have so recently referred (shall we call him a giant at home among the gods, or a god astray among the giants?); and the chancellor of the first Stuart who ruled in England has more than his genius in common with the laureate of the last. But in one point of supreme importance—if Bacon be not grievously belied by the apparent evidence of history—there was a great gulf of difference fixed between them. John Dryden was no coward.

In the next couplet but one which follows the line just quoted from his noble and memorable address to Wordsworth, Landor has given the soundest estimate and expressed the justest praise of Dryden that ever has been given or expressed.

> "Though never tender nor sublime,
> He wrestles with and conquers Time."

We may fancy—though undoubtedly the conjecture may be no less erroneous than assuredly it is audacious—that there is even more truth implied in the form of this admirable image than was designed or perceived by Landor himself. Dryden was not of those who conquer Time without an effort; who, having once lived, inevitably must live for ever. If a Shakespeare or even if a Milton was to be born, it followed as a natural and obvious consequence that he was not to die. But an earth-born and earth-bound giant like Dryden, if indeed he is to conquer immortality, must train himself to fight hard for it. The palm, though indisputably attainable, is not so evidently native in the climate of his birthplace, so naturally proper for the garland of his brows, that he can hope to wear it by proclamation of all spectators and concession of all rivals, before he has faithfully undertaken and dauntlessly performed all conditions of the listed field or the heroic playground of his peers. And this most assuredly was

attempted and achieved by Dryden. But, unhappily alike for the fulness of his fame and for the purity of its record, he did not lay to heart the latter and the weightier half of an axiom left behind him by a poet of diviner birth than he. The giant's strength which it was excellent to have it was tyrannous to use, as too often he was wont to use it, so cruelly too much like a giant. Not that any one will now take very great exception to the execution done on statesmen such as Shaftesbury or as Buckingham, on singers such as Settle or as Blackmore. But it must be surely at the peril of our conscience if we condone such actions as the commission of those foul and savage political epilogues too justly stigmatized by Lord Macaulay.

And yet, again, how little must these weigh in the final scale of judgment, overloaded as it is and swayed down by the weight of his massive laurels! Among his forefathers and successors of the giant brood, Jonson has excelled him in weighty wealth and Byron has equalled him in spontaneous versatility of genius; but Dryden at his best is a surer workman of a trustier hand than either. And however unequal in his lyric touch, he has been but comparatively overpraised for the consummate force and swift felicity of his labours in the middle region of that line. He is the undisputed lord of lyrical rhetoric: he wins his way and makes his points with the easy and mighty touch of a sovereign orator. All the great effects of eloquence are his to command at the slightest wave of his hand in summons: all these, and something more, which is part of his indefinable birthright as a poet. Very few poets have had any mentionable measure of the gifts most proper and most requisite to the art of noble oratory, which all were his alike in such fruitful and imperial affluence; though many have had more of those which are more especially proper to their art, and to that art alone. To sum up, we may revert to the distinction already drawn between the Olympian and Titanic orders of men. There was little enough of the godlike in Dryden's composition; but, once more, what a man was this giant, and what a giant was this man!

Politics, it may seem to us, were but too liable to become or to appear in the life of Dryden what literature was in the life of Mirabeau; if not an accidental and unnatural episode, yet a somewhat unworthy and sometimes an unclean diversion. In the bright though not blameless career of the successor to his throne there was no such admixture or interference of improper or alien preoccupation. No man ever saw his life's way more clearly or accepted the conditions of his life's work with more of rational manfulness than Pope. He had a most healthy and liberal interest in other men's lines of life, a most cordial and virile content and satisfaction with his own. He was a good and true patriot after and perhaps beyond the fashion of his age; and whether his perceptions in ethics and philosophy were

deep or shallow, his devotion to the principle of either study was not in any case the less genuine and respectable. Of his personal character it is nothing to say that he had the courage of a lion: for a beast's or an athlete's courage must have something of physical force to back it, something of body to base itself upon: and the spirit which was in Pope, we might say, was almost as good as bodiless. And what a spirit it was! how fiery bright and dauntless! We are invited, and not always unreasonably, to condone or palliate much that was unworthy of manhood in Byron, on just and compassionate consideration of the bitter burden attached to his bodily and daily life; but what was his trial and what was his courage to Pope's? How less than little the one, how less than nothing the other! For Byron we should have charity and sympathy: but it rouses the blood, it kindles the heart, to remember what an indomitable force of heroic spirit, and sleepless always as fire, was inclosed in the pitiful body of the misshapen weakling whose whole life was spent in fighting the good fight of sense against folly, of light against darkness, of human speech against brute silence, of truth and reason and manhood against all the banded bestialities of all dunces and all dastards, all blackguardly blockheads and all blockheaded blackguards, who then as now were misbegotten by malignity on dulness. We are easily tempted and naturally apt to set against the high qualities of such warriors on the side of all men worthy of their help, by way of counterpoise to their glory and subtraction from our own debt of gratitude and esteem, the fierceness of their habitual mood and the foulness of their occasional missiles. We are less apt, possibly, to remember the conditions of their lifelong fight. In an age to which personality and slander, the brutalities of calumny and the mendacities of malice, are as happily as undeniably unknown, it is inevitably difficult for us to realise a state of literary society in which every blockhead who might also be a blackguard had free vent for his filthiest insolence—in which every liar who might also be a coward felt it safe to steal a stranger's name as a relief to the obscurity of his own or a shelter for the infamy of his act. It is not more incredible than true that the condition of letters in England was once such as to enable a dastardly and dirty rascal to issue, under the thievish cover of a lying name, a dirty and dastardly libel on three men no less known and honoured, then as now, than Pope, Arbuthnot, and Gay; a libel based on the admitted fact of their mutual friendship and reciprocal sympathy in unenvious admiration of each other's native genius and natural good work. Nothing, not even the hateful perception of an intolerable superior, would seem ever to exasperate the envious man so much as the absence—the undeniable and obvious absence—of this vilest among all vile qualities from the mental composition of his betters. That

foulest and shamefullest of all the seven deadly sins, that vice to which all other vices save cowardice its parent and lying its child are virtues, had then, in at least one loathsome incarnation, so much of a coward's courage as to skulk forth into the twilight of print with but the fig-leaf of a pseudonym patched or pinned over its nakedness. It cannot be denied that there are signs of moral progress in the world of letters, unless it can be denied that such a thing as is now open before my eyes while I write this sentence—a farce or dramatic satire called *The Confederates*, published under a false name by a poetaster of the period—could not now, for very dread of the ineffaceable ignominy which would follow on the inevitable detection of a lie so abject in its motive and its method, its end and its means alike, be shuffled into shameful print by the boldest coward in all the viperous generation of literary liars. Nor in any other age could a rival commentator on the text of Shakespeare have earned his exaltation or degradation to the curule chair of Dulness hard by the whipping-post of ribalds, to which as a blackguard he might deserve to be attached, or on which as a blockhead he might deserve to be enthroned.

But, extinct as they may or as they may not be now, it is indisputable that such noisome and unmentionable vermin were daily and nightly "about the path and about the bed" of the great and gallant man who embalmed the types of them for all time in the black-spotted and ill-savoured amber of the *Dunciad*. And it was inevitable that the unseemly accident of their "villainous company" or controversy should exasperate as with infectious virulence the habit of mind which physical infirmity or deformity is proverbially liable to engender. Pope was by nature undeniably "malin comme un bossu"—no more and no less: for he surely was not malignant or malevolent; but as surely the untranslatable French epithet hits off the nature of his quality to a hair. He was sharp, sly, and little prone to pity where pity was little deserved; but I agree with Mr. W. M. Rossetti[1] in recognizing the manful kindness, however crossed with a dash of no acrid or unkindly raillery, to which his prologue for the benefit-night of "poor old John Dennis" bears gracious and ample witness. Nor can I think that "'twere to consider too curiously, to consider" that the temperament of his ill-conditioned body rather than the temper of his imprisoned mind must be held responsible for the childish trickery and apish furtiveness of such intrigues as have been so sharply cast in his teeth by the successive severity of the three Anglican clergymen who have edited and defamed him as poet or as man. After the Reverend Mr. Warton came the Reverend Mr. Bowles, and after the Reverend Mr. Bowles comes the Reverend Mr. Elwin. "Hear them! All these against one foreigner!" cries

(1) *Lives of Famous Poets*, p. 131.

Mr. Browning's Luria; and "See them! All these against one Liberal Catholic!" a lay student may be tempted and permitted to exclaim at sight of so many cassocked commentators opening in full cry upon the trail of this poet. And such a feeling may be indulged without any very sympathetic admiration for the balanced attitude of Pope between a modified sort of conformity and a moderate kind of philosophy. On such matters, if the weightier opinion of men worthier to pronounce on them than I would permit me to entertain an opinion, I should guess that Pope, who certainly was rather conformable than orthodox, was also rather a loose thinker than a free thinker. But however this may be, there is something in the man which would seem to provoke an inevitable shaking of clenched surplices in the face of his memory at every resurgence of his name. It is more painful for men who on the whole are inclined to admire his dauntless nature as highly as his matchless genius—for matched on his own ground he never has been or can be—to find that a judge so different as is Mr. Leslie Stephen from such clerical critics as we have named can permit himself to say of Pope, in the course of a generally admirable estimate, "He was—if we must speak bluntly—" (but I venture to think we must not speak so bluntly of such a man) "a liar and a hypocrite." A liar, yes: a hypocrite, no. He carried perhaps further than most men of the world the conventional privilege of social double-dealing: he did not always show the same face to the same person: he certainly was not so careful as a very few men are, and as it seems to me that a man of perfect and blameless honour should always aim at being, to speak of men absent, friends or enemies, no whit otherwise than he would like them, if chance should so bring it about, to know that he had spoken. But surely there was nothing of what we usually call the hypocrite—nothing essentially unpardonable or radically dishonourable—in a man not only so nobly fearless but so faithfully affectionate that even the great and terrible Swift recognized in him a capacity for enduring love and sorrowing fidelity to the remembrance of a dead friend, at least fourfold as great as that of the man who might come nearest to him in faithfulness of affection. This does not, of course, disprove the imputation of unmanly and unfriendly advantage taken of this very friend's helpless and piteous infirmity; it does not refute the only less grave charge of indelicate and unchivalrous conduct with regard to women; it hardly extenuates what seems equally inexplicable and inexcusable in the singular and scandalous intrigue woven and unwoven by his own device about the publication of his correspondence. But it does, I think,—or at least it should—very seriously temper and tone down our judgment on all these heads. Mr. Leslie Stephen has indicated, with equally faultless instinct and fearless intelligence, the fact which even yet

may seem something of a paradox, and which in other days would hardly have found utterance or hoped to find a hearing—that, "though nominally the poet of reason," when he failed most gravely as a writer or erred most gravely as a man, he erred mainly if not merely through excess of irrational impulse. For those of course must be accounted the gravest failures of a great writer, which are made in his own proper field. Pope's lyrical collapse and pastoral imbecility need not be weighed at the weight of a feather or the worth of a straw against the worth and weight of his claims as a great writer and an admirable poet. Such matters are as much out of the question as they are now beyond and below the cognizance of serious criticism. But his faults as a moralist or a satirist, an ethical or a philosophic poet, are as clearly as ever were the faults of Byron or of Burns the natural and unavoidable errors of a temperament or an intellect in which instinct or impulse had practically the upper hand of principle and of reason. The instincts of a deformed invalid, with a bitter wit and most irritable nerves, are of course more likely than the impulses of a strong man, with healthy blood and hot passions, to seem rather intellectual than physical energies or infirmities; yet in Pope's case the body was perhaps as liable to misguide the mind, and emotion to get the start of reflection, as in the case of any hot-brained lyrist—or even of any brainless athlete. Anger, if not malice also in many cases, is surely after all no less properly definable as a sensual passion than lust or gluttony.

The personal or the literary relations of a man whose genius is constrained to work under such hard and strange conditions must always be difficult for justice to determine and charity to define. But the most delicate and dubious point in the matter is that raised by the unavoidable question of his relations towards the stronger sex. The author of a satire on women which is perhaps as much comparatively overrated by Mr. Rossetti[1] as it was depreciated with absurd and irrelevant virulence by De Quincey cannot possibly be treated by sane or careful criticism as though he were with regard to women even such another as Dryden; who, to speak bluntly in my turn, seems to have seen little or nothing but a propagating machine, an ingenious and interesting engine for securing the continuance of the race, in the sex which has given the final and crowning proof of its unquestionable superiority in strength by its truly preternatural success in persuading the weaker half of humanity to call and perhaps to believe itself the stronger. The constitutional monarchy of man, who from the cradle to the grave is doomed to realise that pitiful ideal of a half royal house—to reign and not to govern, bears surely in every stage of its precarious and transparent imposture the plainest witness that could be

(1) *Lives of Famous Poets*, p. 128.

borne, pays surely at each fresh demand or imposition the fullest tribute that could be paid, to the radically imperial or the imperially radical autocracy of that only higher power which neither atheist nor republican at his peril may deny. Only men of the type of Dryden, in whom it is hard to detect a third component beyond the nobly or ignobly animal and intellectual, can avoid the duty levied by nature of paying any graver tax than the exaction of a transient and merely sensual submission to feminine influence. Of such influence there is practically no trace for evil or for good in the life and the work of Dryden. His poetry was not more shaped or coloured by the patronage of "her graceless Grace" of Cleveland—the virtuous woman who was, if not exactly a crown, yet undeniably a coronet to her husband—than by the "not inelegant amusement," as Sir Walter Scott very judiciously describes it, of eating tarts in the surely less disreputable company of "Madam Reeve" the actress. For aught we can see, apart from physical or social necessities, Dryden could as easily have dispensed with women as he would readily have dispensed with priests. To Pope the influence at any rate of female friendship was at least as indispensable as of male; and without friendship, be it said to his credit and his honour, he could not apparently have lived or cared to live. In his writings the presence and the potency of feminine sympathies or antipathies can no more be overlooked by any student than can their absence or their effacement from the writings of Dryden; who on this point is comparable with Jonson alone among the other ungodlike giants of our poetry. But against the beautiful tenderness and half divine devotion of Pope's verses on the latter years of the beloved and venerable mother whose name he has made for all time sweet and dear to the memory of all his readers must undoubtedly be set the unfragrant recollection of his virulent and viperous aspersions on the name and fame of other women. But, again, the fresh question arises, what manner of women were these? Surely not all privileges at once and all immunities are always altogether to be conceded to all women alike. Pope was undoubtedly a man who now and then was wont to lay his hand upon a woman far otherwise than in the way of kindness; yet we certainly cannot regard him as liable to the famous imputation conveyed in Tobin's ridiculous triplet. Whatever esteem we may feel for the talents and merits, whatever toleration we may be inclined to extend over the eccentricities and audacities, of such women as Lady Mary Wortley Montague, it is the rankest and most nauseous cant of hypocritical chivalry to pretend that they have a right to expect the same tender and reverent forbearance which all but the vilest of men and scribblers feel for "any woman, womanly." Were it not that few men and no women seem generally able to realise the value and the meaning of the homely

truth that you cannot eat your cake and have it, it would plainly be more than superfluous to insist on the consequent and cognate fact that the stronger sex is no more qualified than is the weaker to claim all the privileges of the other and retain possession of all its own. No reasoning and feeling thinker of either sex will seriously affirm that the actual conditions of legal and social relation between the sexes are by any manner of means unimprovably perfect, unimpeachably righteous, ideally equitable in adjustment of rights and avoidance of wrongs. But no sane adult of the normal human type in mind and body will admit or will imagine that a woman who arrogates and attains the place and the license reserved by nature or by custom, by tradition or by law, for men alone in general, can exact or expect from men any more of chivalrous or delicate deference than man extends to man. And if, in an age of free speech and foul language, such a woman takes to the diversion of throwing mud at her superiors, she can as little expect to keep her face from the retorted splash of a heavier pellet than her own as to keep her fingers clean enough to be fit for the homage of any but a scavenger's salute.

In his two famous poems which deal for once wholly with the tragic side of female passion, I cannot and could never think that Pope succeeds in touching the key-note of genuine pathos. The opening lines of his *Elegy on an Unfortunate Lady* are as incomparably inferior to the majestic and magnificent first verses of the poem from which he borrowed the suggestion of this overture as the sequel and the close of his own are immeasurably superior in force and harmony of effect to those of his precursor's elegy.[1] And for all its elaborate excellence of construction the epistle of Eloisa seems in my humble opinion open to three several objections of equal if of no great weight. The full capabilities of the subject are not thoroughly grasped and utilised; while its main difficulty is neither evaded nor surmounted. In one famous and pretentiously pathetic line, which I prefer to quote only as Latinized with exquisite success by Landor,[2] the mourner is made, while attempting to reach the very zenith of tragic tenderness, to touch the very nadir of ludicrous indecency in the expression of a request which no man, I should think, could read

(1) On the chance that not all readers of this page may remember the superb four lines which open Ben Jonson's Elegy on that Marchioness of Winchester who had likewise the yet higher honour to be lamented by Milton in a poem yet more unequal and uncertain in its loveliness than that of the elder poet, I will here transcribe them.

"What gentle ghost, besprent with April dew,
Hails me so solemnly to yonder yew,
And beckoning woos me, from the fatal tree
To pluck a garland for herself or me?"

Si sic omnia dixisset—! Where would Pope's elegy be then?

(2) Da quod potes, quod non potes Morpheus dabit.

without laughter, and few women, I should hope, without a blush. What is good and genuine in these poems is of the same quality as what is best and most genuine in the *Essay on Man*. But this, I need not say, is of no mean quality. If to be pathetic were no more than to be impressive, to be passionate no more than to be eloquent, these elegiac effusions or rather compositions would undoubtedly be passionate and pathetic. But if not, they assuredly are neither.

To Pope as to Dryden the general instinct of criticism has hardly been unjust, which fixes in either case upon some few detached passages as samples or as tests of their genius at its highest rather than on any whole single poem or class of poems. For it is not usually of the *Essay on Man* or the *Religio Laici*, full as these poems are of grave and careful excellence, that we all think at once when we think of Charles II.'s poet laureate or Queen Anne's poet regent. It is not of *The Hind and the Panther*, opulent and superb in august eloquence and passionate humour as is that unrivalled masterpiece of polemical poetry; perhaps it is hardly even of *The Rape of the Lock*, blameless in its beauty and perfect in its charm as is that sovereign flower of social satire. Achitophel and Zimri, Atticus and Atossa, Doeg and Og, Sporus and Bufo, rise first and clearest on our recollection, weigh last and heaviest in our judgment. As long as these great and splendid studies are familiar to all students of English literature,—in other words, as long as English literature may hope to find students at all—men different in temper and tone of mind, if equally rational and capable, will agree to differ in their preference of one master to the other. My own verdict, as may probably be evident enough, would stand unhesitatingly and emphatically in favour of the elder. But I must have failed indeed of my purpose if it is not now equally evident that few if any can rate higher or relish more keenly the faultless and peerless accomplishment of his more fortunate successor. Whatever Pope has left us is "as round and smooth as Giotto's O"; whatever Dryden has left us is liable to come short of this especial and surely precious praise. The strength of Dryden never wholly fails him; but the skill of Pope never fails him at all. He is none of the greater gods; but he is at least, in Massinger's phrase, a "godling"; or a libellous parasite of his own day might have likened him, in Shakespeare's phrase, to "that giant dwarf," the cunning sharpshooter of Olympus. As humourist rather than as poet, Pope is to Dryden what Sheridan is to Congreve; less deep, less rich, less naturally strong of hand; more considerate, more cautious, more "obvious" if not "obtrusive," in the method of his workmanship and the presentation of his talent. But Congreve on the whole must be ranked far higher above Sheridan than Dryden can properly be ranked above Pope.

Beneath or beside these two great dominant names of the age ensuing on the Restoration, three others may be ranked as only less representative and memorable in the dynasty of our humorous and satirical and social poets: "Butler and his godson Swift," as Landor classes them, and thirdly a name of sweeter though less serious associations than either of these—the best and brightest poet of society that ever England or France or Italy produced and enjoyed —the incomparable and inimitable Prior. Never was the parable of the talents more curiously reversed or inverted than in the case of these three humourists. The ten talents for humorous poetry which were cast into the crucible of *Hudibras* resulted in an amalgam so formless, incomposite, and unwieldy, that it has to be broken up again into detached ingots of gold before we can put to any reasonable service the precious ore of its marvellous material. Butler lives only and could never live really but in fragments; the weight and worth of his nuggets, their splendour and solidity, impress us with most wonder and inspire us with most delight when detached from the blocks of shapeless and inharmonious burlesque in which they lie imbedded and entombed. The weight of wisdom, thought, perception, and feeling which makes massive and precious alike the verse and the prose of Butler can best be estimated and enjoyed (if I may speak for others according to my own experience) by separate handling and several examination of such samples or excerpts as a reader may select for himself or accept from others. And to know Swift it would of course be superfluous to say that we must turn first and return last to his prose; that even such matchless masterpieces as *Hamilton's Bawn* and *Mary the Cookmaid's Letter* are to the *Tale of a Tub* as underwood to forest. But Prior, so much less in stature than either of these giants, is almost as much more satisfactory, more delightful, more praiseworthy and thankworthy in poetic accomplishment. What he has done may not be great, but the best of it is nothing less than divinely good. His love-letter to a lady of quality, aged five, will for ever enrapture all readers who can feel in its gayer or its graver aspect the inexpressible charm of children. To me at least this one seems the most adorable of nursery idyls that ever was or will be in our language; nay, not unworthy of a corner among the lighter outbuildings or antechambers in that supreme lyrical palace of infantile poetry, *L'Art d'être Grand-père* itself. The poetry of wit and intelligence, "not uninformed with" fine indignation and cordial love of country, never bore a more brilliant flower fenced round with more pungent thorns than his inversion or conversion of Boileau's wretched ode on the siege of Namur into a two-edged sword wherewith to transfix at once the parasitic poetaster and his puffed-out patron on the very sharpest point of scornful song. Had Louis been encumbered with

sense enough to read and troubled with wit enough to feel it, Prior might have been forgiven if he had shared the less reasonable apprehension of John Dennis as to the personal resentment and probable reprisals of the sun-king. If his elaborate "Solomon in rhyme" was an assured and inevitable failure, yet all the world has by heart one charming couplet of it; and this is more than can be said of many a poem even splendidly successful in its day. The bright light pinnace of *Alma* rides far more gracefully at anchor, invites and rewards more passengers or traffickers to come aboard her, than the deep-drawing argosy of *Hudibras*, wellnigh waterlogged after the first rich cruise. As for the tales and epigrams, though I can scarcely agree with the Great Lexicographer that in consequence or in spite of them "Prior is a lady's book," yet I must think that where other such epigrammatists and tale-tellers—always excepting the dearly beloved name of La Fontaine, and by no means excepting the quaintly incongruous name of Byron's favourite Casti—give us an ounce of wit to a pound of dirt, Prior gives us at least a pound of good fresh humour for every ounce of a more questionable ingredient. But perhaps the surest proof as well as the sharpest trial of Prior's exquisite and triumphant excellence is the comparison of his achievements and accomplishments with that of all his many and emulous disciples or followers in the same line. As surely as before him there was none like him, so surely has no one been like him since. And men well worthy of grateful record and gracious remembrance are to be found on the roll of his pupils, from past generations even onwards to our own. But he is hardly more above the Sedleys and Dorsets who preceded than the Luttrells and Praeds who succeeded him. Praed indeed at his best is thoroughly charming and faultless in his own pleasant line—well worthy of his place in the milky way of minor poets; but at this best he is as it were the ideal flower of clever and well-bred boys, the typically triumphant "Etonian," without enough poetic ballast to endanger the steerage of his outrigger: Prior to him is as a man to a schoolboy.

To find a match for our head master of social song we must pass out of England, and rise to the recollection of even so great a rival as Voltaire. Mr. Carlyle has done no more than justice—a justice which from the Proclus or Plotinus of Neo-Calvinism is not less commendable than surprising—to those "Madrigals which are really incomparable in their kind; not equalled in graceful felicity even by Goethe, and by him alone of Poets approached in that respect."[1]

(1) Carlyle's *History of Frederick the Great*, book xiv., chap. vi. (vol. iii., p. 717, ed. 1862). Having occasion to refer to Mr. Carlyle's great prose epic or historic poem, I am tempted to add here an illustrative note on a curious if also an insignificant point. Perhaps one or two other idle students or amateurs of historical or literary *bricabraccquologie* (as Balzac would have called it) may be as much amused as I was by the discovery for which I claim so much of credit as is not due rather to sheer accident, that the

But, be it said with leave of our most illustrious Musophobist, they are equalled at their best if not excelled in that especial quality by the choicest home-bred verse of Matthew Prior.[1]

A living writer, to whom so many thousands of readers must owe so many brightened hours of quiet enjoyment and leisurely solace that it would seem thankless for any one of these to let pass an occasion of acknowledgment, has shown himself in my poor opinion even singularly unjust to the happy memory of our best social poet. Mr. Anthony Trollope objects to Thackeray's comparison of Prior with Horace, and "almost questions Prior's right to be in the list"[2] of English humourists. The creator of such living masterpieces as Mrs. Proudie and Archdeacon Grantly—whose elevation to the episcopal bench, though even in *The Last Chronicle of Barset* we are not permitted to rejoice (with respectful sympathy and appreciative applause) in the announcement of this long-expected item of ecclesiastical intelligence, can surely be only a question of time?—the creator of these and so many other types only less precious than these must undoubtedly have a right to speak on such matters "with authority, not like a scribe" of so different an order as myself; yet, conscious as I may be that in that special sphere of letters he is "there sitting where I durst not soar," I must appeal against his appeal from his illustrious friend's equally just and cordial estimate of Prior. Nay,

farce acted at Sceaux, on Thursday, August 24th, 1747, before the Duchesse du Maine, was simply a translation or adaptation of the better part of Vanbrugh's *Relapse*—that is, of those scenes which belong to the legitimate domain of pure and broad comedy. "What a pity none of us has read this fine Farce!" ejaculated in 1864 the sardonic historian (book xvi., chap. ii., vol. iv., p. 262). But in the spring of that year the present writer had the inestimable benefit of so doing, in a newly published volume of complementary or supplementary additions to the yet insufficiently voluminous writings of Voltaire; and had consequently the further advantage of verifying the accuracy of a surmise which could hardly have failed to suggest itself to any lover of the English drama—that Voltaire's "Mademoiselle de la Cochonnière," acted by the translatress of Newton at the girlish age of forty-one, was none other than Miss Hoyden, and "Madame Dufaur as *Barbe* (Governess Barbara)" the representative of that ideally delightful Nurse who alone is worthy to claim kinship with Juliet's in time past, and (may I dare to say it?) even almost, perhaps, with the incomparable and adorable Mrs. Gamp in ages yet to be. *In tenui labor—at tenuis labor ipse.*

(1) I am curious to know—what to avow that I do not may be a confession of strange ignorance—whether there exists any edition of Prior including the two early satires mentioned and quoted in the notes to Malone's Life of Dryden (pp. 519, 544-5) as containing each a virulent attack, there cited at length in its place, on the elder and greater poet. The cautious and laborious accuracy of Malone was as justly, I believe, proverbial among students in his day as is that of Dr. Grosart in our own; but it would surely be a relief to all grateful and sympathetic readers if Prior's memory could likewise be relieved from the burden and the brand of so scandalous an imputation as this of anonymous and rancorous onslaught on the glorious grey hairs of Dryden. *The Town and Country Mouse* may be pardonable or excusable as an ebullition of juvenile humour, not over gracious or graceful, but perhaps hardly to be called virulent or malignant; no such apology could extenuate the offence of so gross an outrage conveyed in such vile verses as we find laid to his account on the usually impeccable authority of Malone.

(2) *English Men of Letters: Thackeray*, pp. 165, 163.

if truth must be told,—though it may seem something of an impertinence to think a truth so insignificant worth telling—I should myself incline to say that if in this comparison of ancient with modern poet any undue excess of honour had been done to either, it was rather to the Roman than to the Englishman: although the avowal of such an opinion may be too palpably equivalent to a confession of the undeniable fact that he who makes it looks with much the same eyes and for much the same reason as did Byron on Horace, "whom he hated so"—sometimes more and sometimes less than he always loved Catullus and Pindar, the equally unapproached precursors, each in his several sphere, of the "valet-souled" versifier of Venusia. Though both alike low-born, Horace and Prior seem to my humble judgment to have been very unequally endowed with most of the qualities "that may become a man" or a gentleman. I at least cannot see more of these in Horace than may become the most exquisite of toad-eaters, or less of them in Prior than would beseem the most excellent of companions.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

CATTLE RANCHES IN THE FAR WEST.

ACCUSTOMED as we are to large figures when examining statistics relating to the domestic or foreign economy of the United States, the vast surplus of last year's harvest in that country, no less than England's very rapidly increasing cattle trade with the United States—in the twelve months ending June 30, 1879, 71,794 head of cattle were shipped from the United States to the United Kingdom,[1] a figure just double that of the preceding year—have of late served to bring before us in more than usually startling manner the dangers threatening our agricultural interests by the nearly unlimited food-producing capacities of America.

Of special interest, under the prevailing circumstances, is the question of raising cattle on the free public lands of Western territories, and recently published accounts of a perfectly trustworthy nature—no less than the results of the personal investigations of the Royal Commission—only enhance it; for they prove beyond doubt that stock-raising under such very favourable circumstances as exist in some of of the North-Western districts of the Union has a great future before it.

In giving the reader a sketch of the "rough-and-ready" life of a Western "ranchcman," or stock-raiser, and of his vocation, I lay before him the results of a visit of many months to Colorado, Wyoming, and parts of Montana, at present the chief centres of the business. If we examine the origin of Western stock-raising, we find that, like so many other institutions in the United States, it took its first start while the country was yet in the throes of its last great war. Texas at that time was still a little known territory, a safe refuge for fugitives from justice, disguised with long beards, quaint aliases, and broad sombreros. This immense expanse, consisting mainly of prairies—Texas has 274,956 square miles, or larger than France, Portugal, Belgium, and Switzerland combined—was the home of enormous herds of semi-wild cattle of a very inferior breed. Their wild eyes and wide-spreading horns were in keeping with their forbidding, raw-boned, ungainly aspect, and fierce tempers. There were millions of them. In 1860 the tax returns, under-estimated if anything, showed 2,733,267 head of cattle, and 172,243 working oxen in Texas; and not a few of the astonishingly

(1) It is interesting to note that while the 64,926 head exported to other countries but England represented a value of only £352,600, those shipped to England were more than three times as valuable, namely, £1,323,200. These, and most other statistical figures, were furnished to the writer by the head of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, and are therefore authentic.

lazy and ignorant rancheros—mostly of Spanish or Mexican origin—could boast of herds exceeding fifty thousand head, and some few, if accounts are true, owned as many as a hundred thousand. They were, however, of little pecuniary benefit to their owners; the absence of any market and foreign demand on the part of Northern neighbours made them very nearly as valueless as were at the same period the countless "beef" on the rolling pampas of South America.[1]

Towards the close of the great national struggle, when meat, cereals, and, in fact, every kind of food rose in the Northern States to hitherto unknown prices, some venturesome Government contractors tried the experiment of driving small herds of these cattle from Texas to the Northern armies. In the beginning only small "bunches" of two or three hundred travelled that weary journey over the subsequently so historic trails leading from their prairie homes to Missouri and other Eastern states. The profits were enormous, for steers could in those good days be bought for about 25s., and sold at the end of their two or three months' overland journey for £7; they were, in fact, so large that the secret soon oozed out, and men with larger capital and unfettered by Government contracts "started in," and for a year or two—till at last the astoundingly easy-going rancheros of Texas found out the increased value of their stock—profits remained as high. Gradually they were cut down finer; for rapidly as money is made, and incomparably higher as are the profits attainable by a successful speculation in the States than in slower and surer-going Europe, the fact that a man could double or quadruple his capital in four months, running no very great risks, allured great numbers of Eastern men to embark their and their friends' money in stock-driving operations. This was, it must be remembered, long before cattle or meat export to Europe had taken root; hence it was but natural that soon with increased numbers of drivers, competition decreased the profits: first to 75 or 100 per cent., and then gradually even to lower rates. In the eyes of the men who had first started, the business was played out. Not so, however, was the inventive American genius. Hitherto the cattle business was simple, that of a drover buying stock in a cheap market and selling it with a good profit in Northern towns. What was easier, asked the keen-eyed speculator, than to do as the now millionaire Texan cattle kings did, let nature work for you? Yonder lay the vast stretches of the so-called American Desert, ranging from the Mississippi, in those days the

(1) In 1879 the United States contained more than thirty-three millions of cattle; and as twelve millions were milch cows, the increase of the country's stock, after all home and foreign consumption is covered, can hardly be estimated at less than a million and startlingly stupendous figure if we consider that.

Western boundary of civilisation, to the Sierra Nevadas, a tract fifteen hundred miles long and two thousand wide, on the Eastern confines of which the new territories of Kansas, Arkansas, and Nebraska were just then constituting themselves with that rapidity peculiar to the migratory Yankee, to whom the making of laws and building of towns is a natural occupation. While thousands of half-crazed mining emigrants were crossing the Plains, pushing Westwards to the new and old gold countries, many more, belonging as a rule to a far better and thriftier class of Eastern-raised folk, were crowding into the new territories with the intention of settling down as farmers; and what wonder that Horace Greely's precious advice, "Go West, young man," was also applied to the bovine race. Very soon the new settlers awoke to the vast profits of stock-raising in countries where not only land and home grazing too cost nothing, but where the incidental expenses of a farm are, to European ideas, exceptionally low. Raising cattle on the free public land of the Great West can be done at the absurd low rate of from 4s. to 5s. per head; for when once the ranche or farmhouse is built, an affair that need not cost more than £60 to £100, and your provisions bought, there remains absolutely no other expense to be provided for but the wages of the stockmen or "cow-boys," each of whom, for their £6 monthly pay, will take care of one thousand head of cattle. Fortunately for the farmers of Europe, the frontier rancheman—hundreds of miles may be from the next railway station, and the latter again a thousand or fifteen hundred miles from his great market, Chicago—is handicapped by the enormous expenses of the transport of his "beeves," as market cattle are called, to distant Chicago. Mr. Dan, the author of the paper to which I referred in the commencement, states that the cost of transit from the slopes of the Rocky Mountains to Liverpool are not less than £8 per head, which adds quite 2½d. a pound to the *dead* weight of each steer.[1]

But to return to the growth of stock-raising. A further very great impulse was given to it by rewarding the early settlers in Kansas and Nebraska by the building of the Pacific Railroad. As more emigrants from the East continued to pour in, land became valuable, and the cattlemen began to move Westwards to new districts, where their herds could graze free of expense on the Plains.

Colorado next became the goal of the west-bound stock-raisers, and at the present day that vast state—it became such in 1876, and hence is called the Centennial State—with its 105,000 square miles and a population under two hundred thousand souls, is, "in the eyes

(1) From statements I heard I should have put this at even a higher figure, for the freight rates of the Union Pacific are, as there is no competition, enormous.

of stock-raisers, practically speaking, already full;" that is, all land available for this purpose, with the necessary water frontage on a creek, is already occupied. To-day, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and New Mexico, no less than the extreme western portions of Texas, are the most desirable countries in which to "locate" a cattle ranche.

In the same way that most Americans with difficulty realise the tenure of land in England, and invariably discover, when finally they have mastered the details of entailed ownership, a strong incentive in it to "skin" the land,—a proceeding arising necessarily, as they think, from the absence of those selfish motives to improve it,—in the same way, I repeat, does land tenure in the Union puzzle us.

To Old World ears it sounds not only strange but hardly credible, that you or I can to-day start for any of the three or four last-named territories, pick out for our stock a good range for grazing, as yet unoccupied, drive on to it a herd of ten thousand cattle, select a suitable spot near to a convenient creek, and there build our ranche or farmhouse, fence in fifty or a hundred acres for hayland, and, in fact, make ourselves entirely at home, disporting ourselves as virtual owners of the land, without paying one penny for it, or outstepping any territorial or United States statute, or doing what is not perfectly lawful. There is no trouble about title, deeds, surveyors, and lawyers; possession is nine points of the law, and the tenth is that ever-present law-maker and law-breaker, the Colt revolver; for, unlike the miner, who says the tenth point is a bribe, the absence of all tribunals to decide disputes about land in those far-off, semi-wild regions, makes the revolver take the place of the less bloodthirsty bribe, in defending, *vi et armis*, what you deem your own. Very naturally this state of things, existing only in so-called "unsurveyed" districts, can only continue as long as the supply of vast plain lands available for grazing purposes last. Huge as Uncle Sam's possessions available for cattle ranges are, they are nevertheless approaching exhaustion; and, indeed, it would be difficult to imagine *what* possibly could resist the energetic onslaughts of his speculative children, pressing Westward with unabating impetuosity. This as yet unexhausted supply makes contentions among frontier settlers respecting land very rare; for, unlike the mining claim-jumper, landsharks find it not worth while risking life in enforcing their fictitious claims of ownership when, twenty or thirty miles farther up the valley, land as good for their purpose awaits them. To make American land tenure, not only in the West but also in the East, more intelligible to the reader, let me recapitulate broadly the most prominent features of the law on this subject.

The whole United States land must for this purpose be divided into two categories—the surveyed and the unsurveyed. To the former belong, of course, all the Eastern States—Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and some few other portions of the "Great West." California I leave quite aside; as for Europe, only its vast mineral and wheat-growing resources come into play,—at least as long as the Great Pacific Railroad is not compelled by wholesome competition to lower its exorbitant freight rates. To the "unsurveyed," broadly speaking, Montana, Wyoming, parts of Idaho, Oregon, New Mexico, and Arizona; the latter, on account of its sterile soil, of little value for stock-raising. Here ownership rests with the first comer, until at a future period the territory is surveyed by Government officials, and the land mapped out and divided into districts, each coming under a Government district official. Those that have "located" previous to this period are left in undisputed possession, provided they have improved the land; that is, either cultivated it, fenced it in, or, as would be in the case of stock-raisers, have cattle of their own grazing on it. A nominal fee secures to the settler a Government title.

The "squatter's right," in contradiction to "pre-exemption," which latter is the taking possession of unsurveyed lands by building on it, or improving it, comes into play in the case of unoccupied but surveyed land. By it,—every adult who shows that he intends to live on the land himself, acquiring it for that purpose only, and not for speculating, is entitled to 160 acres; or if the land comes under the denomination of desert land, under which head the Great Plains generally are placed, to 620 acres; for this surveyed land Government charges the settler 5s. per acre (the 620 acres of desert land being considered, in point of payment, equal to 160 acres of good soil) distributed in certain proportions over five years, thus enabling the poorest to found a home. Of course, unoccupied land can be bought to any extent for ready money from Government, but naturally this occurs rarely, as by moving farther West land, as we have seen, can be had for nothing. If the settler, occupying soil by squatter's right, has grown-up sons, they in their turn can benefit by the same Act; the intention of Government being the high cultivation of small expanses, rather than the careless or only partial improvement of larger tracts. These are the broad outlines upon which rests land tenure in the United States. The principle of demand and supply, which governs the mercantile intercourse of civilised people, comes into play beyond the father of the waters very much in the same way. Out West laws make themselves, but not a day before the want for them is felt. And in the same way, as long as the supply of land exceeds the demand, that commodity, in an unimproved state, will be valueless, or very nearly so.

If we compare the Northern territories with the Southern, with the

intention of examining their adaptability for stock-raising, and their several advantages and disadvantages as fields for English immigration, we at once strike the only great source of danger for such enterprises, namely, the climate. The greater part of Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho, all of which are traversed by the numerous branching chains of the Rocky Mountains, are four, five, and the first-mentioned six and seven thousand feet over the sea, exposed to very severe winters. The Southern territories, such as New Mexico, Western Texas, and those few portions of Southern Colorado still unoccupied, are equally liable to suffer from the other extreme—great summer heats, producing every few years prolonged droughts; for it must be remembered that the climate is a far drier one than that of Europe, and the supply of water all along the slopes of the Rocky Mountains exceedingly scanty—a fact which must be attributed to the absence of rain, sandy soil, and to the barren surface of the mountains, shielding the rains and melted snows far more rapidly than in timbered countries. Besides these climate risks, the Western stock-raiser has to chance another danger which, though it has not yet made its presence felt, could with one cruel blow wreck the fortune of thousands. I am alluding to the cattle plague, pleuro-pneumonia, and the rest of these terrible scourges, up to now unknown west of the Mississippi. To what this immunity is to be ascribed—whether to the dryness of the climate, the constant equality of the feed, to some medicinal quality of either herbage or water, or finally, whether to a lucky chance—is unknown; no less so how long this happy exemption may last. The consequences of disease once gaining a foothold on the vast expanse of the Plains stretching from the frontier of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Sierra Madre to the great Mississippi, are perfectly frightful to contemplate. Hardly one of the fifteen million of cattle, which on a moderate estimate range wholly unrestrained over this tract, could escape contagion. It would be one terrible leap from wealth to bankruptcy. As no stock, save the bulls for breeding purposes, is imported from the East, or from countries where pleuro-pneumonia has ever been prevalent, it is obvious that the chief danger of importing contagion rests with the introduction of fancy bred bulls of Eastern or English origin. This danger is of late impressing itself upon stock-holders all over the West; and Congress has been appealed to with the view of establishing commissions composed of veterinary surgeons and experienced stockmen, in order, first of all, to exercise proper vigilance on the Eastern frontiers—a sanitary line very easy to control, as all bulls are brought West by one or the other of three great lines, and the Mississippi or Missouri are natural frontiers drawn by nature; and secondly, should, notwithstanding all precautions, the disease make its appearance, to empower them to destroy immediately all animals that have, or possibly could have, come into contact with the

diseased stock. Congress evinces, however, for problems of this kind, not only very little interest, but suffers from a chronic state of poverty when matters of national welfare like these come upon the tapis. That inbred happy-go-lucky trusting to fortune, which is strongly represented in the individual's character, is also represented in their Parliament. The chances are, too, that if such a board of supervision were created it would, like the Indian question and other shamefully conducted public matters, fall immediately in the hands of a ring; putting wealth into the pockets of a few, to the utter ruin possibly of a whole community, should the board's active services become necessary. Very little reliance can, therefore, be placed on Government help; more likely does it seem that the whole body of Western stockmen will arrive at some arrangement among themselves; for, like making laws and building houses, does self-help become second nature among a frontier population.

If we examine the natural features of the Great Plains, we find that, with very few exceptions no part of them will feed as many cattle, sheep, or horses to the square mile as land in the Eastern States or in Europe would; but the almost limitless area counterbalances this. The grasses of the Plains, of which the "gamma" and "buffalo" are the commonest, contain highly nutritious qualities. The former grows about six inches high, and has a single round stock with oblong heads; the other grows closer to the ground. The bunch grass, another kind, grows on "bluffs," and is the chief winter herbage. Their growth, beginning about the first of May, continues till the end of July, when the dry season commences; they then dry up, and are cured by the sun; and as the frosts, let them be ever so hard, do not seem to penetrate to the roots, or else do not harm them, they retain their full strength for the whole winter. To this must be ascribed the barren verdureless aspect of the whole country in late autumn and winter, when strangers passing through can hardly comprehend how the countless herds not only subsist, but grow fat on this grey and withered looking herbage. Nature has provided in many ways for her children; for not only can stock find ready shelter under the bluffs, and in the many small valleys and glens called pockets and gulches, and under the clusters of hardy cedars and spreading cotton-wood trees which almost serve the purpose of barns and stables, but the high winds which prevail after every snowstorm clear sloping ground in a marvellously short time from the snowy pall, driving it together in banks, and filling up depressions in the ground. Rarely does the dry and flour-like snow crust over, a process which for cattle means starvation if warm weather does not soon follow.

The snowstorms in Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana are occasionally very severe indeed; they usually last three days with unabated

fury, the thermometer going down to 25° and 30° below zero. It is specially the so-called "breaking-up" storm which is dreaded by ranchemen. It is the last, coming about March, or the first half of April; and not only is it the severest of all, but it finds cattle less able to withstand its fury, and go without food for three or four days, exposed to great cold all the time.

Losses in severe winters are often very great; in fact, the climate of Wyoming and Montana has proved too severe for sheep-raising, at which many trials were made in those territories. Whole flocks of four or five thousand sheep perished in one night; and one case is related, when the breaking-up storm came as late as May, that two men lost in four hours over ten thousand sheep. Of cattle, no such extreme instances have to be chronicled, though in some places ranchemen lost, in the winter of 1871-72, the severest ever known, half their herds. But experience has taught stockmen many lessons, particularly in the choice of their range, respecting which they were formerly very much more careless. The presence of the ravines and bluffs, so peculiar to the Rocky Mountain formation, is as essential as water and grass; and men starting now prefer to go one hundred or two hundred miles farther from the railway, and have a sheltered range, than risk heavy losses and be nearer the point from whence they "ship" their produce.

Notwithstanding that cattle, no less than sheep, are able to obtain their own subsistence all the year round, the avocation of stock-growing, as we shall see, is attended with no little care and labour. During the summer, autumn, and winter the cattle roam at will over the Plains, and different herds, or parts thereof, mingle together, and perhaps wander for long distances from their home range. Very frequently single heads, separated most likely from their herd in a stampede, are found two hundred miles away. To collect these stragglers, and to take a census no less than to pick out the beeves for market, the annual "round up" is held. At this period, falling in May and June, the whole country is searched, and the cattle appertaining to a district driven together in one vast herd, from whence the different ranchemen separate their own cattle, easily recognisable by the brand; and after a mutual exchange of strayed ones, each owner takes his herd back to their home range, and after branding the calves, turns them out loose, not to see them again till next year's "round up."

For each district, embracing many hundred square miles, and from ten to twenty ranges, a captain—generally one of the old settlers well acquainted with the country—is chosen. Under him work the stockmen—cowboys, or cowpunchers, as everybody connected with cattle-raising is called—from the different ranches, numbering often seventy or more men, and two hundred or more horses, for each cowboy has at least three, and often as

many as eight spare mounts with him on these occasions. The whole country, so large that it will take them one or two months to work it over, is laid out in daily rides. If there is a large creek or stream in the distance, the water-course is followed; the country for twenty or thirty miles on both sides being carefully searched by the mounted cowboys, who, all working under one head, develop great aptitude for their laborious work. They are in the saddle for at least sixteen hours every day, and most of the time on the "lope," or canter, clearing the semi-wild cattle-hill at last; often long after dark they bring in, driving before them, the stock found that day, when, after watering the thirsty beasts, they are added to the main herd, which is carefully watched day and night.

If the range, as is very frequently the case, is a mountainous one (there are many in Wyoming seven and eight thousand feet over the sea, in the heart of the Rocky Mountains), the search for cattle is far more difficult than on level or undulating prairie land. In the former case, the rough and steep chains of mountain, full of "drars," "pockets," and gulches, generally densely timbered at the bottom, the search is anything but easy. A cow, or small bunch of cattle, overlooked on one "round up," is, however, not necessarily lost; for generally they will turn up on that or some neighbouring range during the next year's round up. Wyoming ranchemen have told me that often they accidentally pitch upon cattle they missed four or five years before. On such occasions the original cow will make her appearance with quite a little family of unbranded steers, yearlings, and calves. Considering how broken the ground, and of what huge dimensions each range, it speaks well for the cowboy's powers that the losses from straying amount, under proper care, to not more than one or two per cent. per annum. The total percentage of losses incurred from stress of weather, droughts, &c., varies considerably. More than half of the owners or managers of the ranges (about one hundred) I visited, declared that 5 per cent. in average years will amply cover; others maintained 7, and a few even thought 10 per cent. The round-up is a busy time for man and horse on frontier ranches. It is a period affording pleasant change to the cowboy, who the rest of the year is buried on his isolated ranche, often months without seeing a white man, and years frequently pass before the glance of a woman's gown makes his heart flutter. There is a wonderful amount of animated life, light-hearted merriment, and vigorous and healthful rivalry about one of these round-ups. They begin with a substantial breakfast, at which often half a steer divided among the different messes is used; the rising sun sees them in the saddle, a couple of lead animals on the line, galloping over the Plains in pursuit of those distant black specks, or ascending the dangerously steep slopes of a dismal "hog-back" hill, from whence the higher ranges in the pine-clad mountains are reached. They usually do not

return to camp till dusk, driving before them the cattle found by them that day, which, if it is an open country, will often be as many as two hundred to the man; if broken and full of pockets and drars, or densely timbered ravines, perhaps not more than ten or fifteen. Cowboys learn to track animals as Indians do game, and I was often amused to watch from some elevated spot a "field" of cowboys at work. Here you will see a couple dismounted and leading their ponies, following some faint tracks on the hard gravelly soil which, till softer ground is reached, or other indisputable stock signs discovered, might prove those of elk or (unshod) Indian ponies. Generally, water betrays cattle; for let them be ever so far from it, or carefully screened from discovery in dense timber, they must at least once every twenty-four hours repair to the next creek or water-hole, when their tracks are easily discernible. Yonder we perceive three or four of the daring riders pursuing a small "bunch" stampeding down a steep slope, tails raised high, evidently frightened at the unusual sight of man, and the pursuers at full gallop tearing down the hill at more than break-neck pace, endeavouring to head them off; man and horse apparently oblivious of the steepness of the grade, and the many treacherous holes and tree-stumps that dot it. They are all wonderful riders, and on these occasions they strive to out-do each other. I saw one spill on a steep hillside, occasioned by a gopher-hole, into which the horse put one of its forelegs; and from motives of curiosity I measured the distance the rider was sent spinning, and found that between the gopher-hole and the spot where the man's shoulder touched ground first was thirty-seven feet less three inches. The man was only slightly stunned, and amid the laughter of his companions, who never show any mercy on such occasions, picked himself up, and pulling his six-shooter forthwith, shot the disabled "broncho."

Cowboys can be divided into two classes: those hailing from the Lone Star State, Texas, the other recruited either from Eastern States, chiefly Missouri, or from the Pacific slopes; Oregon contributing no mean number of Webfoots, so called from the long winter rains in that colony. The Texans are, as far as true cowboyship goes, unrivalled: the best riders, hardy, and born to the business; the only drawback being their wild reputation. The others are less able but more orderly men. The bad name of Texans arises mostly from their excitable tempers, and the fact that they are mostly "on the shoot,"—that is, very free in the use of their revolvers.

If we come to the practical issues of the question, the first point to be settled by the intending rancheman, when once he has chosen his range, is which cattle to purchase. There are three great sources from which countless herds are annually drafted: Texas, Utah, and Oregon. The first mentioned was, as we have heard, originally the only stock country. The two last have entered the competing lists

very recently, thereby giving us another proof of the enormous productive capacities of the Great West. Thirty years ago, when Oregon was a perfect wilderness, and Utah — with the exception of Salt Lake Settlement, then still quite small—in a similar condition, there was not a head of stock in those regions, save the few which each settler family brought with them from the East; half, if not more, of the number they started with usually succumbing to the hardships of over-driving and the want of good food and water on the inhospitable and endless desert. Cattle-driving, as a speculation, was then and for a long time to come unheard of; and so none brought more than they could conveniently drive; and old guides have stated to me that the average number was decidedly under ten to each family of emigrants. These bovine immigrants in the meanwhile have multiplied in the vast valleys of Oregon at an enormous rate; and now there are hundreds of thousands where, thirty, and even twenty years ago, there were not hundreds; and, curious to say, the progeny of the original ancestors are now being driven in vast herds back eastwards, over the very same old Mormon road which their grandsires had travelled fifteen or twenty years ago, on their way to their new Western homes.

To return to the choice of stock. The general public voice declares the Oregon and Utah breed to be far superior to Texas cattle; and while the earlier ranchemen in Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana had only the latter, the Oregon cows driven to the two last-mentioned territories in 1879 outnumbered Texas stock at least three or four times. At first it was greatly doubted that cattle raised on the Pacific slopes, and especially in the damp, moderately warm climate of Oregon, could possibly stand a Wyoming or Montana winter with their terribly severe snowstorms. Experience, however, has established not only that Oregon stock can withstand great winter hardships, but also that they flourished on Wyoming soil. As both Utah and Oregon cattle fetch comparatively much higher prices in Chicago and other great markets, those breeds are now the prime favourites; and, as a natural consequence of the vastly increased demand, cows in Oregon have risen quite 75 per cent. in value within the last two or three years.

The choice of your stock decided, there are three different ways of getting it. You can first of all buy it on "the range," which is the quickest, and, if you exercise due caution, fairly sure, but withal the most expensive way. The cattle are bought so many head, "more or less;" but as taking the census and the control over vast herds belonging to a number of different owners, roaming at large over large tracts of country, is naturally not easy, this mode leaves a good many openings for sharp-witted "cussedness," to which the the newly arrived "tender foot" very frequently falls victim. The second way, and for newly arrived settlers by far the most to be

preferred, is to make contracts with any of the large and responsible drovers for a number of cattle of a certain breed and age, about 75 per cent. of the cows to have calves, the stock to be delivered at a specified time at your ranche, you stipulating a heavy forfeit (often as large as £3,000 or £4,000) in case of non-fulfilment of contract; besides which the purchaser has the option of rejecting animals not perfectly healthy or according to agreement. Generally a year, however, elapses ere you receive your herd; for, say you sign contracts in Wyoming in autumn, the cattle will be bought in Oregon by the driver in early spring, and the whole summer will pass ere the herd reaches Wyoming. The third, and originally the only way of procuring your stock, is to go yourself to Texas or Oregon, buy your cattle there from different owners, and start with them for your distant home as soon as the warm May sun has turned the vast Plains an emerald green. The process of driving cattle is called "riding on trail," one of the most laborious and dreary undertakings imaginable, of which we shall have to speak a little farther on. This, though the cheapest, is also for "tender feet" the most risky mode of getting stock.

There are to-day two different ways of conducting the stock business "out West." The one, to which I shall refer in a few words, is to buy young steers, keep them two years on your range, and sell them as four-year-olds to market. Per head the increase in value varies between $10 and $15 (£2 to £3); thus enabling the rancheman very nearly to double his capital in that short space of time, provided his losses do not exceed 5 per cent., and he has luck on his side.

The other manner is to *raise* stock, buying Texas, Oregon, or Utah cows, and the necessary number of Eastern or English bulls. This, if from the first you make up your mind not to sell a single animal for the first three years, is in the end far more profitable than the mere "feeding-up" of stock; formerly fewer men went into it, on account of the larger capital required to keep the concern going for the first three years with no incoming funds; but the last few years have brought, as the large profits of the business became better known in the East, larger capital, and now it is the favourite with men tempted by a very fair chance of making a fortune in five or six years to go West.

In an account published elsewhere,[1] I furnished detailed estimates, based upon the most trustworthy authorities, examined by me personally, of the increase of cattle in a certain number of years, and the profits accruing to the stockman from it. I placed the amount invested at the outset at £10,000, and proved that the profits at the end of three years amounted to £8,800. This with fair luck, and losses taken at 5 per cent. each year consecutively. Of course the rate of

(1) *Field*, 31st January.

increase grows considerably larger in subsequent years, as 75 per cent. of all cows have calves annually; at least this is the generally accepted percentage in Wyoming and Montana, some few putting it as high as 80, others 70 per cent.

The whole subject of stock-raising on the Western Plains is attracting very general and deserved attention in the Eastern cities, and numbers of young men of good family start, or are started annually by their friends, the capital invested varying from £2,000 to £20,000; but even with a smaller start money can be made, and not a few of the independent stockmen I met, often undeniable "tender-feet," greenhorns still, who now were rapidly trebling their thousand or two thousand dollars, had sprung from the lowest social rank. Others, recruited from the middle classes of the States, had two or three years ago been railway conductors, hotel-keepers, Western merchants, petty civil service servants, and, quite a number, trappers and Indian scouts.

A considerable number of the former (trappers) had served as guides to rich English sportsmen, on their shooting tours in the Rocky Mountains, and had been started by them with a few thousand dollars. I have heard of some half-dozen gentlemen in England who are reported to draw 15 and 20 per cent. interest from the capital they advanced to their former camp-fireside companions.

In the United States, where "tall" talk is so common, the numerous accounts that have been published of late of Western stock-raising all exhibit this national failing. Of the dozens I have had occasion to peruse, all were more or less overcoloured. The profits, according to them, were more like those of the old-day Texas cattle trade than the actual truth, namely, from 28 to 30 per cent. per annum the average of three years, and about 40 per cent. per annum the average of seven years. They would be considerably greater (as the stock after the fourth and fifth year increases at a startling rate) were it not necessary to take into account the chance of one very bad winter out of seven, when the losses much exceed 5 per cent.

Nothing will give a better picture of a stockman's fortune in those wild regions than a sketch from life. Let us select Mr. Iliff, one of the best-known cattlemen of Colorado and Wyoming, recently deceased. Mr. Iliff was one of the many thousands who, in the great Pike Peak's Gold excitement in 1859, crossed with frenzied energy the Great American Desert, as the vast tract of desert-like land intervening between the Mississippi and Colorado was then still called. Unlike the majority of his brethren who, after a short spell of fruitless work awoke to the stern reality that gold could not be picked up in panfuls, either returned home, or pushed still farther West towards California, founding on their way that fabulously rich silver state Nevada, Iliff remained on the spot, threw shovel, pan, and rocker aside, and settled down to cultivate a small patch of

ground near Denver, then a city of less than a hundred miserable shanties, and peopled with the roughest of the rough; for the numerous "hanging trees" which cleared off the most desperate elements in subsequent years had then not yet grown up. Iliff was not over fond of those dark sides of frontier life, and being himself "not on the shoot," decided to move North. "Moving" was, and is, a very simple affair in the West. Iliff, perfectly destitute when he came to Denver from the mines, had managed to save sufficient in the one season of his residence in that town, where the garden-truck vegetables raised by him found a very ready market, to buy a pony and some few provisions, and a rifle. Loading them on his horse, he turned his back on "lively" Denver and his primitive "dug-out," his home for the last six months. He reached the northern Californian (Mormon) emigrant road, about one hundred and sixty miles north of his late home in autumn, and at once set to work to build himself a log shanty, which he completed before the worst weather of winter could surprise him. He had, so he stated in later years, only a few dollars in his pocket, a small cask of whisky, and a little store of tobacco, with which he hoped to trade with the Mormons, and other emigrants passing over that weary road in the season, often as many as a hundred per diem, while in winter he was months without seeing a civilised being; the pony express, and later the stage, passing on the "Southern Road," much to the south of his "location."

With the emigrants, generally as poor as himself, he bartered his whisky, tobacco, and other necessaries of life which he gradually managed to "lay in;" taking in exchange cattle, of which all Western-bound emigrants took with them as large a number as their means would allow, for not only did they furnish them with milk in the totally uninhabited regions through which they journeyed for five and six weary months, but they were at the same time the most valuable stock-in-trade of the new settlers in their distant homes. Many of the Eastern raised cattle, however, accustomed to other feed and plenty of water, succumbed to the bovine hardships of the trip; and so Iliff drove many a sharp bargain, giving a few glasses of precious whisky, which seemed to the parched emigrants—having been by the time they passed Iliff's store already two or three months on the road—the very elixir of life, or a pound or so of tobacco, for a broken-down cow or tottering steer—mere walking raw-boned ghosts of their former selves. Some miles from his shanty he had discovered, amid some sheltering but very broken hill country, a very oasis in the Alkaline desert, a considerable tract of good hayland, with an ever-flowing creek traversing it.

To this place he drove his purchases, and the nutritious bunch grass and total rest, so strange to their weary limbs of late, soon fattened them up to their pristine condition. Iliff showed in this

predilection for cattle a singular foresight; for, as the end proved, the dollars so invested accumulated at a rate before which even the 24 and 30 per cent. per annum which Western banks in those days gave for ready cash deposits were as nothing; and, moreover, it was storing up money in perhaps the only safe way. The Plains from the Rocky Mountains to the eastern portions of Nebraska and the Missouri were, as everybody will remember, overrun by hostile Indians, and the scene of countless massacres. Iliff's shanty was twice burnt over his head by the red men, he escaping each time with nought but his life.

Cattle in those days had, in the eyes of Indians, unlike horses and everything else white men possessed, no value; hence he found on his return to his desolated home that his bovine riches, grazing quietly in the hills fifteen or twenty miles from the road, had not been tampered with by the white man's enemy, who, still happy possessors of matchless hunting grounds, held beef in utter contempt as "squaw's game." For ten years Iliff, like so many other venturesome spirits, braved the perils of the Plains; and the first locomotive that passed over the Union Pacific Railroad, in close proximity of his ranche, found him a rich man. Not only had he found a splendid market for his beef in the numberless railroad camps while the road was building, but, while formerly he had no human habitation nearer than forty miles, Cheyenne, a city of ten thousand inhabitants, had sprung up over-night not ten miles from his home.

His range, on the frontier of Wyoming and Colorado, extended already, in 1872, from Interburgh to Greely, a distance of more than one hundred and fifty miles, and about one hundred miles broad, on which were grazing for years forty thousand head of cattle, representing £160,000, all belonging to the man who scarce ten years before had driven the first stake of his shanty.

What is most instructive about such a career is, that Iliff had in no way to thank luck for his success. His losses were often very great; thus, in the exceptionally severe and long winter of 1871-2, cattle to the value of £25,000 starved, and above £21,000 were spent by him in spring to find strayed animals, some of which, in the agony of a slow death by hunger, had strayed four hundred miles in search of food, part of his herds being finally recovered in two different States and from different territories of the United States.

While thousands of his former mining comrades had returned to their Eastern homes half-starved desperadoes, and hundreds had found a lonely grave in the mountains of Colorado, a few—a very few, alas!—had been favoured by luck and had found great riches, to be squandered again in the most incredibly reckless manner, he had pursued his course with singular perseverance, and besides leaving his heirs millionaires, had enjoyed for the last seven years

of his life, from his cattle, quite apart from other speculations, an income of upwards of £25,000 per annum.

The first cattle ranche started in Colorado was that of Colonel J. D. Henderson, who, starting from Kansas in the spring of 1859, bound for the gold mines at Pike's Peak, was one of the first to realise that raising cattle was more profitable than gulch gold mining. He had taken out with him on a waggon a stock of groceries and a few barrels of whisky. His first trade with a band of Uli Indians secured him, for two barrels of the precious liquor, a large island in the Platte River, below Denver. A stout and roomy log hut and cattle corrals were built with the aid of the Indian squaws, who, while their noble lords were lying around disposing of their "trade," helped to drag the logs from the nearest forest; and very soon Henderson Island became a favourite rendezvous and stopping place for Mountain-bound gold-diggers and emigrants. In 1861 Henderson had already two thousand head of cattle, and trade was brisk. Whisky, sold in drinks at 2s. each, returning £5 per gallon, while a cow could often be bought for considerably less.

The wonderfully rapid growth of ranching in Colorado—which only became a state four years ago—is proved by the fact that in 1871 only 145,916 head of cattle were assessed for taxation, while, six years later, 483,278 were returned, the present number being estimated between 850,000 and 900,000 head.[1] In 1877, 80,000, in 1878, 88,000 beeves were "shipped," *i.e.* sent by rail, mostly to Chicago, while the home demand of Colorado in the latter year accounted for quite 20,000. Thus in one year the sale of 108,000 beef steers realised for the new state (at £5 per head) considerably over half a million sterling.

"Riding on trail," to which I have already referred, is an undertaking requiring on the part of the leader great experience, the intuitive natural talent of the trapper skilled in "Plains craft," and the astute genius of a commander—adroit, firm, of quick eye, and of quicker hand with the pistol. From the chief cattle centres in Texas it takes from four to six months, from Oregon not much less, of constant travel to reach north-western Wyoming. Great mountain ranges have to be crossed; vast stretches of dreary, absolutely barren, plains to be traversed; rivers full of dangerous quicksands, in which whole herds have been known to perish, and streams given to the most terrifically sudden freshets to be forded; long expanses of barren, ashy-hued alkaline desert land, where for forty or fifty miles not a drop of precious water is to be found, to be crossed; and all this with three, four, or five thousand semi-wild cattle, straight from their pathless home, unaccustomed to the sight

(1) In sheep the increase has been even more rapid, for while ten years ago Colorado had less than 20,000, it has now 2,000,000. These latter figures I obtain from Mr. Fosset's reliable work on Colorado published last year.

of human beings, and only too easily startled into a frenzied stampede, resulting in general disaster. All this, through countries where Indians, if not actually hostile, are always ready for a haul, and where Nature herself, in the shape of terrific thunderstorms and early snowstorms, seems to delight in wrecking the fortunes of the adventurous frontierman.

Let us examine the "outfit" of a party riding on trail, say with a herd of four thousand cattle. "Outfit," in the language of the West, describes almost anything, from a wife with six children or a bunch of beeves, to the camping kit of an English sporting party. In this instance the outfit consists of the captain and four or five cowboys, a large waggon with tarpaulin cover, to hold provisions and bedding, a boy cook, and a bunch of cow ponies, numbering from forty to sixty head, which, if the start is made from Texas, can be bought there for less than £3, and sold at their destination for quite double their original cost. As the ponies will be wanted at the ranche they are usually not sold at the termination of the journey. Not infrequently one or two hundred are driven along with the cattle as a speculation, the cowboys making a purse covering the purchase and the extra hire of a man to attend them.

Until very recently the journey was generally made in company with two or three similar outfits, for the countries through which runs the well-known old Texas trail was infested with hostile Indians, and equally dangerous bands of "greaser" (Mexican) highway robbers. The men are all well armed, and some terrible stories of wholesale slaughter cling to the road.

Thunderstorms, the chief danger during the summer months in those regions, are very terrifying to cattle. On the approach of one the whole force, cook included, is ordered on duty. The spare horses are carefully fed and tethered, and the herd is "rounded up," *i.e.* collected in as small a space as possible, while the men continually ride round them, calling to each other in not too loud tones, for, like horses, cattle derive on such occasions courage from the human voice and the close proximity of man. While the thunder peals and the lightning flashes with a vividness much more intense than any I have ever seen in Europe, the frightened beasts watch with lowered heads and tails poised, the slow, steady pace of the horsemen, and no doubt derive from it a comforting sense of protection. Very often, however, a steer, more intensely alarmed than the rest, and unable to control his terror, will make a dash through a convenient opening in the guardian chain. The crisis is at hand, for the example will surely be followed, and in two minutes the whole herd of four thousand head will have broken away—stampeding, as it is called—a surging mass of bellowing, terrified beasts, rushing headlong through the pitchy darkness to destruction. It is a

thoroughly striking and exciting scene, and the one great stampede of over five thousand head I once saw left an indelible impression on my mind. Fancy an inky night, the claps of thunder of appalling loudness, the ground not only entirely strange to the men, but very broken and full of dangerously steep watercourses and hollows, and you will have a picture of a cowboy's duty during a stampede. *Coûte qui coûte,* they must head off the leaders of the herd. Once fairly off, they will stampede twenty, thirty, and forty miles at a stretch, many of the cattle being killed by falls or trodden to death, while many "bunches" will stray from the main herd. Not alone the reckless riders, rushing headlong at breakneck speed over dangerous ground in dense darkness, but also the horses—small, insignificant beasts, but matchless for hardy endurance and willingness—are perfectly aware how much depends upon their showing speed on that night, if it kills them.

Unused until the last moment remains the heavy cowhide "quirt" or whip, and the powerful spurs, but in reality less cruel than ours, with jingling rowels the size of five-shilling pieces. Urged on by a shout, they speed alongside the terrified steers until they manage to reach the leaders, and finally swinging round, and fearless of horns, they endeavour to press the bellowing brutes to swerve to one side. All the men pursuing the same tactics, the headlong rush is at last checked, and the animals, panting and lashing their heavy sides with their tails, are brought to a stand, and the herd or what remains of it, is rounded up. It is dangerous work, and many a light-hearted cowboy has lost his life in stampedes; one minute a rollicking swinging youth, the next a shapeless mass, trodden down and stamped into the ground as the surging herd pass over horse and rider, who have come to grief through a fatal stumble in a prairie log or gopher-hole. The run has taken the cattle far out of their road, led them may be into close proximity of hostile Indians or crafty Mexican border ruffians; and when finally dawn breaks, new dangers may await the small contingent, who, as is often the case on such occasions, do not leave their saddles save to change horses for thirty-six hours. It is especially on the trail that the first-class qualities of the Texan cowboy shine forth—always provided that their leader is to their heart.

The herd and the dust-begrimed, weary men, after their long summer's journey, at last arrive at their future home. Work begins only then; the ranche, or house, and the "corral" have to be built; a stock of hay, if such is procurable, laid in; the cattle branded, and then carefully distributed over the range: here a thousand herd; there, twenty miles farther, five hundred; and so on till the whole herd is "turned out." Not always is the long journey accomplished in one season; unforeseen obstacles—early snowstorms or other causes—may have delayed them on the road,

obliging the party to "lay over" the winter. This they do by stopping at the first unoccupied grazing-land they reach. A temporary ranche is erected, the waggon with a couple of men despatched to the next settlement, often a hundred miles off, to fetch provisions for the winter, and there they remain till spring, when the "cow-camp" is broken up and the party proceed towards their destination; eighteen months and more intervening in such cases between the day the owner set out on his voyage to purchase his cattle and the day they reach their future home.

The social features of stock-raising are as peculiar as the natural ones; and if we follow the steps of the more adventurous ranchemen, pushing Westwards, edging the red man from his happy hunting-grounds, and replacing the buffalo and elk with domestic kine, we read also a piece of frontier history.

The peopling of a new territory is an interesting study. We see the tide of emigration, called forth by the discovery of gold, sweep over the land; a period of crazy speculation and lawless ruffianism ensues, only to end in another Westward start for new fields, leaving behind a small residuum—the "colour in the gold-washer's pan"—or, in other words, the less adventurous but more industrious and thrifty, hence a valuable portion of the emigratory horde, as the founders of a new community. This, gradually outgrowing the limits of a territory, is transformed into a state, adding another star to the country's great banner.

For the last ten years the ranchemen have played a very prominent part in the peopling of new countries; and generally of there which, by their elevation or poorness of soil, could not be turned to any other use. Not a few of Western cities subsist on the stock business; and Wyoming and Montana would no doubt be still the dreary uninhabited steppe deserts they were a decade ago, were it not for the stock-breeder.

There are a good many false notions abroad respecting the general character of Western men. Of the old-time gold-digger we have a series of unpleasantly faithful pictures in the writings of certain clever American authors; but it would be a great mistake to apply their mould to all others, and especially to stockmen, whom, as a rule, I found to be a thrifty, energetic, and very hospitable class. Strangers, and particularly Englishmen, will be struck by this last feature, all the more welcome in those uncivilised regions, inhabited in our fancy by a race of desperados, whose only law is the revolver, whose only god is whisky, and whose one prayer is foul-mouthed blasphemy. This, however, is not so, though naturally, as in all new countries where society is jumbled together of the most heterogeneous elements, where one neighbour is a gentleman by birth and education, whose love for a roving life has led him to exchange a luxurious existence in Eastern cities for one of activity and adven-

ture in the West; the other, as a strange contrast, a rough, uncouth Western-raised "Bear-claw Jim," or "Long-knife Dick," who, after a quarter of a century's adventure in the wilds of Arizona, New Mexico, or Texas, has now settled down to steady work on his ranche—the English settler will for some time sadly miss the social laws which govern the intercourse of different classes in the old world. At first, he will not like the independence of the cowboy under him, who by look and manner will let him know that the question who is the better man of the two has long been settled in his own mind. His hands will itch when some saucy "Do it yourself" is the only answer he receives to some order concerning a matter not quite within the scope of his "help's" duties. In time he will get accustomed to the ways and manners of the country, and if there is no false pride about him, the good points of the English character, to which none are more keenly alive than the free-and-easy Western men, will have gained him not only the good-will but the devoted attachment of the reckless characters surrounding him.

To speak of my own experience, I may mention that often cold, hungry, and weary I rode up to an isolated cattle ranche, bespeaking a meal and shelter for the night. The best of everything would be offered. Hay, always scarce in those regions, would be given to my horse, and the snuggest corner, the warmest blankets be forced upon me. Many times have I extended my visit for two or three days and yet not a penny would my hosts accept on parting. To this I would fain tag a word of warning to Englishmen intending to settle as cowboys. It is "to do as others do." That marked feature of America, social equality, which, while it has often a way of expressing itself in a very extravagant and disagreeable fashion, is undoubtedly a main factor in the unusually rapid growth of the Great West, must never be forgotten by the English settler. A man out West is a man, and let him be the poorest cowboy he will assert his right of perfect equality with the best of the land, betraying a stubbornness it is vain and unwise to combat. This is an old truth, and numberless writers have expatiated upon it. In connection with the cattle business, it is, however, of tenfold importance; in no vocation is popularity more essential than in this, for let a man receive once the name of being possessed by unsociable pride, and there will not be a man in the country who, while he otherwise would gladly share his last pipe of tobacco or cup of coffee with him, will not then be ready and willing to spite or injure him. In no business is a man so dependent upon his neighbours, so open to petty annoyances, and so helplessly exposed to vindictive injury to his property, as in stock-raising out West.

W. Baillie Grohman.

COUNTY CONSTITUENCIES—A PLAN OF REFORM.

Some suggestions there are, the bare statement of which, at any rate in the opinion of those who make them, is more calculated to convince the mind than any arguments by which they can be defended or explained. Such, I firmly believe, is the plan of Reform I am about to propose in regard to the representation of counties. I shall not, therefore, imitate the example of wary and ingenious writers, who are apt to clear the way for their proposals by a preliminary examination of difficulties to be overcome or conditions to be fulfilled, so managed as to lead the reader's mind in the direction they desire; but I shall begin by stating in the fewest possible words the plan by which, as I believe, redistribution of seats in counties can be easily and equitably accomplished. By all means let the plan, in the first instance, speak for itself.

I assume that through the agency of universal household suffrage the franchise in counties will be assimilated with that in boroughs,[1] and that the old distinction between the two will practically disappear. For form's sake, I also confine my proposal to the agricultural or less thickly populated counties, though I see no reason why it should not be extended to others where the towns are more in number or larger in population. So understood then, it runs as follows: "Abolish the representation of counties and of divisions of counties, and instead thereof divide the county into as many districts (each to return one member) as it has at the present moment members of its own, together with those of its small boroughs that are not important enough to stand alone." From this it would follow as a corollary, "that the small boroughs should be, if possible, in every case the centre and capital of the new districts, and that large towns at present represented either insufficiently or not at all should draw their members from the second seats of boroughs too large to be altogether disfranchised, but not large enough to retain two representatives."

It would of course be necessary, even while we disclaim any pedantic desire for mere equality, in some few cases to withdraw seats from one county to give them to another. The unequal distribution of small boroughs over the face of the country would render this here and there obligatory. I am, however, concerned at present with the general principle, and not with the details, which, it must surely be apparent, would present the least possible difficulty when once the principle was established. Assuming then, *argumenti causâ*,

(1) In writing this I have not forgotten the existence of that patriarchal person, the parent of all existing voters, the 40s. freeholder. Will household suffrage in county districts tolerate his retaining his place among the county voters without demanding for itself the same privilege in boroughs? This is not for me to say, but my plan of Reform does not make of necessity any change in his position.

that the two counties I have in mind would retain their present quota of members, I proceed to illustrate the operation of my plan by a reference to the cases of Oxfordshire and the North Riding of Yorkshire, of which I have some personal knowledge. Oxfordshire, a constituency extending to the preposterous length of some sixty miles, has three county members, and contains one distinctly small borough, Woodstock, and another semi-small one, Banbury, which would probably require some addition to enable it to maintain its position under the demand for fresh members that would be caused by the extension of the franchise to the country labourers. By the plan suggested the county would be divided into five districts, whereof Woodstock and Banbury would be two, and the remaining three would be grouped round such places as Bicester, Witney, Thame, Henley, and Chipping Norton. We may add that the population of Oxfordshire at the next census (exclusive, of course, of Oxford itself) might be calculated at about one hundred and fifty thousand, so that each district would contain a population of about thirty thousand persons.

The North Riding of Yorkshire returns two members only, and (excluding the border borough of Malton, which would naturally gravitate towards the insufficiently represented East Riding) contains three small boroughs, Richmond, Northallerton, and Thirsk, and one semi-small one, Whitby. It would therefore be divided quite naturally and easily into six districts, a new one being formed in the north-east mineral district, with probably the ancient and thriving town of Guisborough for its centre, and one in the south for the large and purely agricultural population that groups itself round the three towns of Pickering, Helmsley, and Kirby Moorside. I give these details merely to illustrate the extreme simplicity with which the plan would work, but as no one has yet been commissioned by authority to fix the future ratio of population to representatives, it would be obviously futile to enter more at length into the minutiæ of the necessary arrangements. Any one who feels at all interested could easily test the working of the plan by reference to counties or localities with which he is acquainted.

Before proceeding to expound the arguments for the plan just briefly sketched, I should like to ask, and that with some confidence, are there any *obvious* objections to counterbalance its obvious advantages? No doubt there is enough of novelty in the scheme to make some mental demand upon that, so to call it, Conservative originality which is a plant of far too rare growth in these days of ours. But whatever there is of manifest and natural objection, all resolves itself into this: that the change involves (apparently, not really) a large departure from ancient constitutional usage, and inflicts a blow upon sentimental, but none the less respectable, associations connected with our old English representation by counties.

To this I make the somewhat Irish but perfectly fair reply, that this sentiment and this usage have been far too much disturbed already; and, secondly, that they would not be disturbed at all.

Upon this point I confess I am sensitive; I mean as to usage and sentiment. Those whose minds are saturated with the philosophy of evolution will, I think, discern within themselves a keen desire to get rid of the practical evils that under the form of "survivals" impede the progress of society, together with a tender regard for old names and ancient forms which, as they were once instinct with the breath of human life and progress, must always have had a value of their own, and may not improbably come to have use and value once again. But then what scanty respect has our reforming policy paid to county constituencies! It has cut them up, east, west, north, south, and middle; dissected them with imaginary and artificial lines; carved inert masses out of their dead bodies; put new capitals into the place of old ones, and introduced confusion and disorder into the political map of England. Surely one primary condition required of the name of a constituency is that it should call up to the mind of an ordinary reader the localities and the population comprised within it. Will any average man undertake to say off hand what is precisely meant by North Warwickshire or West Worcestershire (I hope I have got the names right), while to understand the county representation of Lancashire or the West Riding involves a previous study of the points of the compass. It is, I fear, much too late to invoke the genius of sentiment and tradition against any proposed alteration of this kind, but it is not at all impossible to show that the alteration in question is by no means inconsistent with them.

A not unhappy illustration might be drawn from that reform in the Law Courts, which, while fusing them into one High Court of Justice, managed to preserve the ancient names and some of the old special functions. Just so let the members for the districts be still members for the county, carrying on the traditions of the old county party. Each county would have its quota of representatives; the high sheriff might still be the returning officer for all the districts within his own jurisdiction; the formal declaration of the poll might still take place at the County Hall, and men be declared knights of the shire with the accustomed formalities. And would any serious harm be done if the junior member for Oxfordshire, instead of being (ridiculous misnomer!) the "minority member," were to be called, legally and technically, Knight of the Shire of Oxford, district of Witney? I am, however, well aware that before even so small a change as this can be effected, good cause must be shown in the way of plain and positive advantages to be derived from it. I adduce, therefore, the six following, taking them in the order in which they seem to arise naturally one from another:—

(1.) A solution would be afforded upon an intelligible and almost self-working principle for the vexed problem of redistribution of seats.

(2.) The small boroughs would not be disfranchised, but enfranchised anew.

(3.) The new, or rather reformed, constituencies would be well adapted for electoral purposes.

(4.) They would also form new municipalities to stand between the parish or unit of administration and the county.

(5.) There would be a substitution on a considerable scale of single or one-membered constituencies for double.

(6.) Readjustment of electoral power according to the shifting of population would be made easy.

The above form a goodly row of sound and solid advantages calculated to strike the imagination of the practical political mind, and they will bear examination a little more in detail.

(1.) Every one knows that the question of redistribution, owing to its manifest intricacy and inherent difficulty, stands in the way of the movement for Reform and abates the ardour of the reforming spirit. When the claims of the agricultural labourers to the franchise are mooted the Conservative reply is generally something of this sort: "*Of course*, household suffrage is all very well, and *we* are the last persons in the world to object to it, but how about the inevitable redistribution of seats?" It must be confessed that the answer has a somewhat chilling and depressing effect. It suggests at once the difficulty of finding a distinct and generally applicable principle upon which to proceed in dealing with our present confused and tangled representative system. Perhaps this accounts for that curious absence of all attempts to approach the subject and to set forth tentative schemes which, if they do nothing else, amuse the public mind, and betoken some amount of interest in the subject. There is rather a kind of unspoken pity for the statesman, whoever he may be, who has to deal with the difficulty. How is he to mediate between opposing interests—commercial and agricultural, town and country, wealth and population, north and south — amidst the watchful jealousies of contending parties, each anxious to steal a march upon the other, under the pretence of securing itself? Upon what principle is he to draw a hard and fast line as to population at the risk of destroying some ancient and immaculate little borough, while some hardened offender is just big enough to creep in above the line? Or how will he proceed to carve and mangle the already tortured bodies of the counties in order to cut out of them constituencies, if possible, more unreal and uninteresting than the present divisions? In a country like ours, where things have come down to us by use and wont during a history of a thousand years, and where the national mind in consequence resents and rejects the settlement of questions like this by the mere application of arithmetic or

valuation-lists, the difficulty is to find a method which shall approach somewhat nearer to scientific exactness and yet remain consistent with the old way of viewing things, and with the institutions to which that way has given birth. I submit confidently that this plan meets that difficulty, and that the adoption of it would bring a clear sense of relief to the troubled mind. The matter resembles one of those puzzles of which when the principle is discovered one goes to rest with the assurance that adjustment of details is only a question of time; and it has the further advantage that, if (which in the face of universal household suffrage consented to by both parties I strongly deprecate) any question is to be raised as to the effect of the reform upon party interests, it would seem that both parties would gain and both would lose something. Liberal boroughs would in some cases be united with and perhaps merged in more rural and Conservative places, while Conservatives would find that small towns might exercise a Liberal influence in their choicest preserves. But who can tell how the new voters would go at first, or how long they would go on as they began? Lord Beaconsfield has more than once expressed and displayed a disregard for these party manipulations of electoral districts which good Liberals should be the first to acknowledge and imitate.

(2.) I have already touched upon the difficulty of dealing with the small boroughs, which certainly might be expected to fight hard for their own existence. And surely their case is a hard one—is, indeed, acknowledged to be so by the very timidity with which successive Reform projects have approached them. The strength of their case lies in this, not that they afford a refuge for genius in difficulties or statesmanship in disfavour (a purely ideal use for fulfilling which I for one should not think the better of them), but that for the purposes of representation they so exactly resemble their bigger brethren. Hitherto they have returned the same sort of members in the same sort of way—good and bad alike; though there have appeared, perhaps, of late some signs of falling off, which a larger life and increased numbers would correct. But let us remember they have returned members to Parliament ever since Parliament began to be, and have got thoroughly used to it and enjoy it. They are not especially corrupt, nor in any fair sense of the word decaying, still less, like their predecessors of fifty years ago, dead and buried. They reflect all the lights and shadows, the curious varieties and astonishing phenomena of our political life. Some—for instance, Northallerton—perhaps owing to the fact that in pre-reform days two rival houses divided the representation, are practically as independent as Manchester or Liverpool, while others are as much at the beck of some powerful family as a rural county is in the hands of the leading landlords—for instance, Richmond, where nothing short of a political earthquake would detach the

voters from their allegiance to their great neighbour at Aske. But even in respect of smallness, which is the one and not a popular or pleasing argument against them, the small boroughs, if they knew their strength, might make out a good case for themselves; for they are small only in what Mr. Bumble would have called a "porochial" sense, that is, when measured by the boundaries of the old civil or rather ecclesiastical parish. "We are," they might say, and will, I hope, say loudly now that I have drawn their brief, "each of us the centre of a number of places, with populations varying in the aggregate from fifteen thousand to thirty thousand, and forming a natural constituency with an organic life of its own. Within these limits the people are clients of our lawyers, patients of our doctors, customers at our banks, public-houses, and shops, buyers and sellers in our streets. We know each other's faces, opinions, interests, business, property, and character. We are already united for important public purposes, such as pauperism, health, taxation, roads, and education. If, then, we are to choose between annihilation and union with the district of which we should remain the capital, we unhesitatingly prefer the latter." I am afraid that in the majority of cases there would have to be two or even more small towns (not however boroughs) with their surrounding villages, to make up the district; but even so the same argument would hold good in respect of towns distant only a few miles from each other, and united by many links and affinities that would tend, after a little friction at first, to combine them into one constituency.

(3.) If there is any truth or force in the above plea for small boroughs, it would follow that by disfranchising them we should not only be engaging upon a perilous undertaking, but should be depriving ourselves of the materials for establishing new constituencies well adapted to be the framework of our political life. Is it not a sound rule that the more numerous the voters the smaller should be the electoral area? Will any of my readers who may have the gift of a powerful imagination try to grasp the idea of sixty, or even thirty, miles of voters, mostly agricultural labourers? But I may have to return to this point again, and will, therefore, merely say now that even with the present suffrage no political vitality can exist, or, as a matter of fact, does exist, in counties like Oxfordshire, which reaches from Banbury to Henley, or the North Riding, which reaches from Richmond to Scarborough: in neither of which, let me add, was there any contest at the late election. How many Oxfordshire electors are there, I wonder, who know other than vaguely the names of their three members, still less which of the three occupies the preposterous position of representing a minority? Nothing could be worse adapted for the performance of those important functions best described by the word electioneering; whereas in small districts these would present no extraordinary difficulty. It

would, of course, still be open to political parties to have a central organization for the county as a whole, thus retaining the old county feeling of united represention. But whatever might be the practice in this respect, such things as the selection of candidates, the organization of parties, the appeal to the electors by speeches and meetings, the discovery in what way political opinion was going, the detection of corrupt practices, would be, in the new districts, as easy as such things can be made to be, while the cost of election—that fatal obstacle to the growth of political spirit in too many counties—would be infinitely less. Much more might be not unprofitably urged upon this topic; but, after all, any man can think out the matter in the light of plain common sense, and decide for himself whether he would prefer to play the part of voter, leader, candidate, and, above all, member, in the larger or smaller constituency.

(4.) Municipal organization would naturally follow political, and the districts would provide a natural link between the parish, or unit of administration, and the county. But the consideration of this would lead us beyond our present purpose, and in the present state of things and of opinion about them might seem visionary and unpractical.

(5.) The next advantage, though perhaps it would not be generally admitted to be so, would be the creation of constituencies returning one member each instead of two, or even three. I grant at once that it would hardly be wise to agitate against the old system directly and of set purpose; but none the less would the alteration, if made indirectly and to serve other desirable ends, be productive of much benefit. No doubt in early and troublesome times the custom of returning two members for each place was adopted for valid and sensible reasons, which might be described in certain well-known words as being "the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity." But the need of this has passed away with those simpler times which gave it birth, and instead thereof have sprung into being certain well-known electoral evils natural to our more complex and artificial society. We are but too familiar with the tricks and shifts, the compromises and cross votings, the uncertainties and unsatisfactory results that are connected with dual representation. Of these the city of Oxford, where the stronger candidate, through standing alone, was beaten by means of the few second votes which his supporters gave to the one or other of his two rivals, afforded a striking illustration at the last election. But this is by no means the worst of the matter. Whenever in any dual constituency there is a strong minority, one of two most unsatisfactory results must follow. Either the minority succeeds (by cross voting or otherwise) in electing its candidate, or it fails. If the latter, then it complains loudly, and with great justice, that a small majority monopolizes the representation. If the former, then the majority, with even more

justice, complains that the representation being divided, the borough is, for party purposes, practically disfranchised. In single constituencies neither of these results can arise, for no minority, be it ever so strong, in its secret heart murmurs against a defeat which gives the majority the one member it has fairly won to itself; it is the possession of the second member that makes the sting of defeat to rankle and irritate. But I must confess, in the simplicity of my country-parsonic understanding, I am sometimes amazed to see how men will endure serious practical evils that spring from entirely artificial sources, or else from usages that have become antiquated and artificial from the mere flow of time and change of things. Whence, if not from such causes as this, comes that lassitude, obstructiveness, mere combativeness, and general inefficiency which have but too plainly marked the House of Commons in recent years? I suspect that a subtle connection exists, and might be traced by a stronger hand than mine, between the two.

(6.) We now come to the strongest point in my case, which, after the manner of forensic epicures, I have reserved to the last—the facility, namely, with which, under this plan, the disagreeable but inevitable task of disfranchisement could be carried out. There can be no making of omelettes without breaking of eggs, and there can be no satisfactory Reform that does not involve some readjustment of electoral power, and some loss of privileges hitherto enjoyed by certain favoured localities. Here, indeed, lies the difficulty of the case; we desire some fixed method of redistribution which will work fairly and easily all round, and will, in the long run, satisfy reasonable minds without creating too much disturbance, on the one hand, or acquiescing in gross inequalities, on the other. Is it not self-evident that these conditions are fulfilled by the plan we are discussing?

To illustrate its operation in actual working, let us take the case of our neighbours, the electorally famous county of Buckinghamshire, which under any scheme of Reform would be called upon to surrender some of its excessive electoral privileges. Bucks returns eight members altogether: three for the county; three for small boroughs—High Wycombe, Great Marlow, and Buckingham—and two for a district borough, Aylesbury, which forms an excellent precedent for the plan I am advocating. There is no large borough in the county. The population is nearly the same as Oxfordshire, and if we take, *pro hac vice*, the latter county as the type of what the ratio of representation should be to population, then Bucks would have to content itself with six electoral districts, whereof the existing boroughs (geographical considerations permitting) would constitute four, and two new ones would be formed, with centres at two of those small towns which bear names not unknown in the annals of Parliaments. Thus the county would lose two members (few would probably grudge if it saved one in the scramble), and

yet in such a way that it would be hard indeed to find a grievance that could be expressed in words, much more felt in reality. It would share the loss of its county members with every county in England, and it would retain its boroughs unimpaired, while its districts would not only resemble the districts of neighbouring counties, but would actually be framed upon the model of the most satisfactory constituency in it—the existing borough of Aylesbury. The process of redistribution would, in this and in similar cases, be like a surgical operation which, though disturbing and enfeebling, is performed so swiftly and deftly that the patient has no time to cry out or to feel hurt.

So far we have discussed the question of redistribution without special reference to the establishment of household suffrage in counties; but it is clear that whatever force there is in the above arguments will be intensified rather than diminished by the enormous increase in the number of voters; the case of small and single as against large and double constituencies grows with the growth of the electoral body. It would seem indeed self-evident that when the franchise in the counties is the same as the franchise in towns, the borough, and not the county (whose *raison d'être* was to represent a large area of property in one comprehensive sweep), becomes the natural type of the future constituencies. But the truth is, that questions going down to the very heart of the science of politics are hereby opened for us, and will require earnest and careful consideration at our hands.

We are on the eve of one of the greatest changes ever made by peaceable means in the constitution of this or of any other country, and it may well be that the absence of excitement, and even of enthusiasm, blinds public opinion to the importance of what it is about to do. It certainly detracts from that healthy and lively interest which ought to be aroused by a change so far-reaching, by a reform pregnant with so many possible consequences for good or for evil. It is well, therefore, to remind ourselves—do not Liberals require it?—of the advantages that make Reform desirable; and, again—do not Conservatives in their turn require it?—of the dangers that accompany so vast and decisive a transfer of political power. I am only concerned with these at present so far as they bear upon the kind of constituency, whether small or great, in which it is expedient that the new electors should be enrolled, a subject, be it observed in passing, that will in all probability be attracting attention in France about the time that our own Reform Bill is under discussion. The controversy between the respective merits of *scrutin de liste* and *scrutin d'arrondissement* presents a fair parallel to the controversy which I am endeavouring to raise between counties or divisions of counties and districts. Opinion in England seems on the whole to tend towards the decision that M. Gambetta is for once in the wrong in advocating the former, especially since the latter system has been already established by the

Conservatives (not that the French Reactionists deserve that honourable title), and has produced at a great crisis excellent Liberal results. May I not fairly claim both the experience of France and the judgment of English opinion upon French affairs as an argument for the plan I am proposing?

The reason why the agricultural labourers are going to have the franchise is merely that the national conscience is no longer satisfied with the spectacle of a large, perhaps the largest, class of Englishmen deprived of voice and influence in the government of their country. Put it as we please it comes round to this at last, that these men *ought* to have the power of expressing their wishes upon matters that concern them just as much as any other class in the country. Against this decision of the public conscience all arguments to the contrary fall flat and dead, so that, as a matter of fact, men have ceased to urge them. If, indeed, we were bound to defend the change by strictly utilitarian arguments, it would be well not to forget such facts as these: that nations require the strength that is derived from the union of all the available will-power; that we are so far behind France, and even other European nations, in respect of the extent of the franchise as to suggest some uneasy thoughts; that the country labourers are suffering serious evils from tangible grievances, which the possession of votes would tend to remove; that considering how rapidly they are beginning to grow in intelligence and education, it is in the highest degree unfair to make a distinction between them and their brethren in towns. All these reasons are sound enough, and decisive as to the point at issue, but I must affirm that personal experience has brought home to my mind one other argument which is worth them all put together.

The plain truth is, that the country labourers ought to have the franchise because they deserve to have it; and they deserve it not because of any pre-eminence in virtue, or of anything exceptional in character, but because they are at bottom so uncommonly like the rest of us. If, as we all know, there is a good deal of human nature in man, there is certainly a large amount of English human nature in the English rustic. "Scratch a country labourer and you will find an Englishman," with all the more characteristic marks of the breed strongly developed. There must, indeed, be an inherent vitality and capable vigorousness in the class that has survived the Poor Laws, the Land Laws, the Game Laws, and has managed until recent days to dispense with such trifles as education, decent dwellings, and sanitary conditions, and which, spite of all drawbacks, has furnished the nation with a never-ceasing supply of recruits in arts no less than in arms. They have many faults, for which their history is mainly responsible; and much capacity for virtue, which a more fortunate history will soon vivify and elicit. Of all men they are the least likely to depart from the wholesome

customs and sterling traditions of English life, to which they may be expected to bring an accession of rugged strength and sound, if untaught, common sense. But in saying this I must be understood to be confining myself to the character of the men, and not to be speaking of the character of their opinions, political or social; for he must be a wiser man than I who will undertake to predict what the opinions of men will turn out to be whose opinion has never been asked or taken about any subject that concerned themselves since, let us say, the days of Wat Tyler.

Just as plain as the necessity for granting household suffrage is the danger attending it. The number of agricultural labourers is so great as to swamp every other class of country voters. But England is an old country which has been governed hitherto by "interests," such as birth, property, wealth, knowledge, leisure, and the "professions," of which it may be said that in the vast expanse of rural constituencies they will be as men *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*. The problem for them and for the nation to solve is, how are they to keep their heads above the surface, so as to retain their natural and befitting influence in guiding the destinies of their country? Now, if we think for a moment of what ought to be the relation between numbers and interests (as defined above), the answer to the problem will not be difficult. It is the business, and I may add the real happiness and usefulness, of interests such as birth, property, and leisure to address themselves to the task of convincing the reason, and so guiding the will of the mass of their fellow-countrymen; and it is precisely in proportion as we trust our fellow-creatures, and try to think well of them, and make the best of them, that men find the task both hopeful and pleasant. A very common-place illustration will here serve our turn. The State may be compared to a steamship, in which the will of all its members is the propelling power, and the intelligence of its more enlightened members the regulating and guiding discipline. Now, in that word of large and healthy import, discipline, lies the gist of the argument for small *versus* large constituencies; it expresses the necessity and the advantage of so arranging things as that the intelligence of the minority, or, if you will, the opinions held by the "interests," shall have every fair and possible opportunity for ordering and informing the mass of voting power. They want a platform from which they can make their voices heard.

This view of the relation that ought to subsist between the multitude and minorities of all sorts is really so obvious that, but for the difficulty of getting new ideas realised, I should hardly care to dwell further upon it. Yet the phrase "new ideas" does my case an injustice. Is it not merely the application of principles with which we are familiar in the administration of justice to the sphere of politics? It sounds absurd enough upon the face of it to take pretty

nearly the first twelve men we meet, irrespective of character and calling, put them into a box, and bid them decide the most momentous questions that can affect human life; and yet all experience shows (perhaps evolution will one day prove) that, always *providing we take the best possible precautions for securing a full and impartial hearing*, no better tribunal can be devised than the average common sense of ordinary men who have heard and digested the arguments on both sides. Even so the great game of politics is at root a kind of trial by jury composed of average common sense, before which parties and interests, philosophers and statesmen, good advocates of bad causes, and bad advocates of good causes, do the best they can for their respective clients, while experience (with History as the court of appeal) makes shift to play the part of judge. There has been so much dignified talk about the "science of politics," that I should be ashamed of my homely and familiar analogy if I did not think that it would help plain people to a clearer conception of the reasons why there is, or ought to be, no danger in giving the multitude a vote if we also give minorities a hearing.

No one, we may rest well assured, would gain more from this reform than the "interests" themselves. I call them by this name because it expresses the fact that, along with a natural superiority in intelligence, capacity, or opportunity, which ought to be at the service of the community, they have also privileges of their own, acquired by their very intelligence, capacity, or opportunity in this or in former days, which they are more or less called upon to defend, and which it is essential to social wellbeing that they should have every chance of defending to the best advantage. Privilege that maintains itself by refusing power to the unprivileged multitude is always corrupting; it is only when it begins to feel itself upon its trial that it begins to make the best of itself. Now, we in the country, that is to say, members of privileged classes like myself, are not called upon to consult the wishes of the multitude among whom we dwell, and the result is, that though we mean no doubt to do well, we are certainly apt to be arrogant in our way of doing it. To take one instance, would not the country clergyman be much improved if he knew that he must consult the wishes of men upon whose vote the existence of himself and his Church depended? But, then, this once more implies that he should have every opportunity of pleading his case by the influence of his life and character before the neighbourhood in which he is known at his true worth, be it little or much, and of convincing his fellow-electors (if he can) that they would derive no benefit from his destruction, or, at least, do themselves no good at all commensurate with the harm they inflicted upon him.

The course of discussion has led us from the mere sketch of working details with which we begun, up to the principle upon which

they are based, and which may be expressed in what seems to me an incontestable proposition of common sense no less than of political science. Legitimate influence in politics is not that of reason only, but of reason plus the character and the position of those who exercise it. In an age in which morality has to an extent that I myself do not approve dethroned the ancient deities, reason, religion, knowledge, tradition, and the like, this argument ought surely to count for something. And it is the small constituency that affords the greatest scope for the moral and social influences of character and position. (This influence may, of course, be used for bad as for good purposes, but the point of my argument is, that it belongs in any case to the domain of morals, and, therefore, requires special encouragement.) Books, newspapers, speeches, in short all the apparatus of intellectual warfare, are much, but not everything, in politics; there is also the common talk of men who know each other and each other's motives and interests; there is the pressure of every-day life and business; there is the public opinion concerning men and things that grows out of familiar intercourse with them as they are. Upon this one phrase, I think, I could safely rest the case of small as against large constituencies, "facility of intercourse." Even truths of pure reason, such, for instance, as the conclusions of political economy, which, above all things else, the future electors should be taught, are not wholly, nor even chiefly, learnt by the "common people" at schools, or by lectures and books; they filter down as part of the common sense of mankind, from the better-instructed minds (not classes, be it observed, for mind is of all classes) down to the lower strata in the talk over the shop-counter and in the market-place, and wherever men do congregate, not excluding the despised taproom itself. And most men have a natural and wholesome preference for being convinced (which is a different thing from being aroused) by people they know and trust. Sensible persons are not prone to think concerning strangers what the old farmer thought concerning his parson, merely because he was his parson: "I thout a said whot a owt to 'a said," or even, "I thout a 'ad summut to saay." And this holds good—it is indeed a truism—even in the case of public and well-known men, who can only reach the mass of the people if they come to them recommended by trustworthy local opinion; and this, once more, is easier to get at in small and natural than in large and artificial constituencies.

Surely all this—and how much more might be added—is only a part or aspect of that genuine conservatism inherent in human society, which no Liberal, no Evolutionist at any rate, can treat with aught but respect and good-humour. The case of small as against large constituencies is simply that of natural as against artificial organization; the former supplies what the latter does not, facilities for the exercise of temper, mutual respect, and self-restraint, and a

fair scope for the influence of reputation and position, alongside of party passion and heated opposition, against which I only say this, that they do not need to be encouraged by any special arrangements. Quiet people ought to have their chance in quiet ways. To this may be added the still more important consideration, that the proportion of electors actually voting is likely to be larger as the constituency is smaller. True Liberalism requires that every man should have a vote and use it. True Conservatism requires that every interest should have, and use, a hearing. The division of the counties into districts would tend to accomplish both these purposes.

An examination of the relations that might be expected to exist between the new voters and the old in country districts arranged according to this plan would be an interesting and not impracticable undertaking. We might inquire how it would operate in forming, or ascertaining when formed, the opinion of peasant voters upon much debated social questions in which they are specially concerned, upon so-called class interests, upon matters of grave moment connected with trade, finance, foreign policy, war, and empire. But I must not attempt these now nor weaken my contention by the introduction of fresh topics. It must, I think, in candour be admitted that I have made out a strong case, even though so much has been left unsaid or barely hinted at. Every one, indeed, is liable to the common mistake of underestimating the force of difficulties or objections that appear self-evident to other persons. I can only honestly affirm, that if, with the exception of the interference with use and sentiment, I have not mentioned any, it is only because after full consideration I have not been able to find them. The ingenuity of party spirit trembling for the supremacy of its own side may, indeed, discover objections in abundance, but with these I am not concerned, being firmly convinced that in the presence of universal household suffrage such considerations are as futile as they are immoral.

At any rate, something will have been accomplished if people are set a thinking about the great and serious change to which, in theory, they have consented, without as yet taking the trouble to consider the best methods by which it may be carried out. We may depend upon it that quiet as these things seem now, troublesome days are in front of us before the much-needed, little-talked-of Reform is finally achieved, and we may even live to see the Conservative party bent upon carrying a scheme of redistribution that would retain, or even extend, the principle of large constituencies in the interests of the comparatively few men who are possessed of wide social influence. Let Liberal Reformers be prepared with their policy beforehand, so as not a second time to be caught in confusion and uncertainty. Let them find a better and more equitable plan than mine if they can; and if they cannot, let them not disdain the hand that offers them this.

T. W. Fowle.

ARE WE ENGLISHMEN?

Opinion always moves by see-saw. First of all, it receives an impulse in one direction, and then it suffers a reactionary rebound toward the opposite side. Next comes a second impulse, and after it a second rebound. Thus, slowly adjusting itself at each rhythmical swing, it finally reaches an equilibrium. The interesting question of British ethnography has passed through the two primary phases in such a rhythm; the object of the present paper is (if possible) to give a slight fresh upward start to the side that is just at this moment touching the ground.

Fifty years ago everybody spoke of "the Ancient Britons" as our ancestors. Histories of England began with the invasion of Caius Cæsar the dictator, and chronicled the advent of "the Saxons" as a mere episode in our national life. A wild philology derived obviously Teutonic words from Keltic roots as glibly as it affiliated Greek verbs upon a fanciful Hebrew origin. The corporations of English boroughs pretended to a sort of Apostolic succession from Roman municipia; and the Tower of London traced its foundation to a personage known in those innocent days as "Julius Cæsar." The fashion of ignoring the distinction between British and English, a fashion derived from the influence of Tudor kings and strengthened by the Union, led the whole world to talk of England as if it were in reality Wales. But during the present generation a great reaction has set in. Mr. Freeman has never ceased to beat into our heads the simple fact that the English people and the English language are English, and not Welsh, or any other like thing. He has utterly demolished that foolish word "Anglo-Saxon," which long hid from our eyes the true continuity of English life. He has shown us a thousand times, and almost taught us to remember, that Alfred the Great was an Englishman; and that the chronicle which probably first took shape under his care, if not from his own pen, is written simply in good old English, and not in any unknown Saxon tongue. What Mr. Freeman sowed, Mr. Green watered; and every reader of the weekly journals is now in a position to laugh Anglo-Saxons to scorn, and to discourse of the reign of Æthelred as familiarly as he discourses of Karl the Great or of the Holy Roman Empire.

In this reaction, however, as in every other, there is a great danger of the pendulum swinging back too far on the other side, and so overshooting the middle line of truth. While fully allowing

with Mr. Freeman that the so-called Angles, Saxons, and Jutes who settled down in south-eastern Britain during or after the decadence of the Roman power were all alike Englishmen, and all spoke in its pristine purity the English mother tongue which we ourselves use to the present day, it may yet be worth while to inquire how far the existing nation known as English is really composed of their direct descendants, and how far it has been adulterated in later times by a foreign and, as Mr. Freeman doubtless believes, an inferior admixture. A simple instance will make the question clear. Champions of the modern school are fond of laughing at those old-fashioned people who spoke of the dark-skinned Silures and the blue-stained Brigantes as "our ancestors;" but is it quite certain that they are not themselves equally wrong in applying the same phrase to the men who came over with Ælla to Sussex, or with Ida to Northumbria? If the first were not the forefathers of the men who now live in Kent and Norfolk, neither were the latter the forefathers of those who now live in Cornwall, Inverness, or Connaught. And since the British nation is at the present day practically amalgamated into one, it is, to say the least, rather provincial in Mr. Freeman and his followers entirely to ignore every part of it save that which dwells between the Frith of Forth and the English Channel.

I propose, therefore, to inquire here into the numerical proportion of the Keltic to the Teutonic element in the British people as it now exists at home and in the colonies. And I hope to show that while in language, laws, customs, and government we are preponderantly or entirely English, yet in blood we are preponderantly if not overwhelmingly Kymric and Gaelic.

The analogy of one among our tropical possessions will serve to show how important is this distinction. Jamaica has a population of some five hundred thousand souls. Of these, roughly speaking, four hundred thousand are pure-blooded negroes, ninety thousand are half-castes, and only ten thousand are Europeans, amongst whom are included many Jews. Yet the language, the laws, the religion, and the government of Jamaica are purely English. Three years' search failed to disclose even a single word of African origin in use in the island. Were it not that the negro colour and features show the true state of the case, a philologist and antiquarian would naturally conclude that all the people in Jamaica were of unmixed English origin. But what an immense difference is implied in the fact of their African blood! This example will suffice to suggest how dangerous it is to argue from language alone.

It will be well to begin with the most certain instances, and we may therefore first consider the case of the persons in the United Kingdom who still speak the Keltic languages; for though we must not conclude that a man who speaks English is necessarily an English-

man, we may fairly infer that a man who speaks Welsh, Erse, or Gaelic is at least not a Teuton. Now, most readers will probably be surprised to learn that one out of every fifteen inhabitants of the British Isles even in our own time employs some form of the old British tongue; yet such is actually the case. The population of England, Scotland, and Ireland at the last census amounted to thirty-two millions.[1] But, at a meeting of the Statistical Society in 1879, Mr. E. G. Ravenstein showed most conclusively that two and a quarter millions among these still use some variety of the Keltic language. Astonishing as this fact will appear to many people, it is still undoubtedly correct.

Passing on from those persons who are still Keltic in tongue, let us next consider those who are undeniably Keltic in blood. Wales contains one and a quarter millions of inhabitants, and if we admit that two hundred and fifty thousand of these are of Teutonic extraction, we shall have allowed more than enough for the scattered Scandinavian and English or Anglo-Norman colonies of Pembrokeshire, South Wales, and Anglesey. This leaves us at least a million of pure Kelts in the Principality alone. The Highlands of Scotland contain a million and a half of people, all of whom are Keltic, with the exception of one hundred and fifty thousand Scandinavians in Caithness, Sutherland, and the Isles. Ireland contains five and a half millions, of whom we may allow a million as a large estimate for the Scandinavians of the coast, as well as for the English and Lowland Scotch element in Ulster and the Pale. So that here are seven millions of acknowledged Kelts still dwelling in virgin Keltic countries, and absolutely untouched by Teutonic colonisation.

Thus far, however, we have accounted for barely a quarter of our existing home population. To get a little deeper into the question we must go back to the historical origin of our present race-elements.

It is now pretty generally allowed that the people who inhabited these islands at the period of the Roman invasion consisted of two races, more or less distinct in various parts of the country. One of these, typified by the Silures, was that primitive dark-skinned and black-haired nation known as Euskarian, who probably migrated into Britain shortly after the close of the last glacial epoch. The other, typified by the Caledonii, was a light-haired, blue-eyed, and fair-complexioned race, the Kelts, an offshoot of the great Aryan family of Central Asia. Apparently the Keltic horde had crossed Europe through what is now Germany, made their way over the North Sea, and settled in the eastern portion of South Britain, as the English did at a far later period. But just as the English language has spread over Keltic Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland, so, it

(1) To avoid tedious calculations I give all statistics in round numbers.

would seem, did the Keltic languages spread among the presumably less civilised Euskarian aborigines. Accordingly, at the time of C. Cæsar, the whole of southern Britain spoke a single tongue, the Welsh; while in Ireland a cognate dialect, the Gaelic, was in use. From the more or less complete mixture of these two elements sprang the Kelt-Euskarian people, whom we may henceforth describe simply as Kelts. But it is worth while to remember that amongst their modern representatives the dark Euskarian type is far more common than the fair Aryan hair and skin.

When the Roman power broke down in Britain, and for some time before that event, a horde of Teutonic pirates began to swarm across the German Ocean, and colonise by force of arms the exposed eastern shore from Kent to Edinburgh, besides the whole south coast as far west as Southampton Water. These were the English, consisting of three tribes, the Jutes, the English proper, and the Saxons. Starting from a number of separate and exposed points, in Thanet, Wight, East Anglia, the Fen Country, and the Humber, they gradually spread, by the middle of the seventh century, over the whole eastern half of Britain south of the Forth. That, and that only, is ethnographically the true England, and its inhabitants the true Englishmen, much intermixed in the central portion with Scandinavian blood, but still, doubtless, partially Teutonic in some form or other to the backbone. Indeed, it would be hardly too much to say that there are no thoroughgoing pure Englishmen now left in Britain save among the so-called Scotch of the Lothians. The rest, even when free from Keltic blood, are either half Danish, like the men of the Midlands, or Jutes and Saxons, like the men of Kent and Sussex. It is important to remember that only about one-third of the British Isles has ever been fully colonised by people bearing the English name, and that even these have afterwards undergone much adulteration. Nevertheless, for brevity's sake, we shall here call all Teutons in Britain Englishmen, just as we call all non-Teutons Kelts.

I allow, then, that if you draw a straight line from Edinburgh to Southampton, all the people to the east of it were, roughly speaking, English in the early Middle Ages, though I will attempt to show hereafter that they have been flooded at a later date by a peaceful but overwhelming Keltic invasion. Even at this early period, however, they may have been English by courtesy only, in part; for we cannot be sure that in Kent and East Anglia themselves, where the Anglicizing tendency has gone the furthest, the Keltic aborigines were utterly exterminated. Many facts, indeed, look quite the other way. It is true Mr. Freeman, like every other writer from Gibbon downwards, makes a great point of the single definite statement in the English Chronicle with regard to the capture of Pevensey:

"Ælla and Cissa beset Anderida, and offslew all that therein dwelt, nor was there thenceforth one Briton left." But then we have to consider three things: first, that this entry was made, presumably from tradition, hundreds of years after the event; secondly, that it refers to the treatment of a single town; and thirdly, that the very fact of such special mention would go to prove that in the writer's opinion the course pursued was an unusual one. Again, it is quite possible that while the fighting men were killed, the women and children were spared as slaves. In this way they might easily have become the ancestors at least of half-castes between the Keltic and English races. To be sure, Canon Stubbs has been at great pains to show that Englishmen would not marry Welshwomen; but such an argument would have little weight with any person who knows anything practically of slaveholding communities. To revert to the analogy of Jamaica: no white man there ever marries a negress, and yet there are no less than nine mulattoes to every white person, man, woman, or child, in the whole island—a truly astounding proportion. It would thus be quite possible to have a community only one-tenth of whom were pure English in blood, and which was yet wholly English in name, in language, and in feeling.

Indications of such a mixture even in the most Teutonic parts of England are undoubtedly strong. All our rivers, and most of the other natural features of the country, bear Keltic names, such as Stour, Ouse, Thames, or Don. Now these names could only have been gained by intercourse with the conquered race, which is inconsistent with the notion of extermination. Many even of the towns and territorial divisions retain their primitive titles, as in the case of London, Lincoln, Kent, and Wight. Evidence like this, strong in itself, becomes even stronger when we remember the similar case of Ireland, where only the Keltic names of places will soon remain, or contrast it with that of Jamaica, where not a single African word survives. Moreover, there are several traces of scattered Welsh communities up and down in Teutonic England to a late date—"Little Britains," as they have been appropriately called. Mr. Guest has shown that the valleys of the Avon and Frome, near Bath, formed such an intrusive wedge of purely Welsh nationality. Even Mr. Freeman himself is a little troubled at the appearance of "British robbers" in the Fen Country at a period when, according to his theory, they ought all long since to have been eaten up bodily by the English invaders, though he is inclined to smother up the difficulty by arguments that are verbal and not real. The physical appearance of the English in the true England bears out the like conclusion; but as this is a point where individual observers are apt to be misled by their own predispositions, I am happy to be able to quote so unprejudiced a scientific observer as the late Professor Phillips.

He thus describes one of the three physical types of man in Yorkshire, after sketching two others of obviously Teutonic origin: "Persons of lower stature and smaller proportions; visage short, rounded; complexion embrowned; eyes very dark, elongated; hair very dark. (Such eyes and hair are commonly called black.) Individuals having these characters occur in the lower grounds of Yorkshire, as in the valley of the Aire below Leeds, in the vale of the Derwent, and the level regions south of York. They are still more frequent in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, and may be said to abound amidst the true Anglians of Norfolk and Suffolk. . . . . Unless we suppose such varieties of appearance to spring up among the blue-eyed races, we must regard them as a legacy from . . . . the older Britons, amongst whom, as already stated, the Iberian [Euskarian] element was conjecturally admitted." It should be added that provincial words of Keltic origin abound in Yorkshire.

However this may be, I shall waive all such considerations, and allow that during the first few centuries after their settlement the people of south-eastern Britain had a fairly good claim to the title of pure-blooded Englishmen. But the case is widely different with regard to the northern and western half of Great Britain, as well as with regard to all Ireland. In the west, the English slowly conquered, it is true; but they certainly never exterminated the Kelt-Euskarian race. There are three convenient divisions of England proper, by means of which we may most easily deal with the question of westward extension. These three divisions are Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria—the south, the midlands, and the north.

Beyond Wessex lay the Keltic kingdom of West Wales. It included Cornwall, Devonshire, and Somerset; and still earlier Dorset, Wilts, and Hants. Now everybody admits that the Cornish men are Kelts, as they still spoke a Keltic dialect till comparatively recent times. But it is not so well known that the population in the other West Welsh counties is even now essentially Keltic, though Mr. Freeman himself allows nearly as much in a grudging way. The fact is, the West Saxons merely imposed their authority over the Kelts of West Wales, just as the English have done over the Kelts of Ireland. The people remain the same as ever, though their language, laws, and customs have been Anglicized. The inhabitants of Devonshire retained their Keltic name of Defenas under the early English kings. Many of them still spoke Cornish in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Alfred the Great in his will leaves to his younger son "the land at Adrington, and at Dean, and at Theon, and at Amesbury, and at Downe, and at Stourminster, and at Gidley, and at Crewkern, and at Whitchurch, and at Axmouth, and at Branscombe, and at Collumpton, and at Twyford, and at Milbourne, and at Axminster, and at Southsworth, and at Litton, and all the lands

that thereto belong, that is, all which I have amongst Welsh-kin, except Cornwall." Now, these places are scattered about in Wilts, Hants, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, all of which were still simply Welsh-kin to Alfred. All the Keltic personal peculiarities are strong to the present day throughout this district, and even the Keltic names lingered on amongst the lower orders in some parts till the date of the Norman Conquest, as we see in the manumissions of serfs and other legal documents.

The population of Cornwall at the last census was three hundred and sixty-two thousand, all of whom we may count as Kelts; for though there is undoubtedly a small body of English and Norman immigrants, yet they may be fairly balanced against the Cornish men in neighbouring counties, as Cornwall is actually decreasing in number of inhabitants through emigration elsewhere. The other three pure West Welsh shires—Somerset, Dorset, and Devon—have a joint population of a million and a quarter souls; and if we allow that the unreckoned Kelts of Wilts and Hants (which I give in to the Teutonists) balance such of these as are of English descent, we have a gross Keltic total for the south-western counties, including Cornwall, of nearly a million and three-quarters of persons.

Mercia, the great midland kingdom, consisted, as its name imports, of the March or boundary against Wales proper. But here, again, we have on the extreme west an almost undoubted Welsh strip of country between the Severn and the modern boundary-line. Monmouthshire is as Keltic in blood as any part of the principality. Herefordshire and Shropshire are full of Keltic faces and Keltic names. Even Cheshire is far from thoroughly Teutonic. Gloucester, Worcester, and Stafford show signs of imperfect Anglicization. The English clan names, as elements in local nomenclature,[1] form one of the surest marks of Teutonic colonisation, and they are almost entirely wanting in Western Mercia; they abound in Kent, Sussex, and East Anglia; grow rare in Cheshire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire; and all but utterly disappear in Monmouth. The English, in fact, only conquered and settled in these districts by slow degrees, and their supremacy was clearly one of overlordship, not of active colonisation. The laws of Offa, King of Mercia, show us the two races dwelling side by side, and mentioned by name—the one as a superior conquering caste, the other as an inferior but still legally recognised body. And here, as elsewhere, we may be pretty sure that the serfs far outnumbered their lords.

The population of Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, and Worcestershire amounted in 1871 to very nearly two million souls. I shall liberally allow that one-half of

(1) Such as the Benesings at Bensington, the Bocings at Buckingham, the Ercensings at Kensington, and the Islings at Islington.

these were English, though I do not for a moment believe that they were, and we have here another million of Kelts to add to our capital account. An *ex parte* pleader would be quite justified in claiming the whole body at once, but I prefer to be generous.

Lastly, then, we arrive at Northumbria. Opposite and to the west of this early English kingdom lay the Welsh principality of Strathclyde, stretching from Glasgow far into the heart of what is now the midland counties. The Northumbrian kings overran the whole of this district, except the southern portion, which fell to the share of Mercia. But they never destroyed its Keltic nationality, and the country still bore the general name of Cumberland, that is to say the land of the Cymri, which is now restricted to one of its shires. At a later period the southern half, which at present forms part of England, was overrun by Norwegian pirates, who, however, probably came unaccompanied by their wives or children, and must therefore have intermarried with the native population, as we know they did in Teutonic England. The northern half, now a part of Scotland, was granted to the Scottish kings—themselves of Irish descent—by the West-Saxon overlords. All the linguistic evidence goes to prove that the whole of this northern Cumbria, from the Mersey to the Clyde, and from the central dividing-ridge to the sea, is still essentially Keltic in blood. Welsh words survive abundantly, not only in the names of places, but also in the popular dialect. The physique of the Lancashire men and the folk of Ayr belongs distinctly to the Keltic type, only slightly interfused with a Norse element.

Now the modern population of this teeming tract, including as it does the great cities of Glasgow, Liverpool, and Manchester, besides many lesser but still important towns, is of course very large. Moreover, in addition to the original Keltic blood which it derives from the early Welsh inhabitants, it has received in modern times an enormous accession of Irish settlers, about whom I shall have more to say a little further on. Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland contained in 1871 no less than three millions and odd inhabitants. Of these I shall only claim two-thirds, which again is far less than I might do if avariciously inclined. For the south-western division of Scotland, including Glasgow and the thickly-inhabited Clyde district, I shall be satisfied with only half a million Kelts. We thus get a total Cumbrian figure of two and a half millions.

Putting together these three totals—a million and three-quarters for the Cornish and other West Welsh; a million for the Border counties; and two and a half millions for Strathclyde—we reach a grand total of five and a quarter millions. This, then, is our present position. We have seven millions of acknowledged Kelts, living in

Keltic countries, and still calling themselves Scotch, Welsh, or Irish; and we have five and a quarter millions of unquestionable Kelts living in England or the Lowlands, and passing as Englishmen or Lowlanders. Again, to put it geographically, we have, as at present advised, a comparatively pure Teutonic belt on the east and south, an intervening mixed belt just beyond the central ridge, and a comparatively pure Keltic belt in the west and north, as well as in the greater part of Ireland.

During the Middle Ages, and up to the growth of the modern industrial system, such was really the approximate distribution of the two races. Indeed, there can be little doubt that if a trustworthy census of Britain had been taken in the days of Henry VI., it would have disclosed a large preponderance of the Teutonic element. In those days the south-eastern and strictly English part of the island was by far the most important. Trade was centred on Kent, London, East Anglia, and the Yorkshire coast. The people were mainly agricultural, and they throve chiefly on the level secondary and tertiary plains of the eastern half; whereas the Kelt was forced to content himself with the rugged primary hills of the north and west. But the great social revolution by which Britain became a manufacturing country exercised an immense reaction in favour of the older race. In our island mineral wealth is almost entirely confined to the primary rocks; hence we have seen a complete reversal of the original distribution taking place during the last two centuries. Lancashire has become the thickest seat of population in Great Britain. The West Riding of York has outstripped the fertile valley of the Ouse and the flat plains of Holderness. Lincolnshire and East Anglia have fallen back to the position of mere agricultural countries, while South Wales has developed into a wealthy mining tract. Birmingham and the Black Country stand almost alone among the great manufacturing districts as lying within the Teutonic belt; yet even Birmingham is scarcely outside the dubious Mercian border, while Staffordshire stands well within the debatable land. The westward direction given to our commerce by the intercourse with America and the Cape route to India has aided in the same change. Glasgow and the Clyde have superseded Edinburgh and the Forth. The cotton trade with the Southern States has made Liverpool and Manchester; while the sugar traffic with the West Indies has given new youth to the more ancient port of Bristol. To put it briefly, in the Middle Ages agricultural England turned eastward to the continent, in our own day industrial England turns westward to the ocean.

Accordingly, it is not surprising that students of early English history should almost always over-estimate the importance of the Teutonic element, especially under the influence of reactive feeling

against the puerilities of older writers. The English Chronicle shows them an English people, Teutonic in language, laws, and feelings, and mainly Teutonic in blood. [redacted] presents this people as occupying the whole England of that day, and bounded to the west by a small remnant of Welsh nationality in Wales or Cornwall, interfused on the border with a dominant English aristocracy, whose names alone, to the exclusion of the servile race, find record for the most part in the national annals. Led away by these facts, they forget the immense revolution which has since completely reversed the relative importance of the two races. They forget that England has merged into Britain, and Britain into the Empire; that Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen, Belfast, Cork, and Dublin, Montreal, Toronto, Melbourne, Sydney, and Auckland, are now great mercantile and university cities, busy centres of British life and thought, while Winchester, Lichfield, and Canterbury have fallen back to the level of mere cathedral towns. They forget that, while Teutonic Britain has been sinking to the position of a simple agricultural country, Keltic Britain has been rising to that of a great manufacturing region. They forget that, while the Teuton has been staying at home in Kent or Suffolk, the Kelt has been pouring into London, Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, or Birmingham, invading the mines, the factories, or the docks, and colonising Australia, Canada, or California. It is this great peaceful return-tide of the Kelt to the lands occupied by the Teuton, and this great overflow of the Kelt into lands where the Teuton is all but unknown, which really make our nation to-day British in a far truer sense than it is English. But all this naturally escapes the eyes of closet ethnologists, who never take into consideration any facts of life later than the reigns of the Tudors.

In the first place let us look at the Kelts in England and the Scotch Lowlands. It is a notorious fact that the most purely Teutonic shires, such as Sussex and Norfolk, are those where there is least movement of the indigenous population. The people increase but slowly, and mostly live and die on their own soil. On the other hand, in the most Keltic counties, as, for example, in Cornwall, there is little increase or even a positive decrease in the stated population, because, in spite of the large families usually reared by Kelts, most of the children go elsewhere to seek their livelihood. While the lazy, stupid, and slow-headed Teuton, as we see him in the eastern counties or the south coast, stops at home on whatever wages he can earn, the active, enterprising, and intelligent Kelt seeks in a new quarter for better employment and higher pay than he can obtain among his own people. I am aware that these are not the conventional epithets of either race, but it is well now and again to hear the other side of a foregone conclusion. Now London is

very largely recruited with servants, small shopkeepers, artisans, drivers, and other persons following the most useful occupations, from the south-western counties, the West Wales of early history. The overflowing population of Devon, Dorset, Somerset, and Cornwall pours into that district which Mr. Freeman will not allow us to call the metropolis, in immense numbers. I have been at the trouble for many years to make inquiries into this subject, both in London itself and in the south-western counties, and though the question is one on which it is difficult to obtain definite statistics, I have no ground for doubting, from the information I have obtained, that fully thirty per cent. of the three millions of Londoners are either of West Welsh or other Keltic descent. I find, too, that large numbers of these people are settled in Brighton, Portsmouth, Southampton, and the other southern watering-places and seaport towns. Not a few are to be found in Bristol and in the South Welsh district. Altogether, West Wales is one of the most prolific sources of our southern urban population; while, on the other hand, I can find very few traces of any modern Teutonic incursion from other parts of England into Devonshire or Cornwall. Except a few invalids at Torquay or Weymouth, and a few well-to-do residents at Plymouth and Devonport, nobody has any reason for immigrating into this mainly agricultural tract, whose own people are more than sufficient to fill its not very numerous towns. The labouring class in the west is almost entirely native.

Similarly, from Wales and the border counties, a great stream of emigration has long set in, both towards London and towards the manufacturing districts, of which Birmingham and Manchester form the centres. In Liverpool Welshmen swarm; but what is still more noticeable is the general diffusion of the Welsh nationality in thousands of unsuspected cases amongst all the large towns of England, east, west, north, and south. In many instances these persons have no idea of their Keltic origin, as they have often been Anglicized for generations, or come originally from the Border; but their true derivation is clearly proved by their surnames. Indeed, nomenclature, like language, is in this case the very best of evidence; for though all men with Teutonic names are not necessarily Teutons, yet all men with Keltic names are undoubtedly Kelts.[1] Now all such common names as Evans, Bevan, Parry, Owen, Bowen, Griffith, Griffiths, Rice, Reece, Price, Preece, Lloyd, Pritchard, Hughes, Pugh, Howell, and Powell, besides such rarer ones as Bethell, Meredith, Vaughan, Pennant, Llewelyn, Gwyn, Wynne,

(1) It may be objected that in many instances such persons will be English on the mother's side; but as married daughters lose the father's name while sons preserve it, this argument cuts both ways. Here, where our object is merely to estimate the comparative amount of Keltic blood, two half Kelts may be fairly held as the equivalent of one Kelt.

Morgan, Prothero, and Maddock, are sure signs of Keltic origin. I have long been in the habit of observing and noting down surnames, both on shops and signboards and in the ordinary intercourse of life, and also of consulting and comparing directories or other lists of names. From all these I have become convinced that the Welsh Keltic element in our principal towns is far larger than is usually suspected; and I have found such names in abundance, even in the most Teutonic parts of the island. It should be added that many other common patronymics, such as Richards, Williams, Watkins, Jones, Davies, and Thomas, though not so uniformly Welsh as those already cited, afford good presumptive evidence of Keltic origin. Similarly, in the case of originally Cornish families, they may often be detected by the names of Vivian, Trevelyan, Trelawney, Thackeray, or Pengelley, as well as by most of those beginning with the traditional "Tre, Pol, and Pen." Any philologist who takes the trouble to watch all the names with which he comes in contact will be astonished at the results which he will obtain. Indeed, only the student of nomenclature can rightly appreciate the extreme complexity of our existing population. The London Directory shows a perfectly surprising number of Keltic names, either Welsh, Scotch, or Irish; and even provincial directories contain far larger proportions than would be ordinarily supposed. It is hardly necessary to observe that none but tourists have yet notably invaded North Wales, and South Wales supplies the greater part of her industries for herself, while the margin of deficiency is made up by Keltic importations from Ireland.

Cumbria has mainly kept the mills of Lancashire at work, and has helped in its northern portion to form the population of Glasgow. But in the West Riding of York, once a rugged and desolate mountain tract, a vast mass of people have collected over the rich coal measures. These are in part native half-caste Kelts, in part immigrants from elsewhere. On the whole, there can be little doubt that Keltic blood either predominates or at least holds half the ground throughout the great manufacturing tract which stretches from Liverpool to Leeds. I have found on inquiry many Welsh, Dorsetshire, and Devonshire hands among the operatives in a few mills which I have happened to visit; but I know little of this region personally. The dialect at least has numerous Keltic traces.

So much for the Cymric Kelts. And next we come to their brethren, the Gaels of Scotland and Ireland. Now, it is notorious that Glasgow is crowded with Highlanders, and that they form a large element in Edinburgh, as well as in several of the southern cities. For many generations the Gael has been moving southward, and he now shares the Lowlands with the true Englishman of the Lothians, and the half-caste Cymri of Strathclyde. In all parts of England

where occupation is to be had there is a fair sprinkling of Macdonalds, Mackenzies, and Macdougalls, as well as of Campbells, Gordons, Camerons, and Skenes. Here, again, it is necessary, for a fair comprehension of the question, to keep a look-out upon the names in streets or directories; and in the case of so-called Scotchmen it is essential to distinguish between the Teutonic patronymics of the Lothians and the true Gaelic clans of the north. But a careful comparison of directories, coupled with inquiries among gangs of workmen, will show an unsuspected Gaelic invasion, not only of London, but also of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and many other great towns.

As to the Irish, we all know that they have long overflowed all our larger cities, and have even spread into some rural districts. There is a great Irish colony in Marylebone and the Tower Hamlets, and others of less extent in the east and south of London. In Liverpool, in Manchester, in Glasgow, they form a very considerable proportion of the population. The Scotch census for 1871 estimates their number in the principal towns of Scotland at from ten to thirty per cent. of the whole body of inhabitants, and since that date they have become powerful enough to set up Home Rule candidates in more than one Scotch or English borough. Wherever they find a footing they increase with extraordinary rapidity, and in many cases the memory of their origin dies out in the second generation.

The conclusion forced upon me by all these facts, and others like them observed for many years, is this: Even in the most Teutonic portion of England the town population consists in very large part of Kelts, either Welsh, semi-English, Gaelic-Scotch, or Irish. The census of 1871 returned the urban population in the 198 large towns of England at thirteen millions, as against only ten millions in the small towns and rural parishes. How large a proportion of these may be Keltic it would be rash to guess exactly without better data than those which we now possess; but I do not hesitate to say, on the evidence of nomenclature, that it must be quite large enough to turn the scale heavily in favour of the Keltic race, even in the British Isles themselves.

Let us now turn for a moment to the Colonies. It is common to speak of the "Anglo-Saxons" as the great colonising race, but when we look at the facts such pretensions will not for a moment hold water. It is the Kelt who colonises. Personal experience and observation of names enable me to say that by far the largest number of Canadians are of Irish, Highland Scotch, Welsh, or Breton extraction. Examination of directories and other lists of names convinces me that the same is the case with Australian and New Zealand colonists. The imperial census of 1870 gives Canada nearly four millions of inhabitants, and Australasia two millions.

About two millions more may be allowed for the white inhabitants of our tropical dependencies and minor colonies. An overwhelming proportion of all these eight millions are certainly Keltic; so that "the great Anglo-Saxon race," whose energy spreads it over every part of the world, may be regarded as an ingenious myth. Even in England itself colonists go rather from the Keltic western half than from the Teutonic east. Devonshire and Somerset are great feeders of Canada and New Zealand.

What, then, is the final result at which we have arrived? A small body of Teutonic immigrants descended some time about the fifth century and onward on the eastern shore of South Britain. They occupied the whole coast from the Forth to the Isle of Wight, and spread over the country westward as far as the central dividing ridge. Though not quite free from admixture with the aborigines, even in this limited tract, they still remained relatively pure in this their stronghold, and they afterwards received a fresh Teutonic reinforcement by the Danish invasion. Westward of the central line they conquered and assimilated the aborigines, upon whom they imposed their language and laws, but whom they did not exterminate. In the extreme west and in Ireland the Kelts long retained their language and nationality undisturbed. During the Middle Ages the English people formed by far the most powerful body in the island; and even now they have imposed upon all of it their name and language. But since the rise of the industrial system the Kelts have peacefully recovered the numerical superiority. They have crowded into the towns and seaports, so that at the present day only the rural districts of Eastern England can claim to be thoroughly Teutonic. The urban population consists for the most part of a mixed race. Moreover, since intermarriage is now so very frequent, it seems probable that almost all English families, except those of the stationary agricultural class in the east, have at least some small proportion of Keltic blood. In the upper classes, where numerous intermarriages are universal, this proportion is, doubtless, everywhere very great. Out of Britain the Kelts have it all their own way.

It may be objected, however, by Teutonic enthusiasts, that these facts only show a numerical balance in favour of the conquered race. All the energy, intellect, and power, all the literature, science, and art, they will say, are on the side of the "Anglo-Saxon." Now it cannot be denied that, up to a comparatively late period, Teutonic and Anglicized Britain bore away the palm in most of these respects. It could hardly be otherwise, seeing that the Keltic language has always been a mere provincial dialect, or rather three or four provincial dialects, spoken for the most part by the lower orders in remote regions of the country. But it is practically impossible to

say how much of English literature or English science is due to Anglicized Kelts. It is impossible to guess whether a Shakespeare born in Warwickshire, a Watt born in Strathclyde, or a Scott from the border clans, had or had not a mixture of English and Keltic blood. In most cases, away from the east coast, we may be pretty sure that at least some such mixture has at some time taken place. Is is seldom, however, that a familiar name, like William Makepeace Thackeray, Humphry Davy, Owen Jones, Colin Campbell, or Daniel O'Connell, bears its Keltic origin unmistakably upon its face. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that if we look at the undoubtedly Keltic names we shall find they have each supplied of late centuries as large a proportion of distinguished men in all departments of life as most of the Teutonic patronymics, which may or may not indicate Teutonic blood.[1] Taking a few such names at random, and looking them up in a Biographical Dictionary, I find under Owen, Edward Owen the painter, John Owen the epigrammatist, John Owen the Independent, Richard Owen the palæontologist, Robert Owen the socialist, Robert Dale Owen the essayist, and William Owen the artist. Half-a-dozen Welsh, Scotch, and Irish names yield like results. Byron, Carlyle, Darwin, all bear Keltic patronymics. Long since, in examining official historical documents relating to India for a Government purpose, it struck me that our Indian empire (*valeat quantum*) had been mainly acquired and governed by men bearing Highland-Scotch names. A glance through our peerages will show how large a number of those persons who raise themselves to the House of Lords or to the dignity of knighthood by professional distinction are of Keltic extraction. And it must be remembered that the Anglicized and therefore undiscoverable Kelts always bear a heavy proportion to the obvious cases. Similarly, if we take the Keltic counties, we shall find that Devonshire alone has given us so many distinguished men as Marlborough and Albemarle amongst statesmen; Drake, Davis, Raleigh, Hawkins, and Grenville amongst navigators or discoverers; Sir Joshua Reynolds, Prout, Haydon, and Eastlake amongst artists; Hooker and Jewel amongst theologians; Herrick, Gay, and Coleridge amongst poets; and Newcomen, Buckland, and Clifford amongst men of science. Wherever the Kelt has a fair field and no disfavour, he is able on the average to compete on a tolerable equality with his Teutonic compeer. In the colonies he has certainly gained the upper hand in every case. In Canada the reins of government pass always from a Macdonald to a Mackenzie: in Australia they are held by a Duffy or an O'Shaughnessy.

(1) At the period when surnames first became general, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Anglicization of West Wales and the border counties had proceeded so far that many or most of the Keltic families in these districts bear English or Anglo-Norman names.

The fact is, Keltic blood has so long been regarded as in some way obviously inferior to Teutonic, that most of us are ashamed to acknowledge it, even if we suspect its presence. The idle, ignorant, superstitious Kelt has been so often contrasted with the clear-headed, energetic, pushing Anglo-Saxon, that everybody has hastened to enroll himself under the victorious Anglo-Saxon banner. A great many people are scandalized when they learn that most British subjects are not Christians, but Mahommedans or Hindus; they will doubtless be equally scandalized when told that most true British people are not "Anglo-Saxons," but Kelts. Yet in reality the Kelts in many parts of Britain have proved themselves just as orderly, industrious, and enterprising as their Teutonic fellow-countrymen. Coal, not blood, is the true differentiating agent. If we contrast Essex or Norfolk with Cornwall, Lancashire, and South Wales, I do not see that the comparison tells very forcibly in favour of the English race. "Silly Suffolk" is the conventional phrase for the most purely Teutonic county in Britain. And there is no reason why that Keltic race, which just across the Channel has produced the great, free, and noble French nation, should be incapable in the British Isles of producing anything better than the caricature of Ireland in which Tory prints are fond of indulging. Are we quite sure that geographical position and English misrule have not done more than Keltic blood to produce the unfortunate condition of the Irish peasantry at the present day? An Advocatus Diaboli and apologist of Flogging Fitzgerald may be ready to use every argument, down to the argumentum baculinum against the wretched Kelt, but good Liberals like Mr. Freeman should not, even by implication, countenance such national injustice.

A fair recognition of the strength of the Keltic element in England itself—an element which, as I believe, has done much to differentiate our national character from that of the slow and ponderous continental Teutons—may help to break down this unhappy prejudice of race. I trust, therefore, that I may succeed in giving the pendulum some small impulse, which, even if it a little overshoots the mark, may yet help in bringing the see-saw of opinion one degree nearer to the equilibrium of truth. And we may sum up the result here indicated in a single sentence: though the British nation of the present day is wholly Teutonic in *form*, it is largely and even preponderantly Keltic in *matter*.

GRANT ALLEN.

POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE readers who would concern themselves much about the political economy of a foreign country in order simply to know what doctrines on the subject are taught in its text-books and colleges are probably few. But when the inquiry is found to include one into the influence of physical geography, history, institutions, moral and religious ideas on economic theory, the curiosity of a class may be excited whose interest in the controversies of economists on their own account is but faint. A wider claim to attention will be established should it appear that we are engaged in the study not merely of a chapter in the intellectual history of the United States, but of one which elucidates some of the causes determining the directions of the mental energies of nations, their success or failure in various branches of culture, and their fundamental ideas and methods in philosophy. The investigation may likewise help to verify some doctrines generally accepted in England as economic laws, and to ascertain how far they possess the universality or independence of time and place usually attributed to them, or need to be conditioned and qualified, if not abandoned.

America—as for shortness we may sometimes call the United States, though Canada and South America are not included in the present inquiry—is the country above all others to which we might naturally look for original and considerable contributions to the science of wealth through the inductive study of new facts. The diversity of some of the economic phenomena of this new world from those of the old; the unparalleled rapidity of its material progress, and the novel conditions, physical and political, under which it has taken place; the freedom from the limitations by which the populations of European countries are restricted; the absence of monarchy, aristocracy, and the military element, and of the peculiar direction which they give to production and distribution, seem to open a most promising field of observation. Nor would it seem unreasonable to expect that in a country the most important part of whose economic development has taken place within living memory, some important discoveries might have been reached with respect to the laws of social evolution under which this gigantic growth has been attained. It will presently be seen that American political economy does really exhibit some distinctive features closely connected with the physical character of the region in which it has taken shape, and with the diversity of the material condition of its

population from that of any society of the Old World. Yet in America itself, if we except a recent Californian writer, whose claims will be examined, none but the disciples of Mr. Carey would pretend that any considerable discoveries have been made in relation to the natural laws of the production and distribution of wealth, or that any great addition has been made to the stock of economic knowledge. With exceptions and qualifications that will be pointed out, American political economy is in the main an importation from Europe, not an original development; it has made but slight inductive study of surrounding phenomena, and follows, for the most part, the method of deduction from general assumptions; it has hardly attempted to investigate the laws of evolution of which the present economic structure and state of American society are the outcome. In 1876 the *North American Review* celebrated the centenary of the Declaration of Independence by a number of excellent essays on the progress of the American mind during the century in several directions. In one of these, on "Economic Science in America, 1776—1876," Mr. C. F. Dunbar, now Professor of Political Economy in Harvard College, while admitting the value of some dissertations on special subjects, summed up the history of American political economy for a hundred years in the sentence that "the United States had done nothing towards developing the theory of political economy, notwithstanding their vast and immediate interest in its practical application." The qualities displayed in Mr. Dunbar's own essay afford an indication that, if his country has done little for the advancement of his branch of philosophy, it has not been for want of intellectual power, and the works of several of his countrymen in the same field support the conclusion. It is worth notice that practical jurisprudence has long engaged the American intellect with success. Even Franklin seems never to have mastered the elements of economic science; but before the Declaration of Independence, Edmund Burke had noticed the bent of the colonists' mind towards the study of law. "In no country in the world," he said in 1775, "is the law so general a study. All who read—and most do read—endeavour to obtain a smattering in that science." Mr. John Stuart Mill, happening to be asked in conversation by the present writer how he accounted for the Greeks doing nothing in jurisprudence when the Romans did so much, answered that "the question always to be asked was how a people came to do anything? Their doing nothing was easily accounted for." Like everything Mr. Mill said, the remark was sagacious and instructive. *Vis inertiæ*, routine, the obstacles within and without every man to original intellectual efforts and to their success, account for much being left undone, even by nations possessed of the highest faculties. Yet, in reference to the slight progress of political economy in America, at least down to the last fifteen years,

we shall do well not to rest satisfied with the explanation that no explanation is needed.

Mr. Perry, in a chapter in his *Elements of Political Economy*, on the history of the science, speaks of the circumstances of the United States as having been favourable from the beginning to the cultivation of economic studies, alluding to the resistance to restrictions on trade in which the Revolution began, the various experiments in currency, the discussions excited by tariff after tariff, and the attention directed to the new gold mines. Yet the reader will, we believe, incline to the opposite conclusion, that, down at least to the close of the war between the Northern and Southern States, the circumstances of the country were unfavourable to the cultivation of economic science. The most conspicuous of the causes that have withdrawn the American mind from it may be classed under the head of physical geography, including the natural resources of the continent, its facilities for internal commerce and migration, and its separation, on the other hand, by two oceans from some of the gravest troubles of the Old World. "Give me," said Cousin in his Lectures on the History of Modern Philosophy, "the map of a country, its configuration, its climate, its waters, its winds, its natural productions, its botany, its zoology, all its physical geography, and I pledge myself to tell you what will be the man of that country, and what place that country will occupy in history." Had M. Cousin been given only the map and physical geography of North America, it might have puzzled him to say what would be the man of that continent—whether a Red Indian or a Yankee, as the red man pronounced the French name of the Englishman; and what place that continent would occupy in history—whether a place such as it occupied before the age of Columbus, or such as it occupies now. Yet the element on which M. Cousin laid excessive rhetorical emphasis has in reality acted with a potency needing no exaggeration. An English writer as prone to sweeping generalisation as M. Cousin, has referred to America in illustration of a distinction between Europe as the quarter of the globe in which man is stronger than nature, and the other quarters in which man is overpowered and reduced to insignificance by the forces of the external world. Mr. Buckle seems, however, to have had in view only the tropical regions of the New World, where nature, doubtless, is more exuberant, and man less energetic and enterprising, than in its temperate zone. In the latter, man's environment has exercised an influence of the highest importance in relation to the inquiry before us; but it has done so, not by overpowering and crushing but by stimulating and developing his energies. It has not, however, exercised his faculties equally in all directions. One of the conditions governing throughout the world the occupation and con-

quests of the human intellect, is that the greater part of the mental power of every people is engaged in the practical business of life, and only a small surplus is anywhere available for the cultivation of science and letters. But two opposite kinds of physical environment tend to restrict, in more than an ordinary degree, the higher ranges of intellectual development. Extraordinary affluence and extraordinary barrenness of natural resources have one and the same tendency to absorb in the pursuit of material welfare the energies of a community. In Lapland and Greenland man's whole strength has been engrossed in supplying his first animal wants. In the United States his activity has been prodigious and many-sided, yet the stock of intellectual power available for achievements of a high order has been small. Production, accumulation, exchange, and consumption have gone on upon the grandest scale, but they have engaged philosophical observation upon a comparatively insignificant scale.

M. de Tocqueville, in his inquiry into the movement of American intellect, observes that he regards the people of the United States as the part of the English people charged with the mission of subduing a new world, while the rest of the nation, possessing more leisure and less occupied with the material cares of life, is able to devote itself to thought and the development of the spiritual life of humanity. The observation is applicable to political economy in common with other branches of scientific and literary culture; but there are circumstances that have had a special tendency to repress intellectual effort and originality in the direction of economic inquiry. The very causes that were adverted to at the outset as opening a new field for the economist to explore, have not only tended, in fact, to turn the national mind in other directions, and absorbed it in the actual acquisition of wealth instead of theorising about it, but have prevented the conditions which in Europe chiefly contributed to fasten attention on economic subjects from arising. The problems relating to wealth that have most urgently demanded solution in the Old World have either never emerged or have assumed comparatively little importance in America down to recent years. Without sickness, wounds, and pain, there would have been no physiology, pathology, or science of medicine. It was the distressed condition of Europe in the last century that gave birth to its economic philosophy. Quesnay's motto was, *Pauvres paysans, pauvre royaume; pauvre royaume, pauvre roi.* Adam Smith wrote in a better governed and more prosperous kingdom, and after a generation of unusual plenty, yet his inquiry into the causes of the wealth of nations arose out of their general poverty throughout history and in his own time. The fact that the majority of the population of the whole world stood always on the verge of destitution, produced the

doctrines of Malthus. The free trade controversy in England grew out of dear bread, depressed trade, low wages, and low profits; and it gave political economy most of its importance in English estimation during the last generation. Had Great Britain been as large, as fertile, and as underpeopled as the United States, Mr. Mill might have made a fortune in a counting-house instead of a reputation as a political economist. America owes, doubtless in part to its institutions, its exemption from the necessity of attempting a solution of the chief economic problems that have occupied philosophers in Europe. The great writer on American democracy, however, seems to go too far in attributing mainly to it the passion for material welfare and the eagerness and enterprise with which riches are sought in the United States.[1]

In the most democratic cantons of Switzerland, life has been for centuries calm and tranquil enough. It is to the immense prizes that nature offers rather than to the equality of the conditions of the race, that the ardour of the competitors in the United States is to be ascribed. If democratic institutions be compared with monarchic or aristocratic, abundant proof will, it is true, be found of the superior tendency of the first to diffuse material prosperity throughout the mass of the people. Switzerland is, in all its physical conditions, the antithesis to America; nature has done almost nothing for its inhabitants beyond the immense service, indeed, of interposing barriers between them and the armies of emperors and kings; no road in it leads to great fortunes. Yet, were the conditions of all the countries of Europe as prosperous as that of Switzerland, it may well be that a science of political economy would never have arisen, because no urgent economic problems would have pressed for solution. Switzerland, however, has provided only for its own people. The grand achievement of America is to have provided for all comers, and to have not only rescued from destitution no small part of the population of Europe, but placed them in such affluence that they can endure tariffs which make them buy the produce of their old countrymen at twice its natural cost. This, however, is an achievement not of political institutions but of nature. The maintenance of the American polity with its equality is, moreover, in a great measure due to physical causes. The ocean has kept it aloof from the wars of the Old World, and the configuration of the continent has maintained a single government. Had it been broken up into rival states by deserts and mountain chains, instead of being united by rich plains and noble rivers, it might have been a battle-field. Thrones and military and aristocratic orders might have been founded; a Latin empire in Mexico would certainly have arisen; national debts, war

(1) De Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique*, iii. 208–11.

taxes, and impoverishment would have followed. That the emergence of these phenomena would have given a stimulus to economic inquiry we have proof, not only in European history, but in the awakening of the American mind itself to the study of political economy since the Civil War, with the burdens and difficulties it entailed.

The inhabitants of the New World have been the more disposed to leave the production of science and literature to the old, that they get their fruits at less than their cost of production by importation; and the absence of a law of international copyright has in turn been the more unfavourable to American authorship that the rate of remuneration in other occupations has been so high. The Pennsylvanian manufacturer complains that he cannot compete with the cheap labour of England, though freight is added to the prime cost of every pound of English produce imported; yet he is content that the American author should compete with English books for which neither producer nor carrier has been paid. A single copy of Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* or Bastiat's *Harmonies Economiques* is all the American publisher need buy. No wonder if American economists should be content to take their political economy for the most part ready made from Mill and Bastiat.

It would, nevertheless, be an erroneous conclusion that American political economy has no peculiar features, or that little is to be learned from its study. Besides the perspicuity with which its doctrines are set forth, and the novel illustrations and instances which it affords, it has striking and distinctive characteristics, an examination of the nature and causes of which cannot fail to instruct the English economist. The reader will find in their consideration fresh evidence of the influence, among other conditions, of the physical geography of a country on its philosophy.

American economists have, in the first place, been nearly unanimous in rejecting, or, at least, setting aside as practically unimportant, the Malthusian doctrine of a tendency of population to outstrip the means of subsistence. It is controverted or ignored in all American treatises on the general principles of economics. It is repudiated alike by protectionists and freetraders — by Carey, Thompson, Peshine Smith, and Bowen,[1] the authors of the chief systematic works on the science which advocate protection, and by Amasa Walker and Perry, the writers of the chief text-books in which the freedom of international trade is supported. Mr. Henry George, the propounder of a new theory of the distribution of wealth, and of the causes of poverty, is as zealous in antagonism to it as the writers of American schools, from whom he differs on other fundamental

(1) Mr. Bowen is in error in asserting, in a recent article in the *North American Review* on "Malthusianism, Darwinism, and Pessimism," that for the last thirty years Englis economists have abandoned the Malthusian theory.

points. The immense resources of the North American continent; the extent of uncultivated land of the highest fertility; the constant movement of agriculture to richer instead of to poorer soils, while the cost of production is further diminished by invention; the actual need of a faster increase of population than the country itself yields; the rapid improvement in the condition of a perpetual influx of emigrants—are enough to account for general scepticism or indifference with respect to the doctrine of Malthus. A comparison of his chapter on the checks to population in France, with its actual movement since his time, shows, indeed, that he much underestimated the force of the preventive check there under institutions conducive to providence; and among the American-born citizens of the United States this check is even stronger than in France. It must be allowed to detract not a little from the practical worth and lasting fame of his doctrines, that Malthus should have shown so little insight into the power of institutions to foster either improvidence or prudence, as to speak of them as in reality light and superficial in comparison with those deeper-seated causes of evil which result from the laws of nature and the passions of mankind. Nevertheless, his fundamental position remains unshaken, that, given the fecundity or power of increase of mankind, or the "potential rate," as it has been called, of population, which he assumed, the numbers of any nation must, unless restricted by either preventive or positive checks, soon exceed the means of subsistence. If the "potential rate" of human increase everywhere and always accords with his assumption that it tends to double in every twenty-five years, the necessity for either positive or preventive restraints to keep population within the limits of subsistence is incontrovertible. Both in America and in England, the antagonists to Malthus misapprehend the doctrine they combat, when they point to an actual increase of wealth as well as of population even in old countries.

In neither England nor France has population advanced at the assumed "potential rate;" it has everywhere been restrained by preventive or positive checks or by both. But the question follows, Is the potential rate always and everywhere what Malthus supposed? Does it really remain constant, as he assumed?

Mr. Amasa Walker has adduced the following statistics of the proportion of births among American-born and immigrant inhabitants of the State of Massachusets, merely with the view of proving the strength of the preventive check in a highly civilised and prosperous community, but they suggest something more:—

Native population	970,952
Foreign ,, ...	260,114
Number of births in native population . . .	16,672
,, ,, foreign ,, . . .	16,138

The number of births in the native population, as he observes, to be in proportion to the foreign, should have been 60,289, or nearly four times the actual number. "The grand cause for this remarkable difference," according to Mr. Walker, "is to be found in the fact that the foreign population are far less influenced by prudential considerations and social restraint." They, therefore, enter the marriage state with less regard to their ability to support a family respectably. "On the other hand, the resistance to marriage from a more costly style of living is constantly increasing with the native population, among whom the standard of family expenditure rises rapidly with the finer culture, the more elegant arts, and the greater social vivacity of each new year."[1] In support of this view the author adds statistics showing that the number of marriages in proportion to population is twice as great among the immigrant as among the American-born inhabitants of Massachusetts. But the proportion of births has been seen to be not twice only but four times as great. Such a decline of births seems to indicate something more than an increased force of the prudential check since Franklin said, "Marriages in America are more general and more generally early than in Europe, and if in Europe they have but four births to a marriage, we may here reckon eight." Mr. Walker himself suggests that one cause of the difference is that "the foreign population is engaged somewhat less than the native at indoor and sedentary employments, and in so far are likely to be more vigorous."[2] He furnishes statistics too which prove that the mortality is considerably greater, and the longevity less, among the American-born than among the foreign inhabitants. When to this we add the vastly greater proportion of diseases of the digestive organs in the United States than in Great Britain,[3] the premature fading of American women, and what dentists report of the frailty of American teeth, the conclusion seems inevitable that a decline in vigour and fecundity is one of the causes of the small families of American-born citizens, and that the "potential rate" of population is not constant, as Malthus supposed. That climate is not the cause, appears from Franklin's statement quoted above. The climate of Lower Canada is healthier than that of Massachusetts, but not sufficiently so to account for the difference in the number of children to a marriage. "Nous sommes terribles pour les enfants," said a French Canadian to Mr. Johnston, adding that from eight to sixteen are the usual number of the farmers' families, and naming women who had five-and-twenty children, and threatened *le vingt-sixième pour le prêtre.*[4]

The slow growth of the native population of the Eastern States of

(1) *The Science of Wealth.* By Amasa Walker. 7th ed., p. 463. (2) Ib.
(3) *Notes on North American Agriculture, Economical and Social.* By James F. W. Johnston, ii. 396. (4) Ib., i. 346.

America seems to lend probability to Mr. Herbert Spencer's doctrine, that the increased cost in nervous structure and function attending the keener struggle for life as human society advances, entails a diminution in fecundity. And whoever studies Mr. Spencer's arguments, along with facts which may be learned from English physicians, surgeons, and dentists, will find ground for surmising that new elements and conditions which Malthus could not foresee have begun to affect the population of Europe itself. A question, indeed, arises whether Mr. Spencer's view of the matter is not of too optimist a colour; and whether the hurry and anxiety of modern life do not cause more than a mere change in the direction and use of nervous power, and bring with them a decline in physical vigour that takes many painful and distressing forms, and is, in truth, a degeneracy of the race. However this may be, there is much to justify a doubt that Lord Macaulay's prediction will ever be fulfilled; or that American economists will ever be driven to give the theory of Malthus a prominent place in their treatises.

A second marked feature of American political economy is the conspicuousness of a theological element. Mr. Buckle affirmed that in England political philosophy was finally separated from theology before the end of the eighteenth century; and Dr. Roscher speaks of German political economy as having disengaged itself from religion and become an independent science a century earlier. Neither proposition is strictly accurate; but neither German nor English writers on the science have incorporated theology with it as American economists have habitually done. The assumption of an invisible hand directing to the general good the efforts of individuals seeking their own gain, appears only in a single passage of the *Wealth of Nations*, and Adam Smith's economic philosophy could stand without it. He never used his conception of the character and designs of the Deity as a premiss from which to deduce conclusions or laws. Archbishop Whately is the only modern English writer of eminence who has imported theological conceptions into economic discussions; he was a digressive writer, and his introduction of theology is clearly a digression. Of Continental economists, Bastiat is the one in whom the religious element is most prominent, but with him, too, it comes in as an inference, not as a major premiss. The harmony of the economic interests of mankind is not deduced from the beneficence of the Ruler of the Universe, but inferred from economic facts, and applied to confirm the belief in such a ruler. In American treatises, on the other hand, theology becomes the backbone of economic science. Assumptions respecting the divine will and designs are employed by both protectionists and free-traders in support of their theories. The Malthusian theory is controverted as atheistic in tendency, and contrary to the commandment to replenish the earth.

Mr. Perry announces at the beginning of his *Elements of Political Economy*, which has reached a fourteenth edition, that one of his main purposes is "an examination of the providential arrangements, physical and social, by which it appears that exchanges were designed by God for the welfare of men." He bases his theory of value and rent on the proposition that "God is a giver and not a seller," and that "value has its origin not in what God has done, but in what man has done." Children used to have a way of classing books as "Sunday" or "week-day books" by looking over the leaves for sacred names. According to this criterion several American treatises on political economy would be set apart as Sunday books. See, for instance, Mr. Perry's *Elements of Political Economy*, pp. 2, 63—5, 131, 238—41; and his *Introduction to Political Economy*, pp. 29, 73—5, 152, 203.

One cause of this characteristic is the religious origin of the chief American colonies, and the traditional influence of theological tenets over American thought on which M. de Tocqueville lays stress.[1] The chief American colleges in the Eastern States were, moreover, founded for sectarian purposes, and their original design still exercises a considerable though a declining influence over their systems of instruction and philosophy. At Yale College an attempt was made last year to stop the Professor of Social Science, Mr. W. G. Sumner, whose name is honourably known in this country as well as in his own, from making use of Herbert Spencer's works, and the matter is not yet settled. Down to recent time, also, the lecturers on political economy in American colleges were for the most part, as many of them still are, ministers of religion. This circumstance is itself connected with a more general cause. For political philosophy has been left to a theological class, who have worked their professional ideas into it, because the laity were engaged in more lucrative pursuits. Again, the prosperity of the American people, and the bountiful aid which human effort receives from nature, are more in harmony than the general condition of European society with assumptions of beneficent design in the arrangements of the economic world. Sentiment has undergone a great change in modern times in relation to this point. In the Middle Ages pain, privation, and poverty were regarded as pleasing to God, and the idea lingered long afterwards. Lord Bacon speaks of times of peace and prosperity as inclining to atheism, "For troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion." The feelings of our own day are becoming more and more adverse to such a conception. Mr. Mill's essays on religion leave little room for doubt that had all mankind been as happily circumstanced as the people of the United States, he would have been a confirmed theist. An example of the

(1) *De la Démocratie en Amerique*, iii. 10—11.

mixture of national pride in the prosperity of the United States with thankfulness to heaven on the part of its citizens that they are not as other men are, appears in the Secretary of State's letter accompanying the reports of the United States consuls, in 1879, on the "State of Labour in Europe:" "No American labourer or capitalist," says Mr. Evarts, "can read their reports without a feeling of the utmost commiseration for the toiling millions of Europe, and heartfelt pride in and appreciation of the blessings which heaven has vouchsafed to the people of the United States."

A third characteristic of American political economy is the absence of long chains of deduction, such as English economists have affected, from the assumption that competition equalises the wages of labourers and the profits of capitalists in different occupations and localities throughout a country. *A priori* one might naturally have anticipated, from the mobility of labour and capital in the United States, that the doctrine of the dependence of prices on cost of production, by reason of the equality of the gains of equal efforts and sacrifice, would have been pushed to its farthest point there. It has been, on the contrary, rejected by some American economists, ignored by others, or greatly qualified, and by none made the foundation of a great superstructure of theory; and two causes seem to have contributed to this. First, the rapid invention and change in the processes of American industry; for only in a stationary condition of the industrial arts could the value of commodities really depend on their original cost. Secondly, the fluctuation in prices, and the palpable deviation from first cost, resulting from speculation, the manipulation of dealers, and the local variations of demand and supply within the vast area over which American business is carried on. "The extraordinary fluctuations of the grain and flour market in this country," says Mr. Bowen (*American Political Economy*, p. 212), "are so great as to put all calculations at defiance, and to make the gains of dealers nearly as uncertain as a lottery." And Messrs. Read and Pell observe in their recent report, "When we quitted America wheat was 1½d. per bushel cheaper at Liverpool than New York; and wheat of the same quality was worth almost as much at Chicago, 900 miles from the seaboard."

A fourth distinguishing feature of the development of political economy in the United States is the systematic teaching of protectionism in colleges and text-books as a scientific doctrine. In the United Kingdom only a single professor of the science—the late Isaac Butt, who for a time held the chair of Political Economy in the University of Dublin—has shown any leaning towards protection. In Germany Dr. Schmoller, Professor in the University of Strasburg, supports the present protective tariff, and has some followers. But no regular text-book of the principles of political economy, advocating

protection, so far as the present writer is aware, has been published in any country in Europe. In the United States, on the other hand, protection is set forth in formal economic text-books—for example, the treatises of Carey, Thompson, Peshine Smith, Bowen, Sturtevant, and Wilson—and taught by the professors of several colleges. Mr. Perry, though himself a zealous advocate of the freedom of trade, in his *Elements of Political Economy* describes American economists as falling for the most part into two groups: "First, those modelled mainly after the ideas of Adam Smith; and, secondly, those modelled mainly after the ideas of Henry C. Carey;" thus recognising the system of Carey and his followers as that of a school of economists. No supporter of free trade, indeed, could be appointed to a chair, or get a class of students, in Pennsylvania. In the other colleges the lecturers in political economy are generally on the side of free trade, yet notable exceptions may be found. In Harvard College Mr. Bowen's chair included economics when his *American Political Economy* was published, in 1870. The chair has since been divided, it has been said, in consequence of Mr. Bowen's strong protectionist bias; but his successor in respect of economic functions, Mr. C. Dunbar, is reported to be a mild protectionist, though no indication of this appears in the essay above referred to, but only an objection to sudden and violent alterations in tariffs. At Cornell University Dr. Wilson, who lectures on economic science, has published a manual which shows him to be a protectionist. The late president of Illinois College, the Rev. Julian Sturtevant, likewise published a treatise on economics advocating protection. Physical and political conditions have combined in America to evoke a development of protectionist doctrine. The chief obstacle the manufacturer there has had to combat in competing with England, has been the superiority of his own country in some of the natural elements of wealth—land and its products, cereals, cotton, tobacco, and the precious metals—creating a scale of wages much above the English rate, and raising the cost of production in industries in which the natural advantages are not so great. The best economy, of course, would have been for American capital to confine itself to the fields in which it had superior productiveness, awaiting a rise of wages and in the cost of coal-mining in England for competition in others. But in some States, Pennsylvania especially, there were rich coal-beds and iron ores; and the owners of these and the capitalists at their side were naturally impatient for an earlier harvest, in reaping which, moreover, they could not, like the English protectionists, be charged with taxing the food of the labourer. The antagonistic feeling towards England of a large section of the Republican party concurred to favour protection. But instead of taking sulk at political economy and turning his back on

it, as the English protectionist did, the shrewder American sought a political economy on his own side, advocating a development of all the national resources; and authors and lecturers were soon forthcoming to supply the demand for economic science of this sort.

The professors of political economy in the United States, elsewhere than in Pennsylvania, are, however, for the most part on the side of free trade. And when it is borne in mind that each of the thirty-six States in the Union has from one to five or six universities or colleges—"university" in the United States means no more than college, and is only regarded as a somewhat finer name—and that there are 287 such universities or colleges, the importance of a decisive predominance of free trade doctrine in academic lectures and instruction is undeniable. Its significance ought not, however, to be overrated. Even in England it was not philosophers and professors, but manufacturers and politicians, who carried free trade; in America the manufacturers and most energetic politicians are against it, and can point to a so-called national system of political economy on their side, while the opposite system labours under the suspicions attaching to a foreign origin.

Economic theories and systems may be regarded in several different lights: (1) in reference to their causes, as the products of particular social, political, and physical conditions of thought; (2) in reference to their truth or error; (3) as factors in the formation of public opinion and policy. It is chiefly from the first of these points of view that American political economy has been considered in this essay; but the other aspects of the subject ought not to be altogether overlooked. The chief different schools of economic doctrine in the United States accordingly call for some notice. On the side of free trade are two schools, of whose leading principles respectively the late Amasa Walker's *Science of Wealth*, now in its seventh edition, and Mr. Perry's *Elements of Political Economy* and *Introduction to Political Economy* may be said to contain the best expositions. Mr. Walker's treatise fully deserves its popularity and circulation, but is so nearly in accordance with the views of the majority of English economists, unless with respect to population, as to need no special description. Mr. Perry, on the other hand (Professor of History and Political Economy in Williams College, Massachusetts), claims to belong to a newer school, of which Bastiat is the chief light. The lines of his system seem, by Mr. Perry's own account, to have been somewhat hastily traced in his mind. The study of Bastiat's *Harmonies Economiques* had, he says, been recommended to him; "I had scarcely read a dozen pages in that remarkable book," he adds, "when, closing it, and giving myself to an hour's reflection, the field of political economy in all its outlines and landmarks lay before my mind, just as it does to-day. From

that hour political economy has been to me a new science." That the clearness with which a conception is entertained gives evidence of its truth, is a proposition for which the maxim of an illustrious philosopher might be cited: "Credidi me," said Descartes, "pro regula generali sumere posse omne id quod valde dilucide et distincte concipiebam verum esse." Modern logic, nevertheless, rejects the presumption, and, as Mr. Mill has observed, no one can have examined the sources of fallacious thought without becoming deeply conscious that a nice coherence and concatenation of our ideas are apt to pass off with us for evidence of their truth. Political economy, in Mr. Perry's view, is simply a science of value, and value is never the result of natural agencies apart from human effort and service, because God's gifts are gratuitous. Rent, accordingly, is a payment, not for the use of a natural agent, but for a service rendered by the owner to the cultivator. To the obvious objection that land varies in value from natural causes, Mr. Perry replies that "A high degree of natural fertility has been scattered with so bountiful a hand, and lands naturally less fertile have such comparative advantages of another sort, that under a broad view the degree of original fertility becomes a common factor cancelled in price." In other words, land has everywhere some natural advantage or other of fertility, situation, aspect, climate, water-power, mineral wealth, &c., so that there is a general equality in respect of natural gifts, and land rent is never the price of their monopoly. Mr. Perry has visited the British Islands, and might have learned that even within their narrow compass the gifts of nature are most unequally distributed, and that the barren mountains of Donegal or the Shetland rocks have "no compensating advantage of another sort" to redress the balance.

A chain of filiation connects Mr. Perry's system with one which, on the question of free trade, is fundamentally opposed to it; for Mr. Perry's doctrines are derived directly from Bastiat; and Carey, not without reason, claimed that Bastiat owed to him his leading ideas respecting the harmony of economic interests, the value of land, and the economic results of the growth of populations and civilisation. Carey himself owed not a little to Herbert Spencer, though he strangely metamorphosed some of the conceptions he drew from that great thinker's philosophy. A personal element, however, combined to mould Carey's economic ideas. Throughout the history of political economy, indeed, the personal history, education, and character of particular writers has borne no small part in its developments and forms.[1] Dr. William Elder, one of Carey's most zealous supporters, remarks that, besides being a philosopher,

(1) For instances in the cases of Adam Smith, Quesnay, Gournay, and J. S. Mill, see the present writer's Essays in *Political and Moral Philosophy*, pp. 157—8, 160, 245—6.

he was an American and a patriot, and that his passionate hostility to the British system of foreign trade, and to the subsidiary British system of political economy, takes something of the temper and tone of national prejudice.[1] Dr. Elder adds: "His father was an Irish patriot and a political exile from the land of his birth. Something hereditary may be detected running with much of the pristine force of blood through the life and character of his son."[2]

The main doctrine of Carey is that under a proper national economy all the productive powers of a country and its people are harmoniously developed, and continual progress is achieved both in every branch of production and in the equity of distribution. An industrial nation contains three great fundamental classes, the agricultural; the manufacturing, and the commercial. All three should be developed and exist in equilibrium. In a rude state of the social organism there is no differentiation of functions; every man is warrior, hunter, fisher, builder, and carpenter. In an advanced and harmoniously developed society all the leading industries are carried on by distinct classes, dependent on each other. Up to this point the advocate of free trade, looking on civilised society as embracing all civilised nations, might concur in the doctrine. The point of separation is that Carey regarded each nation as a distinct social organism, containing the appointed natural means of independent development. "No one," says the chief living expositor of Carey's ideas (Mr. Robert Ellis Thompson, Professor of Social Science in the University of Philadelphia, and editor of the *Penn Monthly*), "who believes in the continual government of the world by Divine Will, can doubt that nations exist in consequence of that will. 'He fixeth the bounds of the nation.' Each state, like each man, has a vocation. Every nation is a chosen people. It has a peculiar part to play in the moral order of the world." Unless in the sense that whatever is, is right, and exists by divine ordinance—in which case Carey's followers must concede that free trade itself may be a divine institution—it can hardly be maintained that the boundaries of nations have been providentially ordained. A witty countryman of Professor Thompson has "guessed" that "if ever the lion lies down with the lamb, it will be with the lamb inside;" and such is in reality the manner in which bounds of the nations have for the most part been settled. They have swallowed up their weaker neighbours. History, too, is one long contradiction of the fixity of national boundaries. The limits of no great civilised empire, the United States not excepted,

(1) *Memoir of Henry C. Carey.* By William Elder, Philadelphia, 1880, p.p. 30—1.

(2) Ib. Of the fervour of Carey's utterances, Dr. Elder says: "He sometimes clinched his deliverances with expletives and epithets something out of fashion in society." An English writer who visited him, after favourably describing him on the whole to the writer of this essay, added: "He is a man of plain speech, and swears like a bargeman whenever Mill's name is mentioned."

are what they were the year before the *Wealth of Nations* was published and American Independence declared. How, then, can every State contain within confines which are frequently changed the "providential" conditions of independent economic existence? Carey argues further that great waste in carriage is saved by bringing the farm and the factory into close proximity to each other, and that a return is thereby made to the soil, which is thus not robbed of its constituents as it is by the exportation of its produce. But in the United States the chief iron and coal mines and factories are at one side of the continent, the richest soils and the most productive farms are many hundred miles off at the other side, considerable cost of carriage is incurred, and no return of constituents is made to the land in the west from produce sold in the east.

Carey's system is, in fact, Pennsylvanian rather than national economy; it is a product of Pennsylvania like its iron and coal, and has gained little acceptance in its entirety beyond the limits of that State, as may be gathered from the names of its principal supporters. In other States the most popular exposition of economic principles on the protectionist side is Mr. Bowen's *American Political Economy*, a title assumed on the ground that the system expounded by English writers is really the political economy of England alone, while American needs an American political economy adapted to what is special in its physical conditions and institutions. Yet Mr. Bowen's own system is after all, in the main, English political economy, with an incongruous admixture of Pennsylvanian doctrine in relation to foreign trade. His treatise contains a clear exposition of principles long generally accepted in England, and its protectionism, like an artificial limb, can be detached without hurting or altering the rest of the structure. Mr. Bowen, it ought to be added, pronounces emphatically in favour of a metallic standard, and advocates a resumption of specie payments; while Carey regarded issues of inconvertible paper money as streams of productive wealth. Carey's followers, in general, have been charged with adhesion to this doctrine, but it is repudiated by Professor Thompson, who advocates convertibility and deprecates an inflation of the currency. Soft money seems to have little support now from any school of economists. Protection, however, has much deeper roots; a majority of the Republican party still leans to it, and the intelligence of the country is to be found chiefly in the ranks of that party. The line between protectionists and free-traders, it should be observed, does not coincide with that between Republicans and Democrats. In Pennsylvania both Republicans and Democrats are protectionists, while in the city of New York many of both parties are free-traders. The most able and energetic supporters of both free trade and protection are Republicans.

Differing on some fundamental points from the systems that have been described, is the theory set forth in a work published last year at San Francisco, entitled *Progress and Poverty*, the author of which, according to the statement of American newspapers, has lately been appointed Professor of Political Economy in the University of California. From a passage in his book it appears that he was formerly a working man in a trade,[1] and if this is to be understood in the ordinary sense, his learning and literary power are truly astonishing and admirable. Among other gifts he possesses a fertile imagination, supplying him readily with pertinent illustration. Want of imagination is one of the causes of the inability of many economists to emancipate themselves from old abstractions, generalizations, and formulas. Their minds do not enable them to realise actual phenomena, and to test theories on all sides by a multitude of instances. Mr. George's work, however, calls for notice not only on account of its ability, and because it contains internal evidence of being a product of the economic history of California, but because also of the magnitude of the problem it propounds, and the nature of the solution it proposes. It seeks to discover the cause that makes poverty the constant companion of wealth, and to find at the same time the explanation of recurring seasons of industrial and commercial paralysis and distress. Its author is opposed to protection, and to various notions which, he says, are rapidly gaining ground in the United States, "that there is a necessary conflict between capital and labour, that machinery is an evil, that competition must be restrained and interest abolished, that wealth may be created by the issue of money, that it is the duty of Government to furnish capital or to furnish work." He often reasons deductively in the old-fashioned "orthodox" way, as confidently as Ricardo or Mr. Senior, from the assumption that every man follows his pecuniary interest by the shortest and easiest road. It is surprising to an English reader accordingly to find that his main theory is that the cause of the accompaniment of great wealth by great poverty, and of the succession of commercial depression to commercial prosperity, is the existence of private property in land.

Poverty, Mr. George argues first of all, is never the consequence of either a deficiency of capital or an excess of labourers. The labourer produces his own wages, and is not paid out of pre-existing capital, although the fact is concealed by the separation of employments and the complexity of the process of exchange. When a division of labour first takes place in early society, and, instead of every man as before supplying his own wants, one hunts, another fishes, a third gathers fruit, a fourth makes weapons or tools, a fifth clothing, each really produces his own maintenance, though he

(1) *Progress and Poverty*, p. 283.

exchanges the produce of his own labour for other things. So in a more advanced stage an exchange is really going on between the producers in different occupations, and the labourer gets his subsistence in exchange for his own productive work, and does not derive it from capital, though the capitalist conducts the exchange. And an increase in the number of labourers causes a more than proportionate increase instead of a diminution in the rate of production. Twenty men working together where nature is niggardly will produce more than twenty times the wealth one can produce where nature is most bountiful. The denser the population, the more minute becomes the subdivision of labour, the better the economy of work. It is true the growth of numbers necessitates recourse to inferior soils and other natural agents, but the increase of the power of the human factor more than compensates for the decline in power of the natural factor. The richest countries are not those where nature is most prolific, but where labour is most efficient, not Mexico but Massachusetts, not Brazil but Great Britain. The cause, then, of the depression of both the wages of labour and the interest on capital, and of the growth of poverty, as society advances, is not the increase of population, and does not lie in the conditions of production. It must, therefore, lie in distribution. The rise of rent is the real cause of the fall of both wages and interest, while the productive powers of society, so far from declining, are improving. Where the value of land is low, there may be a small production of wealth, and yet a high rate of both wages and interest, as we see in new countries. In California, where wages were higher than anywhere else in the world, so also was interest higher; but rent was non-existent; wages and interest have since gone down together, while rent has risen with startling rapidity. Where land is free, wages will consist of the whole produce, less the part necessary to induce the storing up of labour as capital. Where land, on the contrary, is all monopolized, wages may be forced down to a minimum. Three parties divide the produce, the labourer, the capitalist, and the landowner. If, with an increase of production, the labourer gets no more, the capitalist no more, but even less, the inference is that the landowner gets the whole increment. It is not the total produce, but the net produce after rent has been deducted, that determines what can be divided as wages and interest. Free trade has enormously increased the total wealth of Great Britain without lessening pauperism, because it has simply raised rent. To extirpate poverty, to make wages what justice commands they should be, the full earnings of the labourer, we must substitute for the individual ownership of land a common ownership; we must make land common property. For this purpose it is only necessary for the State to appropriate rent, not to dispossess the holders of land of its occupation.

Such in brief is the substance of Mr. George's argument. And so far as the proposition is concerned, that the labourer produces his own wages, it is true, as an American economist has shown in a work of great ability,[1] that in new countries labourers are often paid after the harvest, or by the year, and therefore out of the produce of their labour. Even in that case, however, the fund out of which the labourer is maintained while his wages are being earned, though his own, is the produce of past labour, not of the labour he is actually performing. In old countries the majority of the labourers engaged in long operations have not wherewithal to maintain themselves until the product is sold; but if they had, this fund would be a product of previous labour; it would be pre-existing wealth productively employed, that is to say, capital in the sense intended by Mr. Mill in his proposition that industry is limited by capital—a proposition which Mr. George confounds with the doctrine of the wages fund, now rejected by almost all English economists. Piers the Plowman, in Langland's poem, had barely enough food saved from the previous produce of his little farm to keep soul and body together until harvest time, while hired labourers beside him had strong ale and fresh meat and fish, hot and hot, twice a day, because they were paid out of the savings of their employers. Piers himself could have fared equally well if, instead of waiting on his own crops to dight his dinner as he liked best, he had gone into the labour market for a share of the last year's corn, and of beef and mutton which had taken years to grow. In the England of our own day labourers not only get wages from capitalists long before their own work is finished and sold, but are many of them dead and gone before then. Sometimes the product is destroyed by an accident after the workmen have been paid wages in full, but before the employer has made anything by it. In the agricultural districts of California there was, as Mr. George says, a total failure of crops in 1877, and of millions of sheep nothing remained but their bones. The farmers, nevertheless, hired labourers for the next crop, and he argues that they could not have done so out of past produce which was lost. The case really tells at both ends against Mr. George's conclusion; for it is clear that the labourers who helped to produce the crops that perished were not paid for that year's work, or maintained during it, out of its produce; and the funds which the farmers borrowed to resume their operations must have been the produce of previous work, not of work the fruits of which were not yet forthcoming.

The accumulation of capital is then necessary for the maintenance of labourers, though it may be accumulated by themselves; and in

(1) *The Question of Wages.* By Francis A. Walker. See an article by the same writer, *North American Review*, January, 1875.

a country like France, where land is to a large extent held by the productive classes, including labourers, capital is in good part accumulated out of rent. In France, too, rent in the case of a majority of families is an addition to, not a deduction from, wages and interest or profit; and were any government to seek to abolish private property in land, there are several million Frenchmen would "know the reason why." Nor is it true that wages and interest uniformly decline as rent advances. All three have been higher during the last thirty years in England than they were a hundred and thirty years ago—a fact which overthrows Mr. George's whole theory. In Holland all three have considerably risen in our own time; and although it is cited by one economist after another as the country where interest is lowest, the rate of interest is now considerably higher than in England, or than it was in Holland itself fifty years ago. A simple illustration will show how this may take place. Suppose a district contains ten million acres yielding at a low stage of husbandry ten bushels an acre, and ten million acres of better land yielding fifteen bushels an acre, and therefore five bushels per acre as rent. Let agricultural art advance along with population, so as to double the productiveness of the whole district, and the poorer land will now yield twenty, the best land thirty bushels an acre. Ten bushels per acre instead of five will now be payable in rent for the best land; yet the whole labouring population may be better clothed, housed, and fed, in consequence of the improvements attending the division of labour; and the farmer may get a higher return on his capital. The entire amount of rent may also be received by farming and labouring families, whom its very existence may have stimulated to the industry and thrift that led to the increased production. It is overlooked, one may add, by writers who treat the fall of interest as society advances as an established historical fact, that in old times most people could get no interest at all on their savings, and hoarded them for lack of productive investments.

On behalf of abolishing the private ownership of land, and giving an equal share in the bounty of nature to all, Mr. George urges that it is "but carrying out in letter and spirit the self-evident truth enunciated in the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The age of the Declaration of Independence was indeed one in which philosophers believed in inalienable natural rights; and, if we are to be guided by the ideas of its framers, nothing is more certain than that they included among "natural rights" the right of every man to acquire property in both land and movables. Only by a theory of dynamical inspiration, such as has been applied to the Bible, can we get any other meaning out of the

Declaration than its authors intended. Coming down to more recent times, Mr. George cites the actual procedure of the first miners in California, who, he says, falling back upon "first principles, primitive ideas, and natural perceptions of justice," declared that the gold-bearing land should remain common property, of which no one might take more than he could use, or hold for a longer time than he actually used it. It may be that the land system of every country calls for reform, but it may be hoped that civilised men will not seek precedents for it in the infancy of the race, or in "primitive ideas." Mr. George can but have hastily studied the works of Sir Henry Maine, whom he cites, if he supposes that early communities recognised any common right in mankind, permanent or temporary, to the use of the soil. Each little tribe jealously excluded every other to the best of its power, and recognised no right in a human being as such to property of any kind, or even to liberty or life. If, however, the natural perceptions of justice really lead to common ownership, the citizens of California are bound to admit Chinamen without number to a share in the land of the State. Had Mr. George confined himself to contending that the governments of new countries have committed a grievous blunder in allowing their territory to be appropriated in perpetuity by the first comers for a nominal payment, he would have found allies among the advocates of private property in land. Even in old countries like England, whose territory has been appropriated by a small number of owners with the full sanction of the State, and contracts, and dealings, and investments of capital have gone on for centuries on this foundation, all the requirements of justice and expediency would be met were it enacted that at a remote date—say four generations hence, or in the year 2001—all landed property, both in country and town, shall revert to the State. At that period legislators could decide, with better lights than we now possess, how to dispose of the vast accession to its resources. It would in any case come into a fund which would enable it to extinguish all taxes, and the restrictions to production and commerce they cause. Unhappily existing generations care little for a distant posterity, and would be too apt, were the project under discussion, to convert it into one for immediate and uncompensated confiscation, such as Mr. George urges with a harshness that might justify a harsher name. His theory bears decisive marks of its growth out of the anomalous history of the marvellous region in which it was published, from the first occupation of the Gold Fields by strangers from every quarter of the globe, down to the sudden impoverishment of San Francisco in recent years by the fall in mining stocks and land values, consequent on rash speculation and imprudent investments. As Carey's

system was a product of the mines of Pennsylvania, so is Mr. George's of those of California.

The prospects of political economy in the United States should be augured rather from the capacity shown than from what has been actually done, and in that sense the works of both the writers just referred to afford favourable indications. Speaking generally, however, the men best qualified to stand in the front rank of American economists are not the authors of systems or general theories, or text-books of principles, but writers on special subjects—David Wells, William M. Grosvenor, Albert S. Bolles, Francis A. Walker, Edward Atkinson, William G. Sumner, C. F. Dunbar, and Simon Newcomb. Only since the Civil War has America begun seriously to apply its mind to economic questions, and the number of powerful intellects it has brought to bear on them is a remarkable phenomenon in the history of philosophy. Many of the best economic essays the last decade has produced will be found in the pages of American periodicals—the *North American Review*, the *International Review*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Penn Monthly*, the *Princeton Review*, *Scribner's Magazine*. Journals like the *Nation* and the *Public* discuss economic questions with consummate skill. In the translation of Roscher and Blanqui work has been done by America which England ought not to have left it to do. Two considerable contributions to economic history were made last year in the *Industrial History of the United States*, and the *Financial History of the United States*, 1774—1789," by Mr. Bolles. In the perfection of its economic statistics America leaves England behind.

Were we surveying the entire field of political economy, so far as it has been cultivated in both the old and the new world, the question would arise, How much, beneath what can claim only a local or a temporary importance, possesses universal and permanent value? What problems have been solved for all time? What universal truths have been discovered? How much of the work of Adam Smith, Malthus, John Stuart Mill, Roscher, Knies, Bastiat, Chevalier, Wayland, Walker, Perry, Carey, will remain standing and solid a hundred years hence? The subject of this essay raises a still more important question—what new economic problems remain? Among them are some, it may confidently be affirmed, which the chief economists of both worlds have never yet raised, and of which they have not dreamt. There is reason to believe that America will take an active part both in bringing them to light and in their solution.

T. E. C. Leslie

THE TRAGIC COMEDIANS:

A STUDY IN AN OLD STORY.

Chapter I.

An unresisted lady-killer is probably less aware that he roams the pastures in pursuit of a coquette, than is the diligent Arachne that her web is for the devouring lion. At an early age Clotilde von Rüdiger was dissatisfied with her conquests, though they were already numerous in her seventeenth year, for she began precociously, having at her dawn a lively fancy, a womanly person, and singular attractions of colour, eyes, and style. She belonged by birth to the small aristocracy of her native land. Nature had disposed her to coquetry, which is a pastime counting among the arts of fence, and often innocent, often serviceable, though sometimes dangerous, in the centres of polished barbarism known as aristocratic societies, where nature is not absent, but on the contrary, very extravagant, tropical, by reason of her idle hours for the imbibing of copious draughts of sunlight. The young lady of charming countenance and sprightly manners is too much besought to choose for her choice to be decided; the numbers beseeching prevent her from choosing instantly, after the fashion of holiday schoolboys crowding a buffet of pastry. These are not coquettish, they clutch what is handy: and little so is the starved damsel of the sequestered village, whose one object of the worldly picturesque is the passing curate; her heart is his for a nod. But to be desired ardently of trooping hosts is an incentive to taste to try for yourself. Men (the jury of householders empanelled to deliver verdicts upon the ways of women) can almost understand that. And as it happens, tasting before you have sounded the sense of your taste will frequently mislead by a step or two difficult to retrieve: the young coquette must then be cruel, as necessarily we kick the waters to escape drowning: and she is not in all cases dealing with simple blocks or limp festoons, she comes upon veteran tricksters that have a knowledge of her sex, capable of out-fencing her nascent individuality. The more imagination she has, for a source of strength in the future days, the more is she a prey to the enemy in her time of ignorance.

Clotilde's younger maiden hours and their love episodes are wrapped in the mists Diana considerately drops over her adventurous favourites. She was not under a French mother's rigid supervision. In France the mother resolves that her daughter shall be guarded from the risks of that unequal rencounter between foolish innocence and the predatory. Vigilant foresight is not so much practised where the world is less accurately comprehended. Young

people of Clotilde's upper world everywhere, and the young women of it especially, are troubled by an idea drawn from what they inhale and guess at in the spirituous life surrounding them, that the servants of the devil are the valiant host, this world's elect, getting and deserving to get the best it can give in return for a little dashing audacity, a flavour of the Fronde in their conduct: they sin, but they have the world; and then they repent perhaps, but they have had the world. The world is the golden apple. Thirst for it is common during youth: and one would think the French mother worthy of the crown of wisdom if she were not so scrupulously provident in excluding love from the calculations on behalf of her girl.

Say (for Diana's mists are impenetrable and freeze curiosity) that Clotilde was walking with Count Constantine, the brilliant Tartar trained in Paris, when first she met Prince Marko Romaris, at the Hungarian Baths on the borders of the Styrian highlands. The scene at all events is pretty, and weaves a fable out of a variety of floating threads. A stranger to the baths, dressed in white and scarlet, sprang from his carriage into a group of musical gipsies round an inn at the arch of the chestnut avenue, after pulling up to listen to them for a while. The music had seized him. He snatched bow and fiddle from one of the ring, and with a few strokes kindled their faces. Then seating himself on a bench he laid the fiddle on his knee, and pinched the strings and flung up his voice, not ceasing to roll out the spontaneous notes when Clotilde and her cavalier, and other couples of the party, came nigh; for he was on the tide of the song, warm in it, and loved it too well to suffer intruders to break the flow, or to think of them. They were close by when the last of it rattled (it was a popular song of a fiery tribe) to its finish. He rose and saluted Clotilde, smiled and jumped back to his carriage, sending a cry of adieu to the swarthy lank-locked, leather-hued circle, of which his dark oriental eyes and skin of burnished walnut made him look an offshoot, but one of the celestial branch.

He was in her father's reception-room when she reached home: he was paying a visit of ceremony on behalf of his family to General von Rüdiger: which helped her to remember that he had been expected, and also that his favourite colours were known to be white and scarlet. In those very colours, strange to tell, Clotilde was dressed; Prince Marko had recognized her by miraculous divination, he assured her he could have staked his life on the guess as he bowed to her. Adieu to Count Constantine. Fate had interposed the prince opportunely, we have to suppose, for she received a strong impression of his coming straight from her invisible guardian; and the stroke was consequently trenchant which sent the conquering Tartar raving of her fickleness. She struck, like fate, one blow.

She discovered that the prince, in addition to his beauty and sweet manners and gift of song, was good; she fell in love with goodness, whereof Count Constantine was not an example: so she set her face another way, soon discovering that there may be fragility in goodness. And now first her imagination conceived the hero who was to subdue her. Could Prince Marko be he, soft as he was, pliable, a docile infant, burning to please her, enraptured in obeying?—the hero who would wrestle with her, overcome and hold her bound? Siegfried could not be dreamed in him, or a Siegfried's baby son-in-arms. She caught a glorious image of the woman rejecting him and his rival, and it informed her that she, dissatisfied with an Adonis, and more than a match for a famous conqueror, was a woman of decisive and independent, perhaps unexampled, force of character. Her idea of a spiritual superiority that could soar over those two men, the bad and the good—the bad because of his vileness, the good because of his frailness—whispered to her of deserving, possibly of attracting, the best of men: the best, that is, in the woman's view of us—the strongest, the great eagle of men, lord of earth and air.

One who will dominate *me*, she thought.

Now when a young lady of lively intelligence and taking charm has brought her mind to believe that she possesses force of character, she persuades the rest of the world easily to agree with her, and so long as her pretensions are not directly opposed to their habits of thought, her parents will be the loudest in proclaiming it, fortifying so the maid's presumption, which is ready to take root in any shadow of subserviency. Her father was a gouty general of infantry, in the diplomatic service, disinclined to unnecessary disputes, out of consideration for his vehement irritability when roused. Her mother had been one of the beauties of her set, and was preserving an attenuated reign, through the conversational arts, to save herself from fading into the wall. Her brothers and sisters were not of an age to contest her lead. The temper of the period was revolutionary in society by reflection of the state of politics, and juniors were sturdy democrats, letting their elders know that they had come to their inheritance, while the elders, confused by the impudent topsy-turvy, put on the gaping mask (not unfamiliar to history) of the disestablished conservative, whose astounded state paralyzes.

Clotilde maintained a decent measure in the liberty she claimed, and it was exercised now in wildness of dialogue rather than in capricious behaviour. If her flowing tongue was imperfectly controlled, it was because she discoursed by preference to men upon our various affairs and tangles, and they encouraged her with the tickled wonder which bids the bold advance yet farther into bogland. Becoming the renowned original of her society, wherever it might

be, in Germany, Italy, Southern France, she grew chillily sensible of the solitude decreed for their heritage to our loftiest souls. Her Indian Bacchus, as a learned professor supplied Prince Marko's title for her, was a pet, not a companion. She to him was what she sought for in another. As much as she pitied herself for not lighting on the predestined man, she pitied him for having met the woman, so that her tenderness for both inspired many signs of warm affection, not very unlike the thing it moaned secretly the not being. For she could not but distinguish a more poignant sorrow in the seeing of the object we yearn to vainly than in vainly yearning to one unseen. Dressed, to delight him, in Prince Marko's colours, the care she bestowed on her dressing was for the one absent, the shrouded comer: so she pleased the prince to be pleasing to her soul's lord, and this, owing to an appearance of satisfactory deception that it bore, led to her thinking guiltily. We may ask it: an eagle is expected, and how is he to declare his eagleship save by breaking through our mean conventional systems, tearing links asunder, taking his own in the teeth of vulgar ordinances? Clotilde's imagination drew on her reading for the knots it tied and untied, and its ideas of grandeur. Her reading was an interfusion of philosophy skimmed, and realistic romances deep-sounded. She tried hard, but could get no other terrible tangle for her hero's exhibition of flaming azure divineness than the vile one of the wedded woman. Further thinking of it, she revived and recovered; she despised the complication, yet without perceiving how else he was to manifest himself legitimately in a dull modern world. The rescuing her from death would be a poor imitation of worn-out heroes. His publication of a trumpeting book fell appallingly flat in her survey. Deeds of gallantry done as an officer in war (defending his country too) distinguished the soldier, but failed to add the eagle feather to the man. She had a mind of considerable soaring scope, and eclectic: it analyzed a Napoleon, and declined the position of *his* empress. The man must be a gentleman. Poets, princes, warriors, potentates, marched before her speculative fancy unselected.

So far, as far as she can be portrayed introductorily, she is not without exemplars in the sex. Young women have been known to turn from us altogether, never to turn back, so poor and shrunken, or so fleshly-bulgy have we all appeared in the fairy jacket they wove for the right one of us to wear becomingly. But the busy great world was round Clotilde while she was malleable, though she might be losing her fresh ideas of the hammer and the block, and that is a world of much solicitation to induce a vivid girl to merge an ideal in a living image. Supposing, when she has accomplished it, that men justify her choice, the living will retain the colours of the ideal. We have it on record that he may seem an eagle.

"You talk curiously like Alvan, do you know," a gentleman of her country said to her as they were descending the rock of Capri one day. He said it musingly.

He belonged to a circle beneath her own: the learned and artistic. She had not heard of this Alvan, or had forgotten him, but professing universal knowledge, especially of celebrities, besides having an envious eye for that particular circle, which can pretend to be the choicest of all, she was unwilling to betray her ignorance, and she dimpled her cheek, as one who had often heard the thing said to her before. She smiled musingly.

Chapter II.

"Who is the man they call Alvan?" She put the question at the first opportunity to an aunt of hers.

Up went five-fingered hands. This violent natural sign of horror was comforting: she saw that he was a celebrity indeed.

"Alvan! My dear Clotilde! What on earth can you want to know about a creature who is the worst of demagogues, a disreputable person, and a Jew?"

Clotilde remarked that she had asked only who he was. "Is he clever?"

"He is one of the basest of those wretches who are for upsetting the Throne and Society to gratify their own wicked passions: that is what he is."

"But is he clever?"

"Able as Satan himself, they say. He is a really dangerous bad man. You could not have been curious about a worse one."

"Politically, you mean."

"Of course I do."

The lady had not thought of any other kind of danger from a man of that station.

The likening of one to Satan does not always exclude meditation upon him. Clotilde was anxious to learn in what way her talk resembled Alvan's. He being that furious creature, she thought of herself at her wildest, which was in her estimation her best; and consequently she being by no means a furious creature, though very original, she could not meditate on him without softening the outlines given him by report; all because of the likeness between them; and, therefore, as she had knowingly been taken for furious by very foolish people, she settled it that Alvan was also a victim of the prejudices he scorned. It had pleased her at times to scorn our prejudices and feel the tremendous weight she brought on herself by the indulgence. She drew on her recollections of the Satanic in her

bosom, when so situated, and never having admired herself more ardently than when wearing that aspect, she would have admired the man who had won the frightful title in public, except for one thing—he was a Jew.

The Jew was to Clotilde as flesh of swine to the Jew. Her parents had the same abhorrence of Jewry. One of the favourite similes of the family for whatsoever grunted in grossness, wriggled with meanness, was Jew: and it was noteworthy from the fact that a streak of the blood was in the veins of the latest generation, and might have been traced on the maternal side.

Now a meanness that clothes itself in the Satanic to terrify cowards is the vilest form of impudence venturing at insolence; and an insolent impudence with Jew features, the Jew nose and lips, is past endurance repulsive. She dismissed her contemplation of Alvan. Luckily for the gentleman who had compared her to the Jew politician, she did not meet him again in Italy.

Clotilde rejected another aspirant proposed by her parents, and falling into disgrace at home, she went to live for some months with an ancient lady who was her close relative residing in the capital city where the brain of her race is located. There it occurred that a dashing officer of social besides military rank, dancing with her at a ball, said, for a comment on certain boldly independent remarks she had been making: "I see you know Alvan."

Alvan once more.

"Indeed I do not," she said, for she was addressing an officer high above Alvan in social rank; and she shrugged, implying that she was almost past contradiction of the charge.

"Surely you must," said he; "where is the lady who could talk and think as you do without knowing Alvan and sharing his views?"

Clotilde was both startled and nettled.

"But I do not know him at all; I have never met him, never seen him. I am unlikely to meet the kind of person," she protested; and she was amazed yet secretly rejoiced on hearing him, a noble of her own circle, and a dashing officer, rejoin: "Come, come, let us be honest. That is all very well for the little midges floating round us to say of Alvan, but we two can clasp hands and avow proudly that we both know and love the man."

"Were it true I would own it at once, but I repeat that he is a total stranger to me," she said, seeing the Jew under quite a different illumination.

"Actually?"

"In honour."

"You have never met, never seen him, never read any of his writings?"

"Never. I have heard his name, that is all."

"Then," the officer's voice was earnest, "I pity him, and you no less, while you remain strangers, for you were made for one another. Those ideas you have expressed, nay, the very words, are Alvan's: I have heard him use them. He has just the same original views of society and history as yours; they're identical; your features are not unlike . . . you talk alike; I could fancy your voice the sister of his. You look incredulous? You were speaking of 'Pompeius,' and you said 'Plutarch's Pompeius,' and more—for it is almost incredible under the supposition that you do not know and have never listened to Alvan—you said, that Pompeius appeared to have been decorated with all the gifts of the Gods to make the greater sacrifice of him to Cæsar, who was not personally worth a pretty woman's 'bite.' Come, now—you must believe me: at a supper at Alvan's table the other night, the talk happened to be of a modern Cæsar, which led to the real one, and from him to *Plutarch's Pompeius*, as Alvan called him; and then he said of him what you have just said, absolutely the same, down to the allusion to the bite, I assure you. And you have numbers of little phrases in common: you are partners in aphorisms: *Barriers are for those who cannot fly:* that is Alvan's. I could multiply them if I could remember; they struck me as you spoke."

"I must be a shameless plagiarist," said Clotilde.

"Or he," said Count Kollin.

Alvan was a Jew. Still a Jew of whom Count Kollin spoke so warmly must be exceptional, and of the exceptional she dreamed. He might have the head of a Cæsar. She imagined a huge head, the cauldron of a boiling brain, anything but bright to the eye, like a pot always on the fire, black, greasy, encrusted, unkempt: the head of a malicious tremendous dwarf. Her hungry inquiries in a city where Alvan was well known, brought her full information of one who enjoyed a highly convivial reputation besides the influence of his political leadership; but no description of his aspect accompanied it, for where he was nightly to be met somewhere about the city none thought of describing him, and she did not push that question because she had sketched him for herself, and rather wished, the more she heard of his genius, to keep him repulsive. It appeared that his bravery was as well proved as his genius, and a brilliant instance of it had been given in the city not long since. He had her ideas, and he won multitudes with them; he was a talker, a writer, and an orator; and he was learned, while she could not pretend either to learning or to a flow of rhetoric. She could prattle deliciously, at times pointedly, relying on her intuition to tell her more than we get from books, and on her sweet impudence for a richer original strain. She began to appreciate now a reputation

for profound acquirements. Learned professors of jurisprudence and history were as enthusiastic for Alvan in their way as Count Kollin. She heard things related of Alvan by the under-breath. That circle below her own, the literary and artistic, idolized him; his talk, his classic breakfasts and suppers, his undisguised ambition, his indomitable energy, his dauntlessness, and sway over her sex, were subjects of eulogy all round her; and she heard of an enamoured baroness. No one blamed Alvan. He had shown his chivalrous valour in defending her. The baroness was not a young woman, and she was a hard-bound Blue. She had been the first to discover the prodigy, and had pruned, corrected, and published him; he was one of her political works, promising to be the most successful. An old affair apparently; but the association of a woman's name with Alvan's, albeit the name of a veteran, roused the girl's curiosity, leading her to think his mental and magnetic powers must be of the very highest, considering his physical repulsiveness, for a woman of rank to yield him such extreme devotion. She commissioned her princely serving-man, who had followed and was never far away from her, to obtain precise intelligence of this notorious Alvan.

Prince Marko did what he could to please her; he knew something of the rumours about Alvan and the baroness. But why should his lady trouble herself for particulars of such people, whom it could scarcely be supposed she would meet by accident? He asked her this. Clotilde said it was common curiosity. She read him a short lecture on the dismal narrowness of their upper world; and on the advantage of taking an interest in the world below them and more enlightened; a world where ideas were current and speech was wine. The prince was more or less a serviceless Indian Bacchus, standing for sign of the beauty and vacuity of their world: and how dismally narrow that world was, she felt with renewed astonishment at every dive out of her gold-fish pool into the world of tides below; so that she was ready to scorn the cultivation of the graces, and had, when not submitting to the smell, fanciful fits of a liking for tobacco-smoke—the familiar incense of those homes where speech was wine.

Calling one afternoon on a new acquaintance of the flat table-land she liked tripping down to from her heights, Clotilde found the lady in supreme toilette, glowing, bubbling: "Such a breakfast, my dear!" The costly profusion, the anecdotes, the wit, the fun, the copious draughts of the choicest of life—was there ever anything to match it? Never in that lady's recollection, or her husband's either, she exclaimed.—And where was the breakfast? Why, at Alvan's, to be sure! Where else could such a breakfast be?

"And you know Alvan!" cried Clotilde, catching excitement from the lady's flush.

"Alvan is one of my husband's closest friends."

Clotilde put on the playful frenzy; she made show of wringing her hands: "Oh! happy you! you know Alvan? And everybody is to know him except I? why? I proclaim it unjust. Because I am unmarried? I'll take a husband to-morrow morning to be entitled to meet Alvan in the evening."

The playful frenzy is accepted in its exact innocent signification of 'this is my pretty wilful will and way,' and the lady responded to it cordially; for it is pleasant to have some one to show, and pleasant to assist some one eager to see: besides, many had petitioned her for a sight of Alvan; she was used to the request.

"You're not obliged to wait for to-morrow," she said. "Come to one of our gatherings to-night. Alvan will be here."

"You invite me?"

"Distinctly. Pray, come. He is sure to be here. We have his promise, and Alvan never fails. Was it not Frau v. Crestow who did us the favour of our introduction? She will bring you."

The Frau v. Crestow was a cousin of Clotilde's by marriage, sentimental, but strict in her reading of the proprieties. She saw nothing wrong in undertaking to conduct Clotilde to one of those famous gatherings of the finer souls of the city and the race; and her husband agreed to join them after the sitting of the Chamber upon a military-budget vote. The whole plan was nicely arranged and went well. Clotilde dressed carefully, letting her gold-locks cloud her fine forehead carelessly, with finishing touches to the negligence, for she might be challenged to take part in disputations on serious themes, and a handsome young woman who has to sustain an argument against a man does wisely when she forearms her beauties for a reserve, to carry out flanking movements if required. The object is to beat him.

Chapter III.

Her hostess met her at the entrance of the rooms, murmuring that Alvan was present, and was *there*:—a direction of a nod that any quick-witted damsel will pretend to think sufficient, so Clotilde slipped from her companion and gazed into the recess of a doorless inner room, where three gentlemen stood, backed by bookcases, conversing in blue vapours of tobacco. They were indistinct; she could see that one of them was of splendid stature. One she knew; he was the master of the house, mildly Jewish. The third was distressingly branded with the slum and gutter signs of the Ahasuerus race. Three hats on his head could not have done it more effectively. The vindictive caricatures of the God Pan executed by priests of the later religion burning to hunt him out of worship in the semblance

of the hairy, hoofy, snouty evil one, were not more loathsome. She sank on a sofa. That the man? Oh! Jew, and fifty times over Jew! nothing but Jew!

The three stepped into the long saloon, and she saw how veritably magnificent was the first whom she had noticed.

She sat at her lamb's-wool work in the little ivory frame, feeding on the contrast. This man's face was the born orator's, with the light-giving eyes, the forward nose, the animated mouth, all stamped for speechfulness and enterprise, of Cicero's rival in the forum before he took the headship of armies and marched to empire. Alas, he could not be other than Christian, so glorious was he in build! One could vision an eagle swooping to his helm by divine election. So vigorously rich was his blood that the swift emotion running with the theme as he talked pictured itself in passing, and was like the play of sheet lightning on the variations of the uninterrupted and many-glancing outpour. Looking on him was listening. Yes, the looking on him sufficed. He was an image of the beauty of a new order of godlike men that drained an Indian Bacchus of his thin seductions at a breath—reduced him to the state of nursery plaything, spangles and wax, in the contemplation of a girl suddenly plunged on the deeps of her womanhood. She shrank to smaller and smaller as she looked.

Be sure that she knew who he was. No, says she. But she knew. It terrified her soul to think he was Alvan. She feared scarcely less that it might not be he. Between these dreads of doubt and belief she played at cat and mouse with herself, escaped from cat, persecuted mouse, teased herself, and gloated. It is he! not he! he! not he! most certainly! impossible!—And then it ran: If he, oh me! If another, woe me! For she had come to see Alvan. Alvan and she shared ideas. They talked marvellously alike, so as to startle Count Kollin; and supposing he was not Alvan, it would be a bitter disappointment. The supposition that he was, threatened her with instant and lifelong bondage. Then again, could that face be the face of a Jew? She feasted. It was a noble profile, an ivory skin, most lustrous eyes. Perchance a Jew of the Spanish branch of the exodus, not the Polish. There is the noble Jew as well as the bestial Gentile. There is not in the sublimest of Gentiles a majesty comparable to that of the Jew elect. He may well think his race favoured of heaven, though heaven chastise them still. The noble Jew is grave in age, but in his youth he is the arrow to the bow of his fiery eastern blood, and in his manhood he is—ay, what you see there! a figure of easy and superb preponderance, whose fire has mounted to inspirit and be tempered by the intellect.

She was therefore prepared all the while for the surprise of learn-

ing that the gentleman so unlike a Jew was Alvan; and she was prepared to express her recordation of the circumstance in her diary with phrases of very eminent surprise. Necessarily it would be the greatest of surprises.

The three, this man and his two of the tribe, upon whom Clotilde's attention centred with a comparison in her mind too sacred to be other than profane (comparisons will thrust themselves on minds disordered), dropped to the cushions of the double-seated sofa, by one side of which she cowered over her wool-work, willing to dwindle to a pin's head if her insignificance might enable her to hear the words of the speaker. He pursued his talk; there was little danger of not hearing him. There was only the danger of feeling too deeply the spell of his voice. His voice had the mellow fulness of the clarionet. But for the subject she could have fancied a noontide piping of great Pan by the sedges. She had never heard a continuous monologue so musical, so varied in music, amply flowing, vivacious, interwovenly the brook, the stream, the torrent: a perfect natural orchestra in a single instrument. He had notes less pastorally imageable, notes that fired the blood, with the ranging of his theme. The subject became clearer to her subjugated wits, until the mental vivacity he roused on certain impetuous phrases of assertion caused her pride to waken up and rebel as she took a glance at herself, remembering that she likewise was a thinker, deemed in her society an original thinker, an intrepid thinker and talker, not so very much beneath this man in audacity of brain, it might be. He kindled her thus, and the close-shut bud expanded and knew the fretting desire to breathe out the secret within it, and be appreciated in turn.

The young flower of her sex burned to speak, to deliver an opinion. She was unaccustomed to yield a fascinated ear. She was accustomed rather to dictate and be the victorious performer, and though now she was not anxious to occupy the pulpit—being too strictly bred to wish for a post publicly in any of the rostra—and meant still less to dispossess the present speaker of the place he filled so well, she yearned to join him: and as that could not be done by a stranger approving, she panted to dissent. A young lady cannot so well say to an unknown gentleman: "You have spoken truly, sir," as, "That is false!" for to speak in the former case would be gratuitous, and in the latter she is excused by the moral warmth provoking her. Further, dissent rings out finely, and approval is a feeble murmur—a poor introduction of oneself. Her moral warmth was ready and waiting for the instigating subject, but of course she was unconscious of the goad within. Excitement wafted her out of herself, as we say, or out of the conventional

vessel into the waves of her troubled nature. He had not yet given her an opportunity for dissenting; she was compelled to agree, dragged at his chariot-wheels in headlong agreement.

His theme was Action; the political advantages of Action; and he illustrated his view with historical advantages, to the credit of the French, the temporary discredit of the German and English races, who tend to compromise instead. Of the English he spoke as of a power extinct, a people 'gone to fat,' who have gained their end in a hoard of gold and shut the door upon bandit ideas. Action means life to the soul as to the body. Compromise is virtual death: it is the pact between cowardice and comfort under the title of expediency. So do we gather dead matter about us. So are we gradually self-stifled, corrupt. The war with evil in every form must be incessant; we cannot have peace. Let then our joy be in war: in uncompromising Action, which need not be the less a sagacious conduct of the war. . . . . Action energizes men's brains, generates grander capacities, provokes greatness of soul between enemies, and is the guarantee of positive conquest for the benefit of our species. To doubt that, is to doubt of good being to be had for the seeking. He drew pictures of the healthy Rome when turbulent, the doomed quiescent. Rome struggling grasped the world. Rome stagnant invited Goth and Vandal. So forth: alliterative antitheses of the accustomed pamphleteer. At last her chance arrived.

His opposition portrayed of Inaction was refreshed by an analysis of the character of Hamlet. Then he reverted to Hamlet's promising youth. How brilliantly endowed was the Prince of Denmark in the beginning!

"Mad from the first!" cried Clotilde. She produced an effect not unlike that of a sudden crack of thunder. The three made chorus in a noise of boots on the floor.

Her hero faced about and stood up, looking at her fulgently. Their eyes engaged without wavering on either side. Brave eyes they seemed, each pair of them, for his were fastened on a comely girl, and she had strung herself to her gallantest to meet the crisis.

His friends quitted him at a motion of the elbows. He knelt on the sofa, leaning across it, with clasped hands.

"You are she!—So, then, is a contradiction of me to be the commencement?"

"After the apparition of Hamlet's father the prince was mad," said Clotilde hurriedly, and she gazed for her hostess, a paroxysm of alarm succeeding that of her boldness.

"Why should we two wait to be introduced?" said he. "We know one another. I am Alvan. You are she of whom I heard from Kollin: who else? Lucrezia the gold-haired; the gold-

crested serpent, wise as her sire; Aurora breaking the clouds; in short, Clotilde!"

Her heart exulted to hear him speak her name. She laughed with a radiant face. His being Alvan, and his knowing her and speaking her name, all was like the happy reading of a riddle. He came round to her, bowing, and his hand out. She gave hers: she could have said, if asked, "For good!" And it looked as though she had given it for good.

Chapter IV.

"Hamlet in due season," said he, as they sat together. "I shall convince you."

She shook her head.

"Yes, yes, an opinion formed by a woman is inflexible; I know that: the fact is not half so stubborn. But at present there are two more important actors: we are not at Elsinore. You are aware that I hoped to meet you?"

"Is there a periodical advertisement of your hopes?—or do they come to us by intuition?"

"Kollin was right! The ways of the serpent will be serpentine. I knew we must meet. It is no true day so long as the goddess of the morning and the sungod are kept asunder. I speak of myself by what I have felt since I heard of you."

"You are sure of your divinity?"

"Through my belief in yours!"

They bowed smiling at the courtly exchanges.

"And tell me," said he, "as to meeting me? . . . ."

She replied: "When we are so like the rest of the world we may confess our weakness."

"Unlike! for the world and I meet and part: not we two."

Clotilde attempted an answer: it would not come. She tried to be revolted by his lording tone, and found it strangely inoffensive. His lording presence and the smile that was like a waving feather on it compelled her so strongly to submit to hear as to put her in danger of appearing to embrace this man's rapid advances.

She said: "I first heard of you at Capri."

"And I was at Capri seven days after you had left."

"You knew my name *then?*"

"Be not too curious with necromancers. Here is the date—March 15th. You departed on the 8th."

"I think I did. That is a year from now."

"Then we missed: now we meet. It is a year lost. A year is a great age! Reflect on it and what you owe me. How I wished

for a comrade at Capri! Not a 'young lady,' and certainly no man. The understanding Feminine was my desire—a different thing from the feminine understanding, usually. I wanted my comrade young and fair, necessarily of your sex, but with heart and brain: an insane request, I fancied, until I heard that you were the person I wanted. In default of you I paraded the island with Tiberius, who is my favourite tyrant. We took the initiative against the patricians, at my suggestion, and the Annals were written by a plebeian demagogue, instead of by one of that party, whose account of my extinction by command of the emperor was pathetic. He apologized in turn for my imperial master and me, saying truly that the misunderstanding between us was past cement: for each of us loved the man but hated his office: and as the man is always more in his office than he is in himself, clearly it was the lesser portion of our friend that each of us loved. So, I, as the weaker, had to perish, as he would have done had I been the stronger; I admitted it, and sent my emperor my respectful adieux, with directions for the avoiding of assassins. Mademoiselle, by delaying your departure seven days you would have saved me from death. You see, the official is the artificial man, and I ought to have known there is no natural man left in us to weigh against the artificial. I counted on the emperor's personal affection, forgetting that princes cannot be our friends."

"You died bravely?"

Clotilde entered into the extravagance with a happy simulation of zest.

"Simply, we will say. My time had come, and I took no sturdy pose, but let the lifestream run its course for a less confined embankment. Sapphire sea, sapphire sky: one believes in life there, thrills with it, when life is ebbing: ay, as warmly as when life is at the flow in our sick and shrivelled North—the climate for dried fish! Verily the second death of hearing that a gold-haired Lucrezia had been on the island seven days earlier, was harder to bear. Tell me frankly—the music in Italy?"

"Amorous and martial, brainless and monotonous."

"Excellent!", his eyes flashed delightedly. "O comrade of comrades! that year lost to me will count heavily as I learn to value those I have gained. Yes, brainless! There, in music, we beat them, as politically France beats us. No life without brain! The brainless in Art and in Statecraft are nothing but a little more obstructive than the dead. It is less easy to cut a way through them. But it must be done, or the Philistine will be as the locust in his increase, and devour the green blades of the earth. You have been trained to shudder at the demagogue?"

"I do not shudder," said Clotilde.

"A diamond from the lapidary!—Your sentences have many facets. Well, you are conversing with a demagogue, an avowed one: a demagogue and Jew. You take it as a matter of course: you should exhibit some sparkling incredulity. The Christian is like the politician in supposing the original obverse of him everlastingly the same, after the pattern of the monster he was originally taught to hate. But the Jew has been a little christianized, and we have a little bejewed the Christian. So with demagogues: as we see the conservative crumbling, we grow conservatived. Try to think individually upon what you have to learn collectively—that is your task. You are of the few who will be equal to it. We are not men of blood, believe me. I am not. For example, I detest and I decline the duel. I have done it, and proved myself a man of mettle notwithstanding. To say nothing of the inhumanity, the senselessness of duelling revolts me. 'Tis a folly, so your nobles practise it, and your royal wiseacre sanctions. No blood for me: and yet I tell you that whatever opposes me, I will sweep away. How? With the brain. If we descend to poor brute strength or brutal craft, it is from failing in the brain: we quit the leadership of our forces, and the descent is the beast's confession. Do I say how? Perhaps by your aid.—You do not start and cry: 'Mine!' That is well. I have not much esteem for non-professional actresses. They are numerous and not entertaining.—You leave it to me to talk."

"Could I do better?"

"You listen sweetly."

"It is because I like to hear."

"You have the pearly little ear of a shell on the sand."

"With the great sea sounding near it!"

Alvan drew closer to her.

"I look into your eyes and perceive that one may listen to you and speak to you. Heart to heart then! Yes, a sea to lull you, a sea to win you—temperately, let us hope; by storm, if need be. My prize is found! The good friend who did the part of Iris for us came bounding to me: 'I have discovered the wife for you, Alvan.' I had previously heard of her from another as having touched the islet of Capri. 'But,' says Collin, 'she is a gold-crested serpent—slippery!' Is she? That only tells me of a little more to be mastered. I feel my future now. Hitherto it has been a land without sunlight. Do you know how the look of sunlight on a land calms one? It signifies to the eye possession and repose, the end gained—not the end to labour, just heaven! but peace to the heart's craving, which is the renewal of strength for work, the fresh dip in the waters of life. Well, and you are my sunlighted land. And

you will have to be fought for. And I see not the less repose in the prospect! Part of you may be shifty—sand. The sands are famous for their golden shining—as you shine. Well, then, we must make the quicksands concrete. I have a perfect faith in you, and in the winning of you. Clearly you will have to be fought for. I should imagine it a tough battle to come. But as I doubt neither you nor myself, I see beyond it.—We use phrases in common, and aphorisms, it appears. Why? but that our minds act in unison. What if I were to make a comparison of you with Paris?—the city of Paris, Lutetia."

"Could you make it good?" said Clotilde,

He laughed and postponed it for a series of skimming discussions like swallow-flights from the nest beneath the eaves to the surface of the stream, perpetually reverting to her, and provoking spirited replies, leading her to fly with him in expectation of a crowning compliment that must be singular and was evidently gathering confirmation in his mind from the touches and probings of her character on these flights.

She was like a lady danced off her sense of fixity, to whom the appearance of her whirling figure in the mirror is both wonderful and reassuring; and she liked to be discussed, to be compared to anything, for the sake of being the subject, so as to be sure it was she that listened to a man who was a stranger, claiming her for his own; sure it was she that by not breaking from him implied consent, she that went speeding in this magical rapid round which slung her more and more out of her actual into her imagined self, compelled her to proceed, denied her the right to faint and call upon the world for aid, and catch at it, though it was close by and at a signal would stop the terrible circling. The world was close by and had begun to stare. Her woman's eyes had no guard: they had scarcely speculation. She saw nothing in its passing, but everything backward, under haphazard flashes. The sight of her hand disengaged told her it had been detained: a glance at the company reminded her that those were men and women who had been other than phantoms: recollections of the words she listened to, assented to, replied to, displayed the gulfs she had crossed. And nevertheless her brain was quick as his to press forward to pluck the themes which would demonstrate her mental vividness and at least indicate her force of character. Strange to consider:—with all his precious gifts, which must make the gift of life thrice dear to him, he was fearless. Less by what he said than by divination she discerned that he knew not fear. If for only that, she would have hung to him like his shadow.

Alvan shaped a comparison of her with Paris, his beloved of cities

—the symbolised goddess of the lightning brain that is quick to conceive, eager to realise ideas, impassioned for her hero, but ever putting him to proof, graceful beyond all rhyme, colloquial as never the Muse; light in light hands, yet valiant unto death for a principle: and therefore not light, anything but light in strong hands, very steadfast rather: and oh! constantly entertaining.

The comparison had to be strained to fit the living lady's shape. Did he think it, or a dash of something like it?

His mood was luxurious. He had found the fair and youthful original woman of refinement and station desired by him. He had good reason to wish to find her. Having won a name, standing on firm ground, with promise of a great career, chief of what was then taken for a growing party and is not yet a collapsed, nor will be, though the foot on it is iron, his youth had flown under the tutelage of an extraordinary Mentor, whom to call Athene robs the goddess of her personal repute for wisdom in conduct, but whose head was wise, wise as it was now grey. Verily she was original: and a grey original should seem remarkable above a blooming blonde. If originality in women were our prime request, the grey should bear the palm. She has gone through the battle, retaining the standard she carried into it: which is a victory. Alas, that grey, so spirit-touching in Art, should be so wintry in reality!

The discovery of a feminine original breathing Spring, softer, warmer than the ancient one, gold instead of snow crested, and fully as intrepid, as devoted, was an immense joy to Alvan. He took it luxuriously because he believed in his fortune, a kind of natal star, the common heritage of the adventurous, that brought him his good things in time, in return for energetic strivings in a higher direction apart from his natural longings. Fortune had delayed, he had wintered long. All the sweeter was the breath of the young spring. That exquisite new sweetness robed Clotilde in the attributes of the person dreamed of for his mate; and deductively assuming her to possess them he could not doubt his power of winning her. *Barriers are for those who cannot fly.* The barriers were palpable about a girl of noble Christian birth: so was the courage in her which would give her wings, he thought, coming to that judgment through the mixture of his knowledge of himself and his perusal of her exterior. He saw that she could take an impression deeply enough to express it sincerely, and he counted on it, sympathetically endowing her with his courage to support the originality she was famed for.

They were interrupted between whiles by weariful men running to Alvan for counsel on various matters—how to play their game, or the exact phrasing of some pregnant sentence current in politics or literature. He satisfied them severally and shouldered them away,

begging for peace that night. Clotilde corroborated his accurate recital of the lines of a contested verse of the incomparable Heinrich, and they fell to capping verses of the poet—lucid metheglin, with here and there no dubious flavour of acid, and a lively sting in the tail of the honey. Sentiment, cynicism, and satin impropriety and scabrous, are among those verses where pure poetry has a recognised voice; but the lower elements constitute the popularity in a cultivated society inclining to wantonness out of bravado as well as by taste. Alvan, looking between indolently royal and royally roguish, quoted a verse that speaks of the superfluousness of a faithless lady's vowing bite.

Clotilde could not repress her redenning—Count Kollin had repeated too much! She dropped her eyes, with a face of sculpture, then resumed their chatter. He spared her the allusion to Pompeius. She convinced him of her capacity for reserve besides intrepidity, and flattered him too with her blush. She could dare to say to Kollin what her scarlet sensibility forbade her touching on with him. Not that she would not have had an airy latitude with him to touch on what she pleased: he liked her for her boldness and the cold peeping of the senses displayed in it; he liked also the distinction she made.

The cry to supper conduced to a further insight of her adaptation to his requirements in a wife. They marched to the table together, and sat together, and drank a noble Rhine wine together—true Rauenthal. His robustness of body and soul inspired the wish that his well-born wife might be, in her dainty fashion, yet honestly and without mincing, his possible boonfellow: he and she, glass in hand, thanking the bountiful heavens, blessing mankind in chorus. It belonged to his hearty dream of the wife he would choose, were she to be had. The position of interpreter of heaven's benevolence to mankind through his own enjoyment of the gifts, was one that he sagaciously demanded for himself, sharing it with the Philistine unknowingly; and to have a wife no less wise than he on this throne of existence was a rosy exaltation. Clotilde kindled to the hint of his festival mood of Solomon at the banquet. She was not devoid of a discernment of flavours; she had heard grave judges at her father's board profoundly deliver their verdicts upon this and that vineyard and vintage; and it is a note of patriotism in her country to be enthusiastic for wine of the Rhine: she was, moreover, thirsty from much talking and excitement. She drank her glass relishingly, declaring the wine princely. Alvan smacked his hands in a rapture: "You are not for the extract of raisin our people have taken to copy from French Sauternes to suit a female predilection for sugar?"

"No, no, the grape for me!" said she: "the Rhine grape, with the elf in it and the silver harp and the stained legend!"

"Glorious!"

He toasted the grape. The picture of his bride and him drinking the sun down after a day of savage toil was in his shout—a burst unnoticed in the incessantly verbalising buzz of a continental supper-table. Clotilde acquiesced: she chimed to it like a fair boonfellow of the rollicking faun. She was realising fairyland.

They retired to a divan-corner where it was you and I between them as with rivulets meeting and branching, running parallel, uniting and branching again, divided by the theme, but unending in the flow of the harmony. So ran their chirping arguments and diversions.

The hour was close on the dawn of a March morning. Alvan assisted at the cloaking and hooding of Clotilde. Her relatives were at hand; they hung by while he led her to the stairs and down into a spacious moonlight that laid the traceries of the bare tree-twigs clear-black on grass and stone.

"A night to head the Spring!" said Alvan. "Come."

He lifted her off the steps and set her on the ground, as one who had an established right to the privilege; and she did not contest it, nor did her people, so kingly was he, arrayed in the thunder of the bolt which had struck the pair. "She is mine; I have won her this night!" his bearing said; and Clotilde's acquiesced; and the worthy couple following them had to exhibit a copy of the same, much wondering. Partly by habit, and of his natural astuteness, Alvan peremptorily usurped a lead that once taken could not easily be challenged, and would roll him on a good tideway strong in his own passion and his lady's up against the last defences—her parents. A difficulty with them was foreseen. What is a difficulty?—a gate in the hunting-field: an opponent on a platform: a knot beneath a sword: the dam to waters that draw from the heavens. Not desiring it in this case—it would have been to love the difficulty better than the woman—he still enjoyed the bracing prospect of a resistance, if only because it was a portion of the dowry she brought him. Good soldiers (who have won their grades) are often of a peaceful temper and would not raise an invocation to war, but a view of the enemy sets their pugnacious forces in motion, the bugle fills their veins with electrical fire, till they are as racers on the race-course. His inmost hearty devil was glad of a combat that pertained to his possession of her, for battle gives the savour of the passion to win, and victory dignifies a prize: he was, however, resolved to have it, if possible, according to the regular arrangement of such encounters, formal, without snatchings, without rash violence; a victory won by personal ascendancy, reasoning eloquence.

He laughed to hear her say, in answer to a question as to her present feelings: "I feel that I am carried away by a centaur!" The comparison had been used or implied to him before.

"No!" said he, responding to a host of memories, to shake them off, "no more of the quadruped man! You tempt him—may I tell you that? Why, now, this moment, at the snap of my fingers, what is to hinder our taking the short cut to happiness, centaur and nymph? One leap and a gallop, and we should be into the morning, leaving night to grope for us, parents and friends to run about for the wits they lose in running. But no! No more scandals. That silver moon invites us, by its very spell of bright serenity, to be mad: just as, when you drink of a reverie, the more prolonged it is the greater the readiness for wild delirium at the end of the draught. But no!" his voice deepened—"the handsome face of the orb that lights us would be well enough were it only a gallop between us two. Dearest, the orb that lights us two for a lifetime must be taken all round, and I have been on the wrong side of the moon: I have seen the other face of it—a visage scored with regrets, dead dreams, burnt passions, bald illusions, and the like, the like!—Sunless, waterless, without a flower! It is the old volcano land; it grows one bitter herb: if ever you see my mouth distorted you will know I am revolving a taste of it; and as I need the antidote you give, I will not be the centaur to win you, for that is the land where he stables himself; yes, there he ends his course, and that is the herb he finishes by pasturing on. You have no dislike of metaphors and parables? We Jews are a parable people."

"I am sure I do understand—" said Clotilde, catching her breath to be conscientious, lest he should ask her for an elucidation.

"Provided always that the metaphor be not like the metaphysician's treatise on Nature—a torch to see the sunrise!—You were going to add—?"

"I was going to say, 'I think I understand,' but you run away with me still."

"May the sensation never quit you!"

"It will not."

Alvan bent to her, on a sudden prompting:

"When do father and mother arrive?"

"To-morrow."

He took her hand. "To-morrow, then! The worst of omens is delay."

Clotilde faintly gasped. Could he mean it?—he of so evil a name in her family and circle!

Her playfulness and pleasure in the game of courtliness forsook her.

"Tell me the hour when it will be most convenient to them to receive me," said Alvan.

She stopped walking, in sheer fright.

"My father—my mother!" she said, imaging within her the varied horror of each and the commotion.

"To-morrow or the day after—not later. No delays! You are mine, we are one; and the sooner my cause is pleaded the better for us both. If I could step in and see them this instant it would be forestalling mischances. Do you not see that time is due to us, and the minutes are our gold slipping away?"

She shrank her hand back: she did not wish to withdraw the hand, only to shun the pledge it signified. He opened an abyss at her feet, and in deadly alarm of him she exclaimed: "Oh! not yet; not immediately." She trembled, she made her petition dismal by her anguish of speechlessness. "There will be such . . . . not yet! Perhaps later. They must not be troubled yet—at present. I am . . . . I cannot—pray delay!"

"But you are mine!" said Alvan. "You feel it as I do. There can be no real impediment?"

She gave an empty sigh that sought to be a run of entreaties. In fear of his tongue she caught at words to baffle it, senseless of their imbecility: "Do not insist; yes, in time: they will . . . . they may. My father is not very well: my mother . . . . she is not very well . . . . They are neither of them very well—not at present!—Spare them at present."

To avoid being carried away she flung herself from the centaur's back to the disenchanting earth; she separated herself from him in spirit, and beheld him as her father and mother and her circle would look on this pretender to her hand, with his lordly air, his Jew blood, and his hissing reputation—for it was a reputation that stirred the snakes and the geese of the world. She saw him in their eyes, quite coldly: which imaginative capacity was one of the remarkable feats of cowardice, active and cold of brain even while the heart is active and would be warm.

He read something of her weakness. "And supposing I decide that it must be?"

"How can I supplicate you!" she replied with a shiver, feeling that she had lost her chance of slipping from his grasp, as trained women of the world, or very sprightly young wits know how to do at the critical moment: and she had lost it by being too sincere. Her cowardice appeared to her under that aspect.

"Now I perceive that the task is harder," said Alvan, seeing her huddled in a real dismay. "Why will you not rise to my level and fear nothing! The way is clear: we have only to take the step.

Have you not seen to-night that we are fated for one another? It is your destiny, and trifling with destiny is a dark business. Look at me. Do you doubt my having absolute control of myself to bear whatever they put on me to bear, and hold firmly to my will to overcome them? Oh! no delays."

"Yes!" she cried; "yes, there must be."

"You say it?"

The courage to repeat her cry was wanting.

She trembled visibly: she could more readily have bidden him bear her hence than have named a day for the interview with her parents; but desperately she feared that he would be the one to bid; and he had this of the character of destiny about him, that she felt in him a maker of facts. He was her dream in human shape, her eagle of men, and she felt like a lamb in the air; she had no resistance, only terror of his power and crushing new view of the nature of reality.

"I see!" said he, and his breast fell. Her timid inability to join with him for instant action reminded him that he carried many weights: a bad name among her people and class, and chains in private. He was old enough to strangle his impulses, if necessary, or any of the brood less fiery than the junction of his passions. "Well, well!—but we might so soon have broken through the hedge into the broad high road! It is but to determine to do it—to take the bold short path instead of the wearisome circuit. Just a little lightning in the brain and tightening of the heart. Battles are won in that way: not by tender girls! and she is a girl, and the task is too much for her. So, then, we are in your hands, child! Adieu, and let the gold-crested serpent glide to her bed, and sleep, dream, and wake, and ask herself in the morning whether she is not a wedded soul. Is she not a serpent? gold-crested, all the world may see; and with a mortal bite, I know. I have had the bite before the kisses. That is rather an unjust reversal of the order of things. *Apropos*, Hamlet was poisoned—ghost-poisoned."

"Mad, he was mad!" said Clotilde, recovering and smiling.

"He was born bilious; he partook of the father's constitution, not the mother's. High-thoughted, quick-nerved to follow the thought, reflective, if an interval yawned between his hand and the act, he was by nature two-minded: as full of conscience as a nursing mother that sleeps beside her infant—she hears the silent beginning of a cry. Before the ghost walked he was an elementary hero; one puff of action would have whiffed away his melancholy. After it, he was a dizzy moralizer, waiting for the winds to blow him to his deed—or out. The apparition of his father to him poisoned a sluggish run of blood, and that venom in the blood distracted a head steeped in

Wittenberg philosophy. With metaphysics in one and poison in the other, with the outer world opened on him and this world stirred to confusion, he wore the semblance of madness; he was throughout sane; sick, but never with his reason dethroned."

"Nothing but madness excuses his conduct to Ophelia!"

"Poison in the blood is a pretty good apology for infidelity to a lady."

"No!"

"Well, to an Ophelia of fifty?" said Alvan.

Clotilde laughed, not perfectly assured of the therefore, but pleased to be able to laugh. Her friends were standing at the house door, farewells were spoken, Alvan had gone. And then she thought of the person that Ophelia of fifty might be, who would have to find a good apology for him in his dose of snake-bite, or love of a younger woman whom he termed gold-crested serpent.

He was a lover, surely a lover. He slid off to some chance bit of likeness to himself in every subject he discussed with her.

And she? She speeded recklessly on the back of the centaur when he had returned to the state of phantom, and the realities he threatened her with were no longer imminent.

GEORGE MEREDITH.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

On the legislative results of the Session, which came to a close on the 7th of this month, it is unnecessary to dwell at any length. The interest of the political situation is in the present rather than in the past, and in the future even more than in the present. By the work which they have already accomplished, and by the temper which they have shown, Ministers have strengthened their position in the country, and have in some sort given it a guarantee that in the performance of the duties which may yet be waiting them neither firmness nor courage will be wanting. At the same time, the difficulties which beset their path are as considerable as they are patent. The dominant complexion of the Cabinet is decidedly Liberal, and even Radical; the Parliamentary majority of the Government is unquestionably in the main Radical. But as in the Cabinet there are elements of hesitation and weakness, so in the Parliamentary majority are there substantial elements of Whig obstruction. The Conservative opposition is likely to be bitter, persistent, and vexatious. Lord Beaconsfield has taken up a position from which he cannot well recede, and has proclaimed war against the future programme of the Government. In the House of Commons the reins have been completely wrenched from the hands of Sir Stafford Northcote, and the chief hopes and champions of the Tory party are the *frondeurs* and freelances who sit below the gangway. But it is not of their declared foe that the Government have any reason to be alarmed. In proportion as the tactics of Lord Beaconsfield are those of an exasperating antagonism, and the Conservative party in the House of Commons follow the lead of Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Gorst, the Ministerialists are likely to experience the salutary process of consolidation. The dangers to the Government come not from without, but from within. Next Session will apply the crucial test. If the Government majority stands the shock of the Bills to which Ministers are pledged it will stand anything, and Mr. Gladstone will be able to boast that he commands a following more really compact and powerful than that which placed him in office twelve years ago.

On some accounts there is reason to be sanguine as to the prospect. The accession of strength to the Government during the past Session comes from two sets of causes. In the first

place, they have given proof of a resolute determination which inspires confidence and begets loyalty. The manner in which the Irish Compensation for Disturbance Bill was carried through the House of Commons, and in which the other Ministerial measures, the threats and complaints of the Lords notwithstanding, have been inscribed in the Statute Book in the shape in which they were originally introduced, has taught the Government their own strength, and has impressed the same lesson upon Parliament and the country. The vigorous perseverance of Ministers has had a moral as well as a political influence. It has rallied round it, and has knit together, all the capacities of earnest action which exist in the House of Commons. Nothing can have been more significant, and to all save political triflers more satisfactory, than the aspect presented by the popular Chamber during the last days of August and the opening days of September. The heat was oppressive, and there was that sense of diminution in the vitalizing quality of the atmosphere which the end of the Parliamentary year always seems to bring with it. Yet the House itself, the lobbies, the corridors, and the terrace presented nearly the same scene of busy activity as in the month of June. At least two hundred and fifty members of Parliament remained at their post, and submitted to the ordeal of an abnormally protracted Session with more than resignation. Of course they would have been glad of their release, and the claims of private business or pleasure were in many cases pressing enough. But there they were, and there they intended to stay till the Government had got their Bills through Parliament. The men to whom politics are a mere pastime, and the House of Commons a club, had indeed fled to northern moors and to southern seas. But it is not these who represent the forces which will regulate the statesmanship of the future, and the men who will shape our reforms and make our laws in the coming years were faithful and immovable.

Here, then, we may discover one great ground for confidence as to the spirit in which the Government will undertake the work which is still before them. A second there is, not less tangible and solid. If the effect of the Ministerial legislation has been to alienate and alarm the selfish and timid depositaries of hereditary privileges and exclusive rights, it has been to conciliate and to gratify that immense majority of the English people who have no interest in the maintenance of mere class prerogatives. Nor is it quite certain that the entire order of landlords is as vehemently opposed to a measure like the Ground Game Act, as is generally asserted. It is easily demonstrable that to many landlords this measure will be of much practical advantage. Hares and rabbits were eating the

farmer out of house and home, were opening up the way for the increased importation of cattle and grain from the wide pastures and fields of Northern America, and were baffling all attempts to extract a remunerative crop from the soil. Under these circumstances there were but two alternatives to adopt: the farmer might remain on his farm and be ruined, or he might try to invest his capital more profitably in some other business. The practical consequence was, that he abandoned his farm, and the chances were that no new tenant was forthcoming in his place. Hence it is that at the present moment scores of important holdings hang upon their landlords' hands without yielding a penny of rent. In the case of the great territorial magnates of the earth this is not a matter of much importance; but to the smaller class of squires it means inconvenience, and something very like ruin. To such landlord proprietors as these the Ground Game Bill will be a substantial benefit. Henceforth they will be compelled to vest in their tenants a concurrent right of killing hares and rabbits. The consequence is that a new impulse will be given to English agriculture, and that justice to the farmer will mean, in a multitude of instances, money to the landlord.

That, however, by the way. The value of the new Act to the Government is that it gives Ministers the support of the great body of the professional agriculturists of the United Kingdom. The farmers voted for the Liberals at the general election. Mr. Gladstone's Budget and the abolition of the Malt Tax were the first proofs that their confidence was not misplaced, and now that confidence has been confirmed and deepened by the Ground Game Act. But this is not the only body of allies whose adhesion is calculated to strengthen the hands of the Government in the sequel of their legislative enterprise. The Employers' Liability Act is a boon to the artisans and operatives of England, their gratitude for which they will not fail to testify. The Burials Bill is a compromise, and on many accounts an unsatisfactory one. Still, it will have its political uses. It is based not upon principle, but on the expediency of the moment. There are only two views which can be taken of the Englishman's claim to be buried in a churchyard. It may be said that this claim formulates a civil right, or that it formulates an ecclesiastical right. The Burials Act professes to be an embodiment of the former. That, at least, was Lord Selborne's plea when he explained the provision and justified the necessity of the measure. But the Act fails to fulfil the promise which its introduction gave. The ecclesiastical restriction indeed is not maintained; but the civil right is not established. Nor can it be established until the sixth clause is amended in accordance with Mr. Collings' resolution and

Mr. Illingworth's amendment. To tell a Dissenter that as a citizen he can claim churchyard burial, and then to add that he can only do so as a Christian, is a contradiction, an inconsistency, and an injustice; it is to take back with one hand what is given with the other. Of course, it is true that the grievance will not be much felt in practice, and that the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of these islands profess Christianity. That, however, only makes it the more necessary to protest against the course pursued by the Government. The Burials Act as it stands affirms nothing less than that the non-Christian minority are in one respect to incur the penalty of civil disability.

Such, then, are the sources of strength on which Ministers may confidently count on addressing themselves to the legislative business which still lies in front of them. Let us now see what are the sources of weakness, of difficulty, of vexation, and of impediment with which they must reckon The strength of this resisting medium must not be ignored, but it must not be magnified; and if Ministers encounter it boldly and decisively we believe that they will do so successfully. Every month as it passes will render it less formidable; the experience of the last Session will probably reduce the future activity of some, at least, of those who most strenuously impeded the Ministerial measures. We speak now, it will be understood, not of the Conservative opposition, but of the Whig remnant and of the territorial Liberals. The more these politicians reflect upon the circumstances of the time, the more clearly will they perceive that they will commit an irretrievable error if they relapse into a state of inaction and timidity. It is idle to suppose that they can hope to find a place in the Conservative ranks. Between the Whigs and the Moderate Liberals on the one hand, and the modern Conservative on the other, there is no real community of political sentiment. Such a coalition as we sometimes hear vaguely talked of is barred by insuperable obstacles, and would lack the indispensable elements of cohesion and durability. None are better aware of this than the Moderate Liberals and the Whigs themselves. Do these two sections of the Liberal party entertain the notion that the country is with them, and that hence their minority may hope to contest the more advanced and courageous majority? It is only on such an hypothesis that a considerable Whig or Moderate Liberal defection from the Liberal ranks can be reasonably anticipated. Is there the slightest chance of such an hypothesis being verified? Let us see.

The first observation which it is obvious to make is that we are not now favoured with this forecast for the first time, and that it has been already falsified by events. On the eve of the

general election of last spring there was no one whose influence at the polling-booths was dwelt upon with such persistent emphasis as the Moderate Liberal. He, it was said, held the balance of parties, and he would assuredly turn the scale in favour of the Conservatives when the appeal to the country came. He was represented for our edification as a mild, amiable, languid gentleman, always constitutionally nervous, and just then abnormally disposed to take alarm at the idea of anything like drastic or decided action in domestic politics. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the sequel. The elections were held, and the Moderate Liberal proved to be, so far as his political authority was concerned, a phantom of the imperialistic imagination. Now, when it is assumed that the mass of Englishmen wish for a régime of *fainéantise*, and not one of active energetic Liberalism, the assumption can only be realised in the event of the mass of the English people not being in earnest. It is, of course, theoretically possible that the constituencies which returned six months ago the most resolutely Liberal Parliament which ever sat at Westminster may repent of what they have done. It is possible that the newly enfranchised artisan class may be possessed of a passionate admiration for prescription and antiquity. It is possible that as education spreads, and the English democracy acquires fresh power and numbers, it may display traces of an unsuspected attachment to reactionary Toryism. All this we say is possible; but it is most improbable. So far as the signs of the times can be interpreted the political future is with the vigorous Liberal and the Radical. These signs, it is reasonable to suppose, the Whigs and Moderate Liberals will be tolerably quick to interpret, and there is nothing to warrant the supposition that when they have deciphered them they will be seized by a desire to throw themselves into the arms of the Conservatives. Lord Hartington discerns the current of events pretty clearly, and there is nothing in his attitude to make us think that he is likely to put his foot down—to set his back to the wall, and to do battle with whatever is distinct and vigorous in modern Liberalism. Nearly two years ago the Secretary of State for India declared in memorable words that the land system of this country must speedily furnish the material for legislation. It was well known, before the present Cabinet was complete, that reform would constitute one of the planks of the platform, and is now nearly certain that the land system both of England and of d will be dealt with next Session.

There can be little doubt as to the lines on which this legislation will proceed. Both in England and in Ireland something like fixity of tenure—even of a conditional kind—will be assured to the tenant. So far as Ireland is concerned the modifications in existing ar-

rangements will depend on the report of the Royal Commission, while in the case of England it is not advisable to attempt to anticipate the result of the autumnal deliberations of the Cabinet. It may, however, be said with confidence that the Bill will be a strong one, that it will try the loyalty to Liberalism of the territorial Whigs, and that it will be met by the most determined opposition on the part of the Conservatives.

As regards the Whigs and Moderate Liberals we entertain, for the reasons which we have already set forth, no very serious apprehensions. As regards the Conservative opposition, Lord Beaconsfield has himself declared that that shall be as severe and unflinching as he can make it. In his speech on the Ground Game Bill he said that he should not offer any resistance to the measure because, amongst other things, it was sanctioned by the principles of the Constitution. But he hinted that measures might be forthcoming on behalf of which this license could not be pleaded—measures, namely, dealing with the land system—and he declared that it would be his duty to oppose them *à outrance*. What do "the principles of the Constitution" translated into the practical prose of politics really mean? The principle involved in the Ground Game Bill is the right of the State to interfere, under certain conditions, between the landlord and the tenant. That is the same principle which will be recognised in any future land legislation which the Government may propose. If the "principles of the Constitution" are not violated in the one instance, how can they be violated in the other? But the truth is, when Lord Beaconsfield talks of principles he really means expediency, and what his words signify is, that, in his opinion, it would not have been politic to resist the Ground Game Bill, and that it will be politic to resist any further attempts to deal with the land system of the United Kingdom. It may, therefore, safely be inferred that the leader of the Conservative party has decided to recommend the rejection by the Peers of any Bill which the Government may bring forward dealing with the question of land tenure. The Irish Compensation Bill was described by Lord Beaconsfield as a reconnaissance in force, and he has repeatedly declared his conviction that the next shape which the [illegible] policy will assume is that of an attack upon land.

In the course of next month (October) a formal conference of the Conservative chiefs is to be held in London, and it may be anticipated that the attitude to be adopted by the party towards land legislation will then be considered and discussed. We have little doubt as to the practical issue of these councils which the next Session will reveal. We shall witness a new illustration of the temper which characterised the reception by the Lords of the

Employers' Liability Bill and of the Ground Game Bill, and which was more conspicuously exemplified in the rejection of the Irish Disturbance and Registration Bills. In other words, Ministers must be prepared to see the Lords throw out any Land Bill, English or Irish, which may be introduced; or else emasculate it so completely that it will be impotent for any good end. This may suit Lord Beaconsfield himself well enough. As for what may come after him he cares not. So long as he can succeed in making the Government look ridiculous he will be satisfied. But is it the Government alone which will be the object of ridicule? What of Lord Beaconsfield's party, and the House of Lords itself?

This brings us face to face with the real question of the future—the relations between the House of Lords and the Liberals on the one hand, and the House of Lords and the country on the other. At the present moment these relations are of a somewhat anomalous character. If, as we sometimes hear, it is a principle of the Constitution that the Lords should endorse the legislation of which the country, through its accredited representatives, has expressed its approval, it may be asked how far the Lords pursued a strictly constitutional course in throwing out the Compensation for Disturbance Bill For there are two things in connection with this subject which must be remembered, and which people are too apt to forget. In the first place, Irish affairs, in consequence of Lord Beaconsfield's letter to the Duke of Marlborough, were emphatically one of the issues which came before the country last spring. In the second, the result of the elections was the personal expulsion of Lord Beaconsfield from power. Yet we witnessed last Session the spectacle of an Irish measure, which had passed by large majorities the Elective Chamber, defeated at the command of Lord Beaconsfield by an overwhelming majority in the Hereditary Chamber. Already the question has been asked how long this sort of thing is to last, and the seeds of an agitation against the House of Lords, as at present composed, have been sown That agitation may not as yet be very formidable, but it may come to a head earlier than some suppose. For practical purposes, however, the collision between the Government and the House of Lords is more serious than any which may occur between the House of Lords and the English people. It is evidently Lord Beaconsfield's intention to employ the Chamber of which he is a member as an instrument for attacking and discrediting the Ministers who supplanted him and his colleagues. Now the House of Lords, as most Englishmen consider it, is strictly a court legislative revision. It is, as they understand, their politic function to amend imperfect or defective, and to check pr cipitate measures. They have no notion that the Peers will eve

seek to put themselves in an attitude of declared resistance to the Commons, and through the Commons to the English people. But Lord Beaconsfield is not concerned with the popular ideas in such matters as these. To him the House of Lords is simply a medium for the execution of a certain policy. He could not have afforded a more conclusive instance of this than by the amendment which he dictated to it, and which was of course accepted, in the Employers' Liability Bill. It is extremely probable that Lord Beaconsfield had never read the draft of the measure, and that all that he knew or cared about it was that it had been brought in by the Government. Hence it was a proposal to be thwarted or mutilated, and as a short and easy way of dealing with it, his lordship suggested a limit of its operation for two years. The Commons substituted seven for two, and Lord Beaconsfield's success was of the most shadowy nature. But the incident is, as we have remarked, instructive because it suggests the manner in which the ex-Premier may manipulate the Chamber of hereditary legislators in the future.

This kind of manœuvring may easily hasten such a contingency as Mr. Forster, in his extremely candid speech during the penultimate week of the Session, ventured to anticipate. If the House of Lords discharges no other function than that of resisting or spoiling the measures of a Liberal Government; if the process is to continue so long as the Conservatives have a permanent majority of nearly a hundred in the Lords; if the Government which is thus let and hindered in doing its work is the Government that the constituencies are bent upon maintaining in office; if, in truth, the House of Lords, at the instance of Lord Beaconsfield, resolves itself into a body for frustrating or minimising Liberal legislation, then it is clear that the constitutional authority of that House will have to be reconsidered.

In foreign as in domestic affairs, the problems of the hour are rapidly assuming a fresh definiteness of outline, and it is now possible approximately to estimate the full significance of most of the points involved in even a temporary settlement of the Eastern question. The chief and central fact in the situation, of which it is necessary never to lose sight, is that the Turkish Empire, so far at least as Europe is concerned, is in a condition of speedy collapse, and the time cannot be far distant when the phantom of Ottoman authority will cease to exist in any portion of the Balkan peninsula. In many quarters the present Government may be blamed for accelerating this process of inevitable decay, and we have been already assured that it is Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues who have let forth from the prison-house, in which they were securely confined, those fierce winds that will fan the smouldering fires of race, hatred, and

international enmity, into the consuming flames of war. What, however, are the facts? Granted that the obligation imposed by the Powers on the Porte of ceding Dulcigno to the Montenegrins is a step in the direction of the partition of the Ottoman Empire, by whom was this policy of partition begun? It was commenced not by the Liberal administration, but by their Conservative predecessors. It was the cardinal principle of the Berlin Treaty of 1878. It was first asserted in the instrument of San Stephano, and it was reaffirmed in the document signed by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, which two years ago we were told was a guarantee of "peace with honour." The knell of doom to the Sultan as an European Sovereign had inexorably struck when England annexed Cyprus, and when Austria was permitted or solicited to occupy Bosnia. Then there came a pause, and some short-sighted observers ventured to anticipate that in our time no more would be heard of the Eastern Question. But it was from the first in the nature of things impossible that in such a matter as this a policy of diplomatic eclecticism should be successful. The plan of selecting certain clauses of the Treaty of Berlin for execution, and of relegating the others to oblivion, might seem to answer for awhile. But there was never any doubt that the fulfilment of its remaining conditions would be demanded at an early date.

This has been the experience of the Government of Mr. Gladstone, and it would have been the experience of Lord Beaconsfield had the Conservative party remained in office. The late Ministry evaded the necessity of the settlement of the south-east of Europe, and succeeded in postponing it longer than might have been expected. But they could not have pursued the tactics of postponement for an indefinite period. A bill may be renewed and re-renewed, but at last the day arrives when it must be paid, and sooner or later this would have been discovered by any English Government to be the case in regard to the Eastern difficulty. Austria, England, Bulgaria, and Roumelia had all received some advantage from the Berlin settlement. The division of the spoils had in fact begun, and the distribution had up to a certain point been sanctioned by the English Cabinet. Was it to be expected that Montenegro and Greece, who were equally entitled to a share of the Ottoman dominions, should be contented to receive nothing? It was not England but France which was the chief champion of the claims of the Hellenic Kingdom at Berlin. It was not Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, but Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury who joined the representatives of the other European Powers in solemnly instructing the Porte to make extensive territorial concessions to Montenegro. If the Berlin Treaty was not to be superseded by some new arrangement, it was

imperative for England, in union with the rest of Europe, to deliberate on the subject of its unfulfilled clauses. No reasonable person ever supposed that difficulties in the way of their fulfilment would not arise. At the present moment these difficulties have yet to be overcome. Montenegro remains unsatisfied; towards the satisfaction of Greece the European Powers have not advanced beyond words. It is possible that an insurrection in Macedonia, followed by other similar movements elsewhere, may wrest from the Porte by force that which it refuses to surrender to diplomacy. In the attitude now maintained by the Turkish Government there is nothing new, nor, if it be unsatisfactory, is there anything in it with which the English Government can be taunted or reproached. The Sultan refuses to believe in the reality of the European Concert; hence we are told by some pessimistic critics that Concert does not exist. The true inference to be drawn from the Sultan's scepticism is of a very different character. It is more obvious, and it is more correct to say, that if the Sultan disbelieves in the European Concert it is because its manifestation has been so long delayed. After the treatment which the Porte has received from Europe, and especially from England, during the last twenty-five years—a treatment of alternate cajolery and menace—and while, as we must always remember, diplomatists at Constantinople, and a noisy section of the European press, persist in declaring that the Great Powers, so far from being in a state of close mutual accord, are animated by mutual jealousy and hatred, it is scarcely surprising that the Turks should reject the idea, even at the eleventh hour, of the Collective Coercion of Europe. But for this, and for all that it entails, it is not the present Government which is answerable. It would be as reasonable and as just to blame them for the troubles which it inherited in Afghanistan. They have simply inherited the responsibilities of those who preceded them.

Much that has been said on the subject of English affairs, and of the present aspect of the Eastern Question, is applicable to the contemporary political, social, and religious condition of France. In each instance the key-note of the situation is the same; in each there may be discerned the same imminent conflict of diametrically opposite forces. In France, as in England, and in the attitude of the European Powers towards Turkey, the policy of compromise and of temporising is breaking down. It has been tried long enough, but it has now accomplished its work. To many sober, intelligent, and even well-informed Englishmen it may appear inexplicable that the line taken by M. de Freycinet should not commend itself to the majority of the Cabinet, that one of the Ministers, M. Constans,

should be its most bitter opponent, and that M. Gambetta should declare it to be inadmissible. If the "unauthorised" religious orders are willing to obey the control of the State, and to be loyal towards the existing *régime*, why should they not be suffered to continue their present work? From the English point of view it is difficult to give any answer which would justify the peremptory action of M. Gambetta. But the English point of view is not that which is taken in France by men who have so little of fanaticism in their temper as the President of the Chamber of Deputies. The very fact that M. Gambetta should declare himself unable to acquiesce in the tolerant policy of M. de Freycinet ought to suggest, to those who condemn his decision, that there are reasons which they ignore, and which make it impossible for him to act in any other manner. M. Gambetta personally can have no reason for wishing to effect a clean sweep of the ecclesiastical corporations. Moreover, it would be against the principles of opportunism to attempt to do so, even were the attempt in any way precipitate. We are therefore bound to conclude that the course to which he has committed himself is unavoidable, that the time for entering upon it is opportune, and that his determination will command the general approval of the French people. Unless each one of these influences was legitimate, it is safe to say that M. Gambetta would not have insisted on the execution of the March decrees, and that he would not have won over the French Government to his project.

There are two considerations which will materially help us towards a correct understanding of the condition of affairs in France. The radicalism which is now in process of organising itself in England has long since organised itself on the other side of the Channel; and the constitutional reforms which French radicalism demands are of a very sweeping and drastic character. The Senate is regarded with disapproval as to the entire theory and practice of a second Chamber, and sooner or later the demand for its abolition is sure to come. There is good reason to believe that it would have been raised ere this, and that the consequent struggle would have plunged France in the most embittered kind of political warfare, unless the attention of the extreme radical party had been directed to a different object. But this is only a small matter in comparison with those raised which have chiefly weighed with M. Gambetta. Every day makes it increasingly plain that the future of France lies between the Republic and the clerical party. In proportion as the Church is strong the Government will be weak; in proportion as ecclesiasticism is organised, republicanism will be disorganised. The struggle is not so much one between Church and State as one between two rival dynasties, for the ascendancy of the

Roman Catholic Church in France would ultimately mean the temporary overthrow of the Republic by one of several rival pretenders. The only way in which Englishmen can hope to gain a correct idea of the state of things in France is to recall the relations in which the champions of the constitutional cause in England found themselves to the great bulk of the English clergy during the reign of William III. To be on the side of the Church was then to be the tacit or the declared enemy of the newly-established political order, and probably also to be concerned in, or at least to connive at, the intrigues which were on foot for the restoration of a monarch who had been deposed with the approval and gratitude of the great majority of the English people. The position of the French Republic is now very much what the position of the House of Orange was then, and M. Gambetta only shows his just perception of the historical analogy in the terms which he dictates to the representatives of an ecclesiastical system that is political in its influences and ambitious quite as much as it is religious.

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POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

PRELIMINARY.[1]

THOUGHT and feeling cannot be completely dissociated. Each emotion has a more or less distinct framework of ideas; and each group of ideas is more or less suffused with emotion. There are, however, great differences between their degrees of combination under both of these aspects. We have some feelings which are vague from lack of intellectual definition; and others to which clear shapes are given by the associated conceptions. At one time our thoughts are distorted by the passion running through them; and at another time it is difficult to detect in them a trace of liking or disliking. Manifestly, too, in each particular case these components of the mental state may be varied in their proportions. The ideas being the same, the emotion joined with them may be greater or less; and it is a familiar truth that the correctness of the judgment formed, depends, if not on the absence of emotion, still, on that balance of emotions which negatives excess of any one.

Especially is this so in matters concerning human life. There are two ways in which men's actions, individual or social, may be regarded. We may consider them as groups of phenomena to be analyzed, and the laws of their dependence ascertained; or, considering them as causing pleasures or pains, we may associate with them approbation or reprobation. Dealing with its problems intellectually, we may regard conduct as always the result of certain forces; or dealing with its problems morally, and considering its outcome as in this case good and in that case bad, we may allow now admiration, and now indignation, to fill our consciousness. Obviously, it must make a great difference in our

(1) The references to facts cited in this article and succeeding ones, will be given when the articles reappear in their permanent shape. Allusions here and there occurring in them to matters not before the reader, must be understood as consequent on their continuity with writings already published.

conclusions whether, as in the one case, we regard men's doings as those of alien creatures, which it merely concerns us to understand; or whether, as in the other case, we regard them as the doings of creatures like ourselves, with whose lives our own lives are bound up, and whose behaviour arouses in us, directly and sympathetically, feelings of love and hate.

In *The Study of Sociology*, I have described in detail the various perversions produced in men's judgments by their emotions. Examples are given showing how fears and hopes betray them into false estimates; how impatience prompts unjust condemnations; how in this case antipathy, and in that case sympathy, distorts belief. The truth that the bias of education and the bias of patriotism severally warp men's convictions, is enforced by many illustrations. And it is pointed out that the more special forms of bias—the class bias, the political bias, the theological bias—each produces a strong predisposition towards this or that view of public affairs.

Here let me emphasize the conclusion that in pursuing our sociological inquiries, and especially those on which we are now entering, we must, as much as possible, exclude whatever emotions the facts are calculated to excite, and attend solely to the interpretation of the facts. There are several groups of phenomena, in contemplating which either contempt, or disgust, or indignation, tends to arise but must be restrained.

Instead of passing over as of no account, or else regarding as purely mischievous, the superstitions of the primitive man, we must inquire what part they play in social evolution; and must be prepared, if need be, to recognize their usefulness. Already we have seen that the belief which prompts the savage to bury valuables with the corpse and carry food to the grave, has a natural genesis; that the propitiation of plants and animals, and the "worship of stocks and stones," are not gratuitous absurdities; and that slaves are sacrificed at funerals in pursuance of an idea which seems rational to uninstructed intelligence. Presently we shall have to consider in what way the ghost-theory has operated politically; and if we should find reason to conclude that it has been an indispensable aid to social evolution, we must be ready to accept the conclusion.

Knowledge of the miseries that have for countless ages been everywhere caused by the antagonisms of societies, must not prevent us from recognizing the all-important part which these antagonisms have played in civilization. Shudder as we must at the cannibalism which all over the world in early days was a sequence of war; shrink as we may from the thought of those immolations of prisoners which have, tens of thousands of times, followed battles between wild tribes; read as we do with horror of the pyramids of heads

and the whitening bones of slain peoples left by barbarian invaders; hate, as we ought, the militant spirit which is even now among ourselves prompting base treacheries and brutal aggressions; we must not let our feelings blind us to the proofs we meet with, that inter-social conflicts have furthered the development of social structures.

Moreover, dislikes to governments of certain kinds must not prevent us from seeing their fitnesses to their circumstances. Though rejecting the common idea of glory, and declining to join soldiers and school-boys in applying the epithet "great" to conquering despots, we detest despotism; though we regard their sacrifices of their own peoples and of alien peoples in pursuit of universal dominion as gigantic crimes; we must yet recognize the benefits occasionally arising from the social consolidations they achieve. Neither the massacres of subjects which Roman emperors directed, nor the assassinations of relatives habitual among potentates in the East, nor the impoverishment of whole nations by the excessive exactions of tyrants, must so prejudice us as to prevent appreciation of the benefits which have, under certain conditions, resulted from the unlimited power of the supreme man. Nor must the remembrances of torturing implements, and oubliettes, and victims built into walls, shut out from our minds the evidence that abject submission of the weak to the strong, however unscrupulously enforced, has in some times and places been necessary.

So, too, with the associated ownership of man by man. Absolute condemnation of slavery must be withheld, even if we accept the tradition repeated by Herodotus, that to build the Great Pyramid relays of a hundred thousand slaves toiled for twenty years; or even if we find it true that of the serfs compelled to work at the building of St. Petersburg, more than a hundred thousand perished. Though aware that the unrecorded sufferings of men and women held in bondage are beyond imagination, we must, nevertheless, preserve a mental state receptive of such evidence as there may be that benefits have resulted.

In brief, trustworthy interpretations of social arrangements imply an almost passionless consciousness. Though feeling cannot and ought not to be excluded from the mind when otherwise contemplating them, yet it ought to be excluded when contemplating them as natural phenomena to be understood in their causes and effects.

Maintenance of this mental attitude will be furthered by keeping before ourselves the truth that in human actions the absolutely bad may be relatively good, and the absolutely good may be relatively bad.

Though it has become a common-place that the institutions under which one race prospers will not answer for another, the recognition of this truth is by no means adequate. Men who have lost faith in

"paper constitutions," nevertheless advocate a policy towards inferior races, implying the belief that civilized social forms can with advantage be imposed on uncivilized peoples; that the arrangements which seem to us vicious are vicious for them; and that they would benefit by institutions—domestic, industrial, or political—akin to those which we find beneficial. But acceptance of the truth that the type of a society is determined by the natures of its units, forces on us the corollary that a *régime* intrinsically of the lowest, may yet be the best possible under primitive conditions.

Otherwise stating the matter, we must not substitute our developed code of conduct, which predominantly concerns private relations, for the undeveloped code of conduct, which predominantly concerns public relations. Now that life is generally occupied in peaceful intercourse with fellow-citizens, ethical ideas refer chiefly to actions between man and man; but in early stages, while the occupation of life was mainly in conflicts with adjacent societies, such ethical ideas as existed referred almost wholly to inter-social actions: men's deeds were judged by their direct bearings on tribal welfare. And since preservation of the society takes precedence of individual preservation, as being a condition to it, we must, in considering social phenomena, interpret good and bad rather in their earlier senses than in their later senses; and so must regard as relatively good, that which furthers survival of the society, great as may be the suffering inflicted on individuals.

Another of our ordinary conceptions has to be much widened before we can rightly interpret political evolution. The words "civilized" and "savage" must have given to them meanings differing greatly from those which are current. That broad contrast usually drawn wholly to the advantage of the men who form advanced nations, and to the disadvantage of the men who form simple groups, a better knowledge obliges us profoundly to qualify. Characters are to be found among rude peoples which compare well with those of the best among cultivated peoples. With little knowledge, and but rudimentary arts, there in some cases go virtues which might shame those among ourselves whose education and polish are of the highest.

Surviving remnants of some primitive races in India, have natures in which truthfulness seems to be organic. Not only to the surrounding Hindoos, higher intellectually and relatively advanced in culture, are they in this respect far superior, but they are superior to Europeans. Of certain of these Hill peoples it is remarked in India that their assertions may always be accepted with perfect confidence; which is more than can be said of diplomatists who intentionally delude, or ministers who make false statements concerning cabinet transactions. As having this trait may be named the Santals, of

whom Hunter says, "they were the most truthful set of men I ever met;" and, again, the Sowrahs, of whom Shortt says, "a pleasing feature in their character is their complete truthfulness. They do not know how to tell a lie." Notwithstanding their sexual relations of a primitive and low type, even the Todas are described as considering "falsehood one of the worst of vices." Though Metz says that they practise dissimulation towards Europeans, yet he recognizes this as a trait consequent upon their intercourse with Europeans; and this judgment coincides with one given to me by an Indian civil servant concerning other Hill tribes, originally distinguished by their veracity, but who are rendered less veracious by contact with the whites. So rare is lying among these aboriginal races when unvitiated by the "civilized," that, of those in Bengal, Hunter singles out the Tipperahs as "the only Hill tribe in which this vice is met with."

Similarly in respect of honesty, some of those peoples classed as inferior read lessons to those classed as superior. Of the Todas just named, ignorant and degraded as they are in some respects, Harkness says, "I never saw a people, civilized or uncivilized, who seemed to have a more religious respect for the rights of *meum* and *tuum*." The Marias (Gonds), "in common with many other wild races, bear a singular character for truthfulness and honesty." Among the Khonds "the denial of a debt is a breach of this principle, which is held to be highly sinful. 'Let a man,' say they, 'give up all he has to his creditors.'" The Santal, who "never thinks of making money by a stranger," prefers to have "no dealings with his guests; but when his guests introduce the subject he deals with them as honestly as he would with his own people:" "he names the true price at first." The Lepchas "are wonderfully honest, theft being scarcely known among them." And the Bodo and Dhimáls are "honest and truthful in deed and word." Colonel Dixon dilates on the "fidelity, truth, and honesty" of the Carnatic aborigines; and they show "an extreme and almost touching devotion when put upon their honour." And Hunter asserts of the Chakmás, that "crime is rare among these primitive people. . . . . Theft is almost unknown."

So is it, too, with the general virtues of these and sundry other uncivilized tribes. The Santal "possesses a happy disposition," is "sociable to a fault," "courteous," but "at the same time firm and free from cringing;" and while the "sexes are greatly devoted to each other's society," the women are "exceedingly chaste." The Bodo and Dhimáls are "full of amiable qualities, and almost entirely free from such as are unamiable." The Lepcha, "cheerful, kind, and patient," is described by Dr. Hooker as a most "attractive companion;" and Dr. Campbell gives "an instance of the effect of a very strong sense of duty on this savage." In like manner, from

accounts of certain of the Malayo-Polynesian societies, and certain of the Papuan societies, may be given instances showing in high degrees sundry traits which we ordinarily associate only with a human nature that has been long subject to the discipline of civilized life and the teachings of a superior religion. One of the latest testimonies is that of Signor D'Albertis, who describes certain New Guinea people he visited (near Yule Island) as strictly honest, "very kind," "good and peaceful," and who, after disputes between villages, "are as friendly as before, bearing no animosity;" but of whom the Rev. W. G. Lawes, commenting on Signor D'Albertis' communication to the Colonial Institute, says that their goodwill to the whites is being destroyed by the whites' ill-treatment of them: the usual history.

Contrariwise, in various parts of the world, men of several types yield proofs that societies relatively advanced in organization and culture, may yet be barbarous in their ideas, sentiments, and usages. The Fijians, described by Dr. Pickering as among the most intelligent of unlettered peoples, are among the most ferocious. "Intense and vengeful malignity strongly marks the Fijian character." Lying, treachery, theft, and murder are with them not criminal, but honourable; infanticide is immense in extent; strangling the sickly habitual; and they sometimes cut up while alive the human victims they are going to eat. Nevertheless they have a "complicated and carefully conducted political system;" well-organized military forces; elaborate fortifications; a developed agriculture with succession of crops and irrigation; a considerable division of labour; a separate distributing agency with incipient currency; and a skilled industry which builds canoes that carry three hundred men. Take again an African society, Dahomey. We find there a finished system of classes, six in number; complex governmental arrangements with officials always in pairs; an army divided into battalions, having reviews and sham fights; prisons, police, and sumptuary laws; an agriculture which uses manure and grows a score kinds of plants; moated towns, bridges, and roads with turnpikes. Yet along with this comparatively high social development there goes what we may call organized criminality. Wars are made to get skulls with which to decorate the royal palace; hundreds of subjects are killed when the king dies; and five hundred are annually slaughtered to carry messages to the other world. Described as cruel and blood-thirsty, liars and cheats, the people are "void either of sympathy or gratitude, even in their own families," so that "not even the appearance of affection exists between husband and wife, or between parents and children." The New World, too, furnished, when it was discovered, like evidence. Having great cities of 180,000 houses, the Mexicans had also cannibal gods, whose idols were fed on warm, reeking, human flesh, thrust into their

mouths—wars being made purposely to supply victims for them; and with skill to build stately temples, big enough for ten thousand men to dance in their courts, there went the immolation of two thousand five hundred persons annually, in Mexico and adjacent towns alone, and of a far greater number throughout the country at large. Similarly, in the populous Central American States, sufficiently civilized to have a developed system of calculation, a regular calendar, books, maps, &c., there were like extensive sacrifices of prisoners, slaves, children, whose hearts were torn out and offered palpitating on altars, and who, in other cases, were flayed alive and their skins used as dancing-dresses by the priests.

Nor need we seek in remote regions or among alien races for proofs that there does not exist a necessary connexion between the social types classed as civilized and those higher sentiments which we commonly associate with civilization. The mutilations of prisoners exhibited on Assyrian sculptures are not surpassed in cruelty by any we find among the most bloodthirsty of wild races; and Rameses II., who delighted in having himself sculptured on temple-walls throughout Egypt as holding a dozen captives by the hair, and striking off their heads at a blow, slaughtered during his conquests more human beings than a thousand chiefs of savage tribes put together. The tortures inflicted on captured enemies by Red Indians are not greater than were those inflicted of old on felons by crucifixion, or on suspected rebels by sewing them up in the hides of slaughtered animals, or on heretics by smearing them over with combustibles and setting fire to them. The Damaras, described as so utterly heartless that they laugh on seeing one of their number killed by a wild beast, are not worse than were the Romans, who made such elaborate provisions for gratifying themselves by watching wholesale slaughters in their arenas. If the numbers destroyed by the hordes of Attila were not equalled by the numbers which the Roman armies destroyed at the conquest of Selucia, and by the numbers of the Jews massacred under Hadrian, it was simply because the occasions did not permit. The cruelties of Nero, Gallienus, and the rest may compare with those of Zingis and Timour; and when we read of Caracalla, that after he had murdered twenty thousand friends of his murdered brother, his soldiers forced the Senate to place him among the gods, we are shown that in the Roman people there was a ferocity not less than that which deifies the most sanguinary chiefs among the worst of savages. Nor did Christianity greatly change matters. Throughout Mediæval Europe political offences and religious dissent brought on men carefully-devised agonies equalling if not exceeding any inflicted by the most brutal of barbarians.

Startling as the truth seems, it is yet a truth to be recognized, that increase of humanity does not go on *pari passu* with civilization; but that, contrariwise, the earlier stages of civilization necessitate a

relative inhumanity. Among tribes of primitive men, it is the more brutal rather than the more kindly who succeed in those conquests which effect the earliest social consolidations; and through many subsequent stages of social evolution, unscrupulous aggression outside of the society and cruel coercion within, are the habitual concomitants of political development. The men of whom the better organized societies have been formed, were at first, and long continued to be, nothing else but the stronger and more cunning savages; and even now, when freed from those influences which superficially modify their behaviour, they prove themselves to be little better. If, on the one hand, we contemplate the utterly uncivilized Wood-Veddahs, who are described as "proverbially truthful and honest," "gentle and affectionate," "obeying the slightest intimation of a wish, and very grateful for attention or assistance," and of whom Pridham remarks—"What a lesson in gratitude and delicacy even a Veddah may teach!" and then if, on the other hand, we contemplate our own recent acts of international brigandage, accompanied by the slaughter of thousands who have committed no wrong against us—accompanied, too, by perfidious breaches of faith and by the killing of prisoners in cold blood; we cannot but admit that between the types of men classed as uncivilized and civilized, the differences are not necessarily of the kind commonly supposed. Whatever relation exists between moral nature and social type, is not such as to imply that the social man is in all respects emotionally superior to the pre-social man.[1]

(1) What the social man, even of advanced type, is capable of, has been again shown while these lines are standing in type. To justify the destruction of two African towns in Batanga, we are told that the king, wishing to have a trading factory established, and disappointed with the promise of a sub-factory, boarded an English schooner, carried off Mr. Govier the mate, and, refusing to release him when asked, "threatened to cut the man's head off"—a strange mode, if true, of getting a trading factory established. Mr. Govier afterwards escaped: not having been ill-treated during his detention. Anchoring the *Boadicea* and two gun-boats off Kribby's Town ("King Jack's" residence) Commodore Richards demanded of the king that he should come on board and explain: promising him safety and threatening serious consequences in case of a refusal. Not trusting the promise, the king failed to come. Without ascertaining whether the natives had any reason for laying hands on Mr. Govier, save this most improbable one alleged, Commodore Richards proceeded, after some hours' notice, to clear the beach with shells, to burn the town of 300 houses, to cut down the people's crops, and to destroy their canoes; and then, not satisfied with burning "King Jack's" town, went further south and burnt "King Long-Long's" town. These facts are published in the *Times* of September 10, 1880. In an article on them, this organ of English respectability regrets that "the punishment must seem, to the childish mind of the savage, wholly disproportionate to the offence:" implying that to the adult mind of the civilized it will not seem disproportionate. Further, the leading journal of ruling classes who hold that, in the absence of established theological dogmas, there would be no distinction between right and wrong, remarks that "If it were not for the dark shadow cast over it by this loss of life" [of two of our men], "the whole episode would be somewhat humourous." Doubtless, after the "childish mind of the savage" has accepted the "glad tidings" brought by missionaries of the "religion of love," there is humour, somewhat of the grimmest, perhaps, in showing him the practice of this religion by burning his house. Comments on Christian virtues, uttered by exploding shells, may fitly be accompanied by a Mephistophelian smile. [Since

"How is this conclusion to be reconciled with the conception of progress?" most readers will ask. "How is civilization to be justified if, as is thus implied, some of the highest of human attributes are exhibited in greater degrees by wild people who live scattered in pairs in the woods, than by the members of a vast, well-organized nation, having marvellously-elaborated arts, extensive and profound knowledge, and multitudinous appliances to welfare?" The answer to this question will best be conveyed by an analogy.

As carried on throughout the animate world at large, the struggle for existence has been an indispensable means to evolution. Not simply do we see that in the competition among individuals of the same kind, survival of the fittest has from the beginning furthered production of a higher type; but we see that to the unceasing warfare between species is mainly due both growth and organization. Without universal conflict there would have been no development of the active powers. The organs of perception and of locomotion have been little by little evolved during the interaction of pursuers and pursued. Improved limbs and senses have furnished better supplies to the viscera, and improved visceral structures have ensured a better supply of aerated blood to the limbs and senses; while a higher nervous system has at each stage been required for duly co-ordinating the actions of these more complex structures. Among predatory animals death by starvation, and among animals preyed upon death by destruction, have carried off the least favourably modified individuals and varieties. Every advance in strength, speed, agility, or sagacity in creatures of the one class, has necessitated an advance in creatures of the other class; and without never-ending efforts to catch and to escape, with loss of life as the penalty for failure, the progress of neither could have been achieved.

Mark now, however, that while this merciless discipline of Nature, "red in tooth and claw," has been essential to the evolution of sentient life, its persistence through all time with all creatures must

Since the above paragraph was written, my attention has been drawn to facts illustrating the conduct of white traders to the people of Batanga and the neighbourhood. They are contained in letters sent to his parents by Mr. Robert Surry, which were published in the *Hastings and St. Leonards Times* in June and July of this year. Writing from Waterfall Factory, Batanga, he says:—"I have an awful name with the natives for being a 'hard white man.'" How he came to have this "awful name" is shown by a letter published June 5, dated from an adjacent settlement, in which, after speaking of the natives as "not half so troublesome as the Batangas, because they are not such good men," he says, "Two Sundays ago they threatened me because I sent one of their kings to Gaboon in chains and made a new king. In the evening the new king came to the factory, saying the people wanted to kill him, as they were jealous of him. So we mustered all our crowd of traders, &c., armed them all, and went and burned their town down for them."

Such being some of the confessed deeds, what are likely to be some of the unconfessed deeds? Shall we believe that for making Mr. Govier a prisoner there was no other reason than the wish to have a factory established?

Possibly the king in declining to trust himself on board an English ship, was swayed by the common Negro belief that the devil is white.

not be inferred. The high organization evolved by and for this universal conflict, is not necessarily for ever employed to like ends: the resulting power and intelligence admit of being far otherwise employed. Not for offence and defence only are the inherited structures useful, but for various other purposes; and these various other purposes may finally become the exclusive purposes. The myriads of years of warfare which have developed the powers of all lower types of creatures, have bequeathed to the highest type of creature the powers now used by him for countless objects besides those of killing and avoiding being killed. His teeth and nails are but little employed in fight; and his mind is not ordinarily occupied in devising ways of destroying other creatures, or guarding himself from injury by them.

Similarly with social organisms. We must recognize the truth that the struggle for existence between societies has been instrumental to their evolution. Neither the consolidation and reconsolidation of small social groups into large ones; nor the organization of such compound and doubly compound groups; nor the concomitant developments of all those aids to a wider and higher life which civilization has brought; would have been possible without inter-tribal and international conflicts. Social co-operation is initiated by joint defence and offence; and from the co-operation thus initiated all kinds of co-operations have arisen. Inconceivable as have been the horrors caused by this universal antagonism which, beginning with the chronic hostilities of small hordes tens of thousands of years ago, has ended in the occasional vast battles of immense nations, we must nevertheless admit that without them the world would still have been inhabited only by men of feeble types, sheltering in caves and living on wild food.

But now observe that the inter-social struggle for existence which has been indispensable in evolving societies, will not necessarily play in the future a part like that which it has played in the past. Recognizing our indebtedness to war for forming great communities and developing their structures, we may yet infer that the acquired powers, available for other activities, will lose their original activities. While conceding that without these perpetual bloody strifes civilized societies could not have arisen, and that an adapted form of human nature, fierce as well as intelligent, was a needful concomitant; we may at the same time hold that such societies having been produced, the brutality of nature in their units which was necessitated by the process, ceasing to be necessary with the cessation of the process, will disappear. While the benefits achieved during the predatory period remain a permanent inheritance, the evils, social and individual, entailed by it will decrease and slowly die out.

Thus, then, contemplating social structures and actions from the evolution point of view, we may preserve that calmness which is needful for scientific interpretation of them, without losing our powers of feeling moral reprobation or approbation.

To these preliminary remarks respecting the mental attitude to be preserved by the student of political institutions, a few briefer ones must be added respecting the matters he has to deal with.

If societies were all of the same species and differed only in their stages of growth and structure, comparisons would disclose clearly the course of evolution; but unlikenesses of type among them, here great and there small, obscure the results of such comparisons.

Again, if each society grew and unfolded itself without the intrusion of additional factors, interpretation would be relatively easy; but the complicated processes of development are frequently re-complicated by sudden changes in the sets of factors. Now the size of the social aggregate is all at once increased or decreased by annexation or by loss of territory; and now the average character of its units is changed by the coming in of another race as conquerors or as slaves; while, as a further incident of this change, new social relations are superposed on the old. In many cases the repeated overrunnings of societies by one another, the minglings of peoples and institutions, the breakings up and re-aggregations, so destroy the continuity of normal changes as to make it extremely difficult if not impossible to draw conclusions.

Once more, change in the average mode of life pursued by a society, now increasingly warlike and now increasingly industrial, initiates metamorphoses: changed activities generate changes of structures. Hence there have to be distinguished those progressive re-arrangements which belong to the further development of one social type, from those caused by the commencing development of another social type. The lines of an organization adapted to a mode of activity that has ceased, or has been long suspended, begin to fade, and are traversed by the increasingly-definite lines of an organization adapted to the mode of activity which has replaced it; and error may result from mistaking traits which belong to the one for those which belong to the other.

Hence we may infer that out of the complex and confused evidence, only the larger truths are likely to emerge with clearness. While anticipating that certain general conclusions are to be positively established, we may anticipate that more special ones can be alleged only as probable.

Happily, however, as we shall eventually see, those general conclusions admitting of positive establishment, are the conclusions of most value for guidance.

HERBERT SPENCER.

GREECE AND THE GREEKS.

Not the least of the difficulties in regulating the Greek paragraph of the Eastern Question lies in the estimating justly the personal character of the Greek himself. Of all the races which compose the European whole there is none so diversely appreciated, or concerning whom opinions are so categorically opposed. Classical associations, imaginative attributions, surface impressions of rapid journeys; all these contribute to make of one class of people enthusiastic philhellenes; while a tenacious and rather aggressive individualism, an almost preternatural quickness which in affairs of business tends to eminent success, but which in practical politics generally ends in superficial and incomplete solutions, and a common overweening self-estimation, combine to excite in persons of diverse character, as nearly all Englishmen are, a radical and ineradicable antipathy, and what is even worse is that the over-enthusiastic of the former kind, arrested in their premature enthusiasm, and disappointed in expectations perhaps unreasonable if entertained of *any* people, fly over to the other extremes, and from philhellenes become hellenophobes of a still more extravagant type. The extraordinary quickness of intellect in the average Greek leads a doctrinaire to anticipate a ready and fruitful acceptance of his doctrine, and disappointment disgusts him with a race so intelligent and yet so slow to learn new things beyond the point of mere apprehension—as if the invariable rule of human nature were not that the seed which springs up quickest finds its limit soonest. The uncommon acumen of the race is illogically held as promise of proficiency, and when the philhellene finds no fruit from the thing he planted, he turns his back on the Greek as a shallow, profitless creature. In this way one sees early philhellenes who have taken a most absorbing interest in the well-being of the country, finally retire in disgust from all dealings with it.

The fact is that the Greek combines in an extraordinary degree the most facile and varied apprehension and mobility of impression with an unexampled conservatism in the deeper attributes of his nature. A bookish pedant, Fallmerayer, maintained that the Greek was nothing more than the resultant of all the wild and barbarous races which have moved into the ancient Hellas, and who mingled their blood in him; and even Finlay used to say that probably few or none of the better classes in the Byzantine Hellas had, owing to prevalent vices in the ages preceding the fall of Constantinople, left any descendants, and that the modern population was, therefore, only the progeny of the lowest classes in the classic Hellas. But

Finlay's idea goes no further than to say that the modern stock came from the same ancestry as the ancient, and is, therefore, better suited to represent the primitive Hellene than if it had been the heir of the Byzantine vices and virtues combined; while of Fallmerayer one can only say that if he had exercised the same ingenuity in studying man as in combining and translating documents, he would have seen that nothing could more completely correspond with the character of the ancient Greek as handed down by his history, than the Greek of to-day. I defy any ethnologist to evolve a study of character more completely corresponding to the Greek of to-day than does that of Ulysses in the Odyssey. It is particularly and unmistakably the character of the insular Greek—ready for all emergencies, all occupations, full of wiles and stratagems, never caught at fault—a compound of craft, courage, endurance, and thrift, the whole crowned by an absorbing reverence for the Divine, and the most immobile conservatism in all that pertains to his religion, his family, his domestic and social habits. The trait on which all else hinges is his individualism and aversion to being uniform with the people about him, or to having his individuality merged in any kind of organization or co-operation. It is this which makes him so competent, so successful in every sphere where isolated action is possible and advantageous, and which makes his whole political and national existence, now as of old, a series of revolutions, defections, jealousies, personal ambitions thrust before the general good; here and there treason, and here and there acts of splendid individual devotion and self-sacrifice—anything possible to the individual, nothing possible to the Hellenic race as a whole, except subjection! Was not Athens of old the seat of turbulence, revolt, demagogism, ostracism of the just, ingratitude to the benefactors of the state, incompetence in high places, every man in the community struggling to fill every post, and often the worst succeeding? Shall we remember the long record of national crimes and national vices of the Greece we are accustomed to hold up to the Greeks of to-day, and say that the old was better than the new, or that anything we see now makes a legitimate line of descent doubtful?

Reading history and studying modern Greece, I, indeed, have a very distinct impression that the moderns are, apart from artistic qualities, an advance on the ancients, who were, as we all know, a turbulent, cruel, bloodthirsty canaille, especially at Athens. As to art, we have no record of any race passing through two distinct and widely separate evolutions of the same ideal; the modern successors of Raphael and Michael Angelo are as far from *their* achievements as the modern Hellene from those of the great Greek epoch; art is the sublime flower of a national maturity, and only a little precedes

the morbid condition of over-developed civilization or decay. The fact that modern Greece has never produced a great artist is no flaw in its genealogy—the contrary rather. But in all that concerns essential personal character the modern Greek seems to me an improvement on all that we know of the ancient. Reading of the anarchy, the dissensions, divisions, demagogic follies and frenzies, the horrible internecine feuds, resulting in such deeds as the massacre of the Meliote and Eginetan population, the Helot history of Sparta, and the great and ruinous strife between Athens and Sparta, it is impossible to say that the present political condition of Greece is not an immense advance over the ancient. Thinking of the slavery, the condition of women, and the general morality, we cannot deny that the present social condition is as much improved. There remain Plato and the works of Phidias and the architects—millennial phenomena whose occurrence or non-occurrence is the effect of a law comprehended by no one. In everything that pertains to the essential character of the race, the Greek is as much ahead of all the races around him in the Levant (in certain directions we might go further) as he was in 500 B.C. And it must be remembered that he is the only eastern who has tried the problem of self-government even partially.

Living in the Levant with Englishmen as I have for years, it is perfectly easy for me to understand the constitutional antipathy of the Greek and the Briton. Firstly, the latter has in the main made their acquaintance in Corfu, and the common people of that long-protected island are so far beyond the Hellene in all the vices which western tradition attributes to the whole race that it is the proverbial type of over-reaching dishonesty even amongst the continental Greeks. Secondly, the sharp, quick-witted Greek, trained for centuries to use his wits as his only defence or advantage, carries into his business dealings a crafty watching for the best of the bargain, an Odyssean shrewdness and dissimulation which are the usual and indispensable requisites of successful trade in the Levant and with all Levantine races, but which is revolting to the straightforward business ways of the Englishman. It is difficult to bring the Greek to book—he has always some concealed advantage that escapes the notice of the blunter Western, accustomed to prompt, time-saving, comprehensive transactions on a large scale, and his perpetual evasion of a direct issue and straightforward conclusion, is irritating to people brought up to English ways, and produces an antipathy which is more or less present with those of the latter who have any business dealings with the Levant. Thirdly, the Greek is a constitutional democrat. No respecter of persons or rank, he looks with reverence on no man, and puts himself readily as the equal of any person with whom he has to deal, claps a lord on the shoulder,

and catechises any functionary whatever, with the sang-froid and inquisitiveness of a Yankee, to whom, in general mental character, he bears a surprising resemblance; to which, perhaps, in the fourth line, he owes the increment of this antipathy between him and the Englishman.

The Greek through all the West bears the reputation of mendacity and dishonesty, *i.e.* of business immorality. Immorality is a matter practically of comparison. Naturally, cheating is always cheating, and a lie is always a lie; but when we use the words in a concrete sense we intend by them comparison not with an abstract standard of unattained morality, but with other elements apt to enter into that comparison, and to draw it, one needs a wide experience of men and races. I may or may not be competent as a witness for want of knowledge or capacity, but so far as the experience of twenty years, more or less, spent amongst various nations, goes to qualify me, I may assume a comparative competence, and my experience is that the most thorough dishonesty I ever encountered was amongst London shopmen, while I judge that the adulterators of food, fabricators of wine, &c., have a most ignoble career in Greece as compared with that in England—a conclusion which, while it does not induce in me any disparaging generalization as to English honesty, does not, on the other hand, allow me to join in the outcry against the dishonesty of the Greek. We get blunted by habit to certain forms of dishonesty, and accept them as comparative honesty, while we are quick to revolt against the same defection from the absolute standard if presented in a novel or more active shape; and this is I think about the difference between Greek and English honesty. It is not worth while to befog the question with details, but I should be much surprised if a fair-minded London merchant should decide that Greek merchants in London were more addicted than English to fraudulent or discreditable operations; while as to Greece itself, I do not hesitate to say that I have lived in no country where, apart from certain forms of tentative dealing, general, and generally understood, ordinary mercantile operations are conducted with more probity. Certainly the average standard of veracity or business honesty in Tuscany and southern Italy is incomparably lower than it is in Greece; yet neither I, nor Englishmen in general, would say that Italians were a set of sharpers. Yet I have heard an English minister at Athens say publicly that he would not believe a single word from any Greek whatever—that they were one and all a set of rascals; and I have repeatedly heard the same sentiment in greater or less completeness expressed by Englishmen. My own experience, on the contrary, is that when the Greek is left to his point of honour he is one of the most trustworthy men to deal with, because, if for no better reason, his high general intelligence

teaches him the value of his character. Amidst such discrepancies of judgment I cannot insist rigorously on mine, and offer it as a corrective to so many adverse; but my general impression is that most people coming to a trial of wits and subterfuges with a Greek are likely to come out second best, and it has always been my way to leave him to his sense of honour. I certainly remember that a Greek friend of mine, on being cleverly outwitted in a trivial business affair by his son twelve years of age, was so pleased that he openly praised him to his face and mine—the display of cleverness was too gratifying to the father to be reproved; yet in all my dealings with him, dealings conducted in his own way and on his sense of honour, I never had to raise a question or even put one to myself; no English merchant could have justified my faith more thoroughly. That his standard of conduct in business matters would have differed from mine I am quite willing to admit, but according to his standard his operations were perfectly trustworthy, and by accepting it to start with no one need have feared transacting any business with him. Make the bargain a contest of wits and a struggle to gain hidden advantages, and the Greek merchant is a match for any other, more than a match for most; but the question being made one of honour, I have never had to deal with a more satisfactory trader than the Greek, whether he be of the islands or of the continent.

The same may be said of veracity. Through the whole East a very different estimate of truth obtains from that which belongs to the Englishman and German, and the long-continued subject condition has combined with an intense conservatism and completeness of heredity to maintain what was unquestionably the antique view of the use of lying, and one which we, who have abandoned it in our private lives, keep up in diplomacy and war, viz. that the stranger is an enemy *in posse* and must be met at the threshold with any available subterfuge and deceit, and the truth always reserved for those whom we know to be quite worthy of trust. All half-civilized nations, and all nations in a state of lawless servitude, speedily learn to defend themselves by lying, where it is possible; and what one may call the Teutonic type of truth-telling has never belonged to any Aryan or non-Aryan race. But with this proviso, and admitting the Eastern standard of comparison, the Greek will stand the test better than most of his neighbours. The proof of the qualities of a race is what civilization brings it to; and without fear of being gainsaid by any unprejudiced man who has lived in the East, I assert that the Greeks grow closer to the highest Indo-Germanic standard than any race in the Levant; while the Turks, in whom so many Englishmen place a faith which to me, who have lived in official relations with them, seems ludicrous, civilizes into an incredible corruption. I remember a very distinguished diplomat who publicly declared that he wanted

no more reliable source of information than a Turkish official dispatch, but I had occasion to find out that in his own standard of veracity he was little or no better than his friends. Truth has for different men different facets, and the Cretan, who is proverbial amongst Greeks for lying, would no more make written declaration of a falsehood than a respectable Englishman would make affidavit to one. I remember a curious illustration from the Cretan insurrection of 1866. Shortly after the first deportation of the Cretan refugees by H.B.M.'s ship *Assurance*, a Turkish ship, hoisting English colours, ran in near the same locality, and when the Cretans came down to the shore to be, as they supposed, embarked; the steamer opened fire on them. On learning the fact the Russian frigate on the station at once went to the point where the refugees were assembled and sent a boat ashore to arrange for their embarkation; the boat was fired on, the ship being believed another Turk. It was with difficulty that the officer in command could communicate, but finally he was permitted to approach shore, when a discussion arose whether the ship was or was not Turkish. At length the Cretan spokesman asked the Russian officer if he was willing to sign a written declaration that the ship was a Russian ship and no Turk, and on his signing formally such a declaration the signal was given, and in five minutes the whole coast was swarming with refugees from caves and crevices in the rocks. I wish to draw no disparaging comparison, but to ask simply if this picture of childlike, unquestioning faith in the written declaration of an unknown man does not indicate a standard of truthfulness which few more civilized people still entertain. There is a given point of honour on which even the Cretan is always trustworthy. Yet he romances and exaggerates like his continental kinsman, and will fabricate history for you by the yard out of whole cloth and without hesitation. Our mistake is in believing the things told in pure love of the marvellous or to excite attention, to which no one of themselves would pay the slightest consideration: they transform suggestions and possibilities into *faits accomplis* with an imaginative activity which is an interesting phenomenon when you have learnt how to interpret it, but they rarely will tell you a falsehood to your harm.

As to the honesty of *meum* and *tuum*, I apprehend that there is little difference in races; the highest civilization developes most theft for reasons which everybody knows, and which have nothing to do with Greek or Turk; but even in Athens all forms of theft are exceedingly rare, as, I may say, *en passant*, is crime of all kinds, as compared with any city of its size in Western Europe.

As to sexual and domestic morality, the Greek, continental or insular, at home or in the European colonies, is a luminous example of integrity to the whole civilized world (the Albanian and Montenegrin

maintaining the same traditions), and this, in part, owing to a cold, intellectual temperament, and, in part, owing to a strongly religious character, and the influence of the clergy, who, being married men and fathers of families, have a common interest with their flocks in this question. On the score of general morality, therefore, I don't think we have any need to send missionaries to the Greeks, and the New Testament they received for us has fallen into much greater neglect elsewhere than there.

To sum up the Greek's good qualities, as is only just, before passing to the opposite, they have high sexual morality, the closest of family ties, great filial reverence, great intellectual activity and acumen, with strong power of concentration and individual administrative capacity, no less honesty or veracity on the whole than most other people, excellent business faculties, civic orderliness in a high degree, intense conservatism *au fond*, and great adaptiveness in superficial matters, intense love of harmony as far as they can see the use of it, and the most remarkable tendency to individualism noticeable in any people—except, perhaps, the Yankees—an individualism, indeed, so powerful that it becomes a collective weakness. There can be no question that as an element of progress and reorganization in the Levant, the Greek is not only the most valuable that offers, but that by which most has already been done, in spite of all adversity, not only in the Hellenic kingdom but in the Turkish Empire, and the Greek municipalities are in the main admirable examples of what native organizing power can accomplish. Syra, Athens, Peiraeus, Patras, are most satisfactory demonstrations of what can be done in civic crystallization, and considering the poverty of the country and its needs, public works are as forward as we could reasonably expect, *considering certain circumstances* which I have yet to deal with, relating to the central government.[1]

And in spite of all this I can but consider the present constitution of the Hellenic commonwealth a complete failure, from which no substantial good can be expected. With the best people in the Levant we have the worst government in Christendom. The progress thus far made, and the results of civic vitality so abundantly shown in a few localities, are simply the balance between the municipal and individual energy struggling to build, and the centralism,

(1) The question of administration of justice is one I do not like to consider abstractly. My own opinion is that it is very corrupt, and that a foreigner has no chance of justice against a native, or a poor man against a rich, but the whole thing is so involved with the corruption of the central government—with which I deal further on—and with a jealousy of all foreigners, in business matters, an exaggerated chauvinism which cannot endure a foreigner getting any advantage out of Greece, that I am unable to analyze it, the more as I had never any experience with Greek tribunals. Most of my friends, Greek and foreign, tell me that the tribunals are corrupt and subservient, but not so much as the Italian—much less so than the Russian:—if I were to pronounce an opinion, I should say about equal to the Austrians.

corrupted already and always unfitted to the people, pulling down, undermining, and corrupting, fostering the worst elements in national life, and utterly powerless to evolve the good ones. That this balance is in favour of progress and national development shows the virtue of the Greek people; that the conflict, so disastrous, should have been forced on Greece by the will of Europe, shows utter incomprehension of the people, or utter indifference to the success of the experiment, on the part of the great Powers—perhaps both.

Looking back on the fifty years of the existence of independent Greece, and the history of the dealings of the Powers with her, it is hard to see on what any claims of gratitude are founded. The good that Europe has done to Greece has been in reluctant benefactions or contemptuous, like bones thrown to a dog. As with Montenegro on the other side of Adriatic Turkey, as little good has been done as was possible, and that, regretfully, and in shame that so much heroism of endurance and misery should pass before the eyes of Europe, and go into the record of history without some kind of recognition. As with Montenegro, when the Powers had to make the peace between the little Christian and the great Mussulman States, they assigned all the plains, all the desirable country of any kind to the Turk, and gave the rocks to the freemen. The Powers varied the complexion of their grace; Russia alone was invariably kind, but not too kind; England contemptuous, incredulous of any good in enchained Christians; but Austria, always malignant, always the enemy of all freedom, was, if possible, a more rancorous foe of any emancipation in that country which, from the days of the wars with the Turk and the recoil of Islam from the walls of Vienna, she has looked on as her eventual possession. Austria was, and still is, the most implacable opponent of such an extension of Greece as shall make it an efficient member of the European family. A power that exists by injustice must always desire weak neighbours, and Austrian intrigues and diplomacy were always exerted to weaken Greece.

Of course, it was not to be expected in the days when Republicanism was counted the natural enemy of social order, that the democratic constitution of the Greek should find anything corresponding to it in the institutions which the Powers would permit to become established. Capo d'Istria was a capable man, who understood the Greeks, and might have brought a kind of republic into successful operation; he was, therefore, assassinated, and the evidence points rather to Austrian instigation than to any other political influence. The independence of Greece was tolerated as a compromise between humanity and diplomacy, but good care was taken to do nothing that might make Greece successful. The whole world knows the negotiations of the Greeks with Prince Leopold, and how in the end Otho of Bavaria, a typical petty despot, was put to lead the most

democratic race in existence into monarchical ways. Greece was young and sanguine, like a boy who has just inherited a large estate, and ready to accept anything and sign any mortgage, note-of-hand, or other obligation. So the despotism was accepted with the usurers. Loans, the most onerous that any government ever accepted, were joyfully accepted; institutions which were like an iron cage to the nation were embraced with enthusiasm, and the country, bankrupt and revolutionized in advance, entered on its existence like a child escaping from its leading-strings. Poverty, financial dishonour, insurrection, and the disfavour of all Europe, waited on it from its bloody weaning. A prosperous national life was from the beginning denied it; let us in common justice not judge too harshly this child of oppression, cast into the great highway of nations with the hatred or contempt of all its protectors, and the friendship of no fellow-nation in all Christendom. Poor, derided, and bullied from the first, how should it in fifty years become a nation among nations? The shrewdest and most markedly intellectual people in Europe are put under the guidance of a petty despot, or a raw lad, and told to prosper on nothing!

The one great virtue in Greek character—its irrepressible individualism, instead of being employed as a force was suppressed as an explosive. In the face of all history, which showed that the Greek had never been able to exist under a centralized government, that his political vitality was always in proportion to his decentralization, and that Hellas never was an unity, but a loose confederation of self-governing States, Greece was centralized, and all the facilities of corruption which an unpopular sovereign could gather and employ were set at once to corrupt the national character, which was always in possible revolt against the monarchy, and probably always will be. In the undeveloped and plastic state of the civic man, the individuality which becomes personal ambition might have become, and naturally would have become, in the exaltation which follows long periods of heroism and abnegation, under the heading of a wise and noble leader, developed into a civic virtue. Otho, by using men for his own purposes regardless of the true development of the nation, like any little German despot, found the bad men better than the good; self-sacrifice and disinterested patriotism were not unknown —they are not now unknown, even in Athens—but they were unprofitable, for what was wanted was what vulgar courts always want, men to flatter and serve, and the ambitious could only run that way. Then it must be remembered that most of the men who had borne a prominent part in the struggles of the Greeks were reared in the old despotic ideas of the Turkish régime. Some of them survive still, chieftains or members of the old Klephtic bands, who bore the brunt of the war with the Turks, and whose character was utterly unfitted

to the working of a system of even partial self-government. The whole population had been reared in the ideas of pasha government, and had no conception of a system of law which should weigh on ruler and ruled alike. These chiefs of districts remained chiefs after the emancipation; they were capable of making trouble for the king, and so he employed them, ideas and all, not the wisest and best, or fittest to govern, but those who served him best; and as he was of that school of kings whose motto is *l'état c'est moi*, and as his rule and character were utterly antipathetic to the Greeks, it may be imagined that the men he gathered about him were not those of whom a State is made. The redeeming points of Otho were that he had a certain kingly ambition, and understood the German traditions of empire. How often in these later days I have heard the most patriotic Greeks, even those who had helped to drive him away, say, "Ah! if we only had Otho back again!"

This overweening individuality, which is so potent a force in the individual Greek, became under the circumstances of the new national life, as it had been more or less in the old, an organic weakness. Under great pressure of danger from without it was a concentrated force, and saved the State by its exaltation; but, that pressure removed, it generally degenerated into personal ambition and imperilled the state by its extravagance, as it, to this day, often degrades and disgraces it. The Greek abroad is generally an earnest patriot, contributing freely to the needs of the great crises of his country, and the country is full of the great benefactions of the foreign colonies, beneficent institutions of all kinds which confound the traveller, in so poor a land, the Greek at home——but to avoid generalizations which would be odious, and because there are to my personal knowledge many Greeks at home of whom any civilization might be proud, I will only sketch the Government which has grown out of the ill-directed personal ambition, acted upon on one side by the inevitable corruption of an over-centralized government, and on the other by universal suffrage conferred on a people ignorant of the first principles of political organization or economy.

In Greek politics there are no parties, which means simply that there are no principles at stake in the direction of government. The single chamber elected by universal suffrage is divided into as many cliques as there happen to be men capable of forming partisans by their talents or personal influence. Each of these chiefs, little or great, aspires to be a minister—possibly prime minister, and the whole struggle in parliament is to form combinations which shall resist spontaneous disintegration. A chief in the opposition victorious to-day, not finding his ambitions satisfied in the new ministry, goes into the new opposition; the changes are kaleidoscopic. The utmost force and resources of a new government are tasked to gain the

influence which is necessary to keep up its majority. The appliances are various: amongst the most legitimate are reckoned the distribution of places; hence the civil service is a caricature of that in the United States of America, such a caricature as might be expected from a poor country with few openings and many anxious to enter into them, and a government that is never sure of its existence during a week of the session of the Chamber. The whole parliamentary existence of every government is passed in a struggle to keep in, and the whole activity of the opposition exercised to upset the ministry—not on any question of principle or public policy, but to get into its place. The nomarchs, eparchs, custom-house officers, &c., &c., go out with the men who appointed them, and the whole influence of all the officials is employed by various kinds of pressure to keep the elections "straight," and that of the ex-officials to make them go crooked, and between one and the other the fever of office-holding burns away the civic life. Nothing can be more disastrous to the purity of popular government than the making the elections turn on place-holding, which is *pro tanto* bribery of the worst kind; and in Greece this goes so far that I was told after the last election that in one commune even the school-mistress had been dismissed in favour of another who could control a vote. The evil works two ways—firstly making corruption a controlling civic power; and, secondly, preventing any economical administration or official efficiency, besides tending to multiplication of places without regard to the needs of the country. At Ithaca I was told that the island had had a new eparch on an average once in six months since the annexation, and in one case the man newly appointed had not reached his post before his successor was following him. It is of course impossible for any government to carry on public works of any importance, when before the necessary preparatory studies are completed every official concerned may be out of office. At Port Vathy I was told that necessary works on the port had been begged for in vain for several years. If the deputy from Vathy was in opposition, the Government paid no attention to his demands; if with the Government, he was not so long enough to have the work done, or he was so absorbed in preparation for the next election that nothing could be attended to till after that. In the United States the danger of such a system—great even there—is modified by the fact that the Government lasts always four years at least, and by the decentralization which takes the control of all the purely State interests out of the sphere of the congressional elections, to leave the regulation of them with the people of the States. On the Greek system good government would be impossible even in the United States, with all their wealth and popular energy. What can we expect of a country poor by nature, and in which the competitors for positions where intelli-

gence is more requisite than physical industry, are more numerous in proportion to the places to be filled than in any other country in the world? What we find is that there is a horde of office-holders of all grades, ill paid, and with every temptation to eke out miserable incomes by means which neither conduce to the interests of the exchequer nor to public morality. Except the Turkish, I doubt if there is in Europe a custom-house service so corrupt as the Greek: when I say that the American is in very much the same condition, I shall not be accused of partiality or prejudice.

Let us go down to the root of the matter at once. We have a people of great natural intelligence, shrewd to perceive its own personal advantages, without the slightest political education, of whom the greatest foible is self-assertion to a degree that makes subordination and discipline in any department difficult, generally poor and generally ambitious to escape from manual labour into the comfortable and serene life of place-holding (in which, however, they are not in the least singular), with an hereditary contempt for mechanical occupations and manufactures of most kinds. We give these people universal suffrage, and throw them into the hands of the successors of those demagogues who kept Athens in anarchy and disaster from the days of Menestheus down; and from this fire and straw we expect a government to come out! There are deputies and ministers worthy of a better combination, but taken as a whole this single Chamber, elected directly by the people, dismissable at the will of the ministry (and I remember one case where the king not only dismissed a ministry which did not please him, but dissolved the Chamber because it would not support his new nominees, and held to the dismissed ministry), with no Conservative check, and open to every abuse of democracy, is only a caricature of parliamentary institutions, and is an incubus on the prosperity of Greece which no popular virtue could resist. It is a combination of the weaknesses of monarchical and republican institutions, and the stronger it succeeds in making itself, the worse for the country. The elections in Greece are schools of violence and illegality; the rewards for services in them extend to immunity from punishment for crime, and conferring of posts of honour and profit on the most unscrupulous agents in the land; and the elections themselves, except in the cities and centres of intelligence, are no indication of the opinions of the constituency, if indeed those can be said to have opinions who have not the remotest idea of any policy whatever. It is not unknown that a candidate obnoxious to the ministry for the time being has been kept out by the simple device of the functionaries forcibly preventing him from placing an urn for his ballots in the voting place, or that his adherents were prevented from coming to vote by armed bands or regular soldiery. It is not very long ago that a

zealous agent in one of the islands, several times convicted and punished for felonious acts, was rewarded by a prefecture on the mainland: a jail-bird made governor of a province to reward him for his successful *mediation* in the elections! It was perfectly well known that brigandage was, until the Marathon massacre, employed by certain prominent and influential deputies, of whom several were, now and then, ministers, to secure their elections; and that the persons of well-known brigands were, in consequence, secure from molestation, and the institution of brigandage was secure from extinction. To the intelligent and really patriotic part of the population these practices were as odious as to Englishmen, but the masses of the agricultural population of Greece are no more able to see the harm of Klephtism than the good of elective purity and independence. The inhabitants of the district to which the above-alluded-to felon prefect was sent, rose in revolt, and refused to admit him, and the ministry were obliged to yield, and find him another place. They made him inspector of prisons on the principle of setting a thief to watch thieves, I suppose. The people are better than their government.

Of course the great object of such an assembly must be the consulting the interests of their constituents, or what they can be persuaded are their interests. It is not only with the ignorant that the wildest and most irrational notions of politics obtain, but more or less with the whole people. Even of the most intelligent and best-educated of the people of Athens, one finds some whose ideas of political possibilities and practicabilities are of the most visionary, even to the dream of Greece some day coming into the inheritance of the Byzantine Empire—*the grand idea*, the day-dream of Alnaschar. The natural exaltation and enthusiasm of the Greek temperament when directed on politics, the great passion of the whole race, rapidly carries it out of the range of common sense—the ideal, the imaginative potentiality of the subject dazzle the vision, and the necessary and humble preliminaries are overlooked in their obscurity. There is no practical common-sense either in Greek legislation or political administration. Great schemes are more attractive than petty details. In the last Epirote affair the army was collected on the frontiers of Acarnania, formidable enough in number, but no one had thought of the commissariat or transportation, and if it had crossed the frontier it would have been obliged to retreat in a week for want of food. There is no rank and file; every man who gets into politics (and they are few who can read and write who do not) is anxious to become prime minister; and there is a saying of the army—"So many soldiers, so many generals;" "all officers, and no rank and file;" there is no disposition to settle down to the indispensable mastery of details, and working up from the bottom. This is in part

due to the crowding and impatient individuality which I have pointed out, and which evades discipline and subordination; and in part to the sanguine and enthusiastic nature of the people, which sees the far off and unattainable as near, but does not see at all the difficulties at their feet.

Of course under such conditions a centralized government must be a failure, because it can never be strong to control or concentrated to act, and because it must in all over-centralized governments be the case that remote affairs are neglected and go wrong. The present Government of Greece is a failure, not only because it is a weak and disorderly Government, but because, though Athens is well-policed, orderly, and clean, the provinces complain with a growing discontent that they are taxed and uncared for; prevented from doing their own works, and having none done for them. Athens is so busy with its own struggles that it can pay no attention to remote districts. In the feverish clutch of the personal ambitions of the ministers and deputies at the capital, individual or provincial liberty stands a poor chance of respect. The men in power will neglect no appliance to keep out those who are out, and as history repeats itself, Greeks who really love their country should read the record of those internecine struggles by which in olden times Greece lost all her liberties. Every extension of the present system by annexation of new states will aggravate the difficulties until the whole system breaks down in anarchy or revolution. Ministry follows ministry, and the hot disputants for power do not see or seem to care that bankruptcy is following bankruptcy, and that no human Government in this unstable condition is fit to meet the dangers of a war or able to establish a sound and healthy administration in peace. They claim the heritage of Constantinople: one part of it they have, for the sects and parties of Byzantium were so absorbed in their party quarrels as not to know when the Turks had taken the city.

As a friend of Greece, as especially an admirer of its courageous, indomitable, and warm-hearted people, not blind to its vices, but knowing that its virtues far surpass them—if those of any people can be said to do so—I ask myself the question others have asked me and will ask now, What can be done, if Greece is in this desperate condition, to make her fit for the new responsibilities Europe proposes to bestow on her? The answer is in one word—decentralization—a radical change of the constitution to one on the Swiss plan, with the fullest administrative liberty to the commune, entire abandonment of the system of nomarchs, re-establishment of the original States as provinces, and the remission of the provincial affairs to elective provincial governments—in short, the most complete separation of the general Government at Athens from the affairs of the country consistent with keeping a firm federal bond,

the maintenance of the army, navy, and diplomacy under a common direction; and as far as possible the removal of the central administration and the civil service from the vicissitudes of an ignorant universal suffrage or unseasonable changes.

That the Government is not strong enough to bring about complete assimilation is shown by the fact that it has been obliged to leave the Ionian Islands in the condition in most respects in which it got them. It has never been able to establish uniform taxation, or to abrogate special local laws or institutions. It has generally planted the seeds of great provincial discontent when it has done anything in the way of centralization there. In a voyage through the Ionian archipelago last springtime I found everywhere evidence of increasing discontent with the Government of Athens, and a growing regret for English rule as well as a contempt for Athenian law. Ten years ago I could find nothing of the kind. And not only from the islands, but from almost every part of Greece where I have been or where I have friends, I hear the same growing complaint against the absorption by the Government of the liberties and prosperity of the provinces, and the same outcry against over-centralization. Even the poor semblance of municipal liberty is not respected, for the demarch or mayor, though elective, is utterly powerless for good, as he cannot even construct a road without the consent of the Central Government, while even illegal infringement of the prerogatives of the head of the municipality are not uncommon. As to the elections, woe to the demarch who acts against the will of the ministry!

The plan of the constitution is utterly unfitted to the people, so that were illegality under it absolutely prevented, it would still be destructive to the national development, for it converts what is the greatest element of strength in the Greek character into an injury to the general good. The most honest and upright of legislators could never bring such a constitution into conformity with the Greek genius; while, if I may believe the Greeks themselves, the majority of the men who must work the constitution are the worst of demagogues, in whom personal passions and personal advantages are the substantial ends of political life. And this state of things will become worse with territorial extension. New provinces and richer (and they must be richer than the actual Greece, for nothing else except Montenegro is so poor) will only be new incitements to the greed of place-holders. These petty praetors *in petto* will burn for new provinces. The oppression of the pashas they will replace is not to be feared, but corruption and dishonest greed may do as much harm, and the new provinces will become the reward of partizanship and not of capacity. Greek nature is, after all, very human nature, and this has always been the rule with all

delegates of a practically irresponsible power, whether praetors, satraps, pashas, prefects, or carpet-bagging governors, such as the subjugation of the Southern States developed. The larger the State and the field of corruption, the stronger the greed of the possessors of power and the worse their use of it.

Besides the positive harm of this centralization in repressing personal, municipal, and provincial activity, *i.e.* abrogating the highest qualifications of the Greek for progress, it has the other grave aspect of being utterly useless for any good. Negatively and positively it is equally pernicious. A strongly centralized government is good with a lawless population, with a turbulent and rebellious nation, or one which is too ignorant to appreciate the necessity of Government, but the Greek is neither the one nor the other. It is, with the single exception of brigandage (a survival of an heroic age when the Klepht was the national hero), one of the most law-abiding races in the world, one of the most orderly in its personal relations with the community, as it is one of the most refractory to oppression and personal aggression. So far as his perception of the beneficial effects of law goes, the Greek obeys it from the good sense and innate good-fellowship of his nature. Beyond that he pays no attention to it, and the extent of obedience to law that obtains throughout the country is due to this trait, and not to any force of legal restraint possessed by the Government. A law that does not meet the common-sense of the people remains a dead letter, and it would be folly for the Government to attempt to enforce it. A central authority might carry successfully the charges of purely federal objects—army, navy, diplomacy, the systematization of law concerning the relations of the communities one with another, &c. But when a government as weak as the Greek must always be, undertakes to carry the load it now flounders under, a break-down, general or partial, is inevitable. Leave the rustic to attend (since the withdrawal of universal suffrage seems impracticable) to the care of rustic interests in rural communes, and let his political influence end there as far as practicable. Education and experience of the consequences of his own errors will bring him in time into the better perception of his higher political relations, and to them he must be left; no constitution borrowed from Gallic needs, or absolutism from Slavonic, will ever make the Greek anything but what he is—a difficult creature to drive when he does not see the way.

Decentralization will remove the great objection to enlargement of the kingdom, and will even make it practicable to a greater extent than will be found possible under the present form of government. It will permit the new provinces to come in with their local administration unchanged, and it is a curious fact that under the Turkish rule the municipal liberty is much greater than in the kingdom of

Greece. There is a great and very substantial danger that in annexing a population so large and so habituated to that particular kind of liberty which will be denied it by the Greek constitution, Greece may find itself in the position of a gun that fires a shot heavier than itself—the gun will go farther than the shot. If, for instance, Crete were to come, as the Greeks all hope it will, into the assembly of Greek states, and the islanders, accustomed to an extraordinary amount of provincial independence, and even to an insular autonomy within certain limits, were to experience the operation of a Greek administration with nomarchs appointed from Athens, &c., &c., I am certain that two years would not elapse without a revolution and a separation. And the plain truth is, that Crete is to-day better and more intelligently governed than the Hellenic kingdom has ever been, and is, indeed, a model of government for populations so situated.

Decentralization is the remedy, but how to apply it? I have heard suggestions that the protecting Powers might insist on such modifications as they think necessary, but nobody is so refractory to a compulsion from without as the Greek; he must be left to himself and the consequences of his wisdom or unwisdom; but the Powers have assumed, with justice, a right to demand from Greece the most complete liberty of conscience to all the inhabitants of the annexed districts (an utterly useless if just provision, as the Greek is of a tolerance not known to most Westerns; the only thing which is not tolerated is *proselytism*); and a guarantee to the new provinces of all their municipal and provincial liberty and autonomy would lay the foundations of a confederation to which Greece must accede, or, as a Cretan chief said to me, "it will be Greece which will be annexed, not we;" and this would, in course of time, bring in all the islands, and possibly all the Greek-speaking tribes of Albania, if not the whole of that people, as there is no nucleus of national organization amongst the Skipetars. Under an Athenian rule they can never be brought.

In the opinion I have here expressed I am not alone. Most intelligent Greeks whom I know, and with whom I have conversed on the matter, agree with me heartily; when once the ball is set rolling many will help it on, but the difficulty of action lies in the tenacity with which the actual possessors of power, the Assembly, will contest any proposition to modify their prerogatives. The formalities which surround any proposition to amend the Greek constitution are so complex that I doubt if any probable organization to effect the reform would succeed, without some extraneous inducement, in overcoming the obstructive force certain to be employed. This inducement might easily be given by the conditional annexation of the provinces proposed to be added—conditions I have indicated.

Here and not in any extension of territory lies the remedy for the ills which afflict Greece. Extension of territory will only exaggerate the present evils, because the Government as it is now constituted cannot carry its present load, much less work with its load doubled. The people, however well-disposed, cannot assist, because nothing is left for the people to do; every municipality, instead of relieving the central government of a part of the charge of affairs, is an addition to the burthen. I should be much surprised if a considerable war did not develope a revolution which might be more complete than is desirable.

W. J. STILLMAN.

[POSTSCRIPT.]

Since writing the above, I find in a file of letters from the historian Finlay, one of the truest and wisest friends Greece ever had, the following observations, *apropos* of the Cretan insurrection:—

"*Athens, March 9th*, 1867.—My dear Mr. Stillman,—The affairs of Crete are gradually proving that you were the true prophet. Intervention is now direct and decided, and the publication of the advice which France gave the Porte gives the Cretans rights on which they can take up their stand against emperors and governments. But I still think it would be their best policy to trust more to their right than their diplomacy, and make good their liberty, as the Wallachians did, before settling their union with Greece.

"There are two separate questions of importance. One is, How the liberties of the Cretans are to be ensured? and the other, How a strong Greek state can be created in the Levant?

"The first, I think, is the business of the Cretans; and at present they would perhaps act wisely by leaving to the care of the governments and nations who have the power to act, all measures connected with the other.

". . . . You have seen that diplomatists talk of *self-government* as a means of settling the affairs of Crete. On that subject your knowledge of the population would be of great value. The diplomatists who talk glibly of self-government have frequently very hazy ideas of what it really signifies. In America it exists on the basis of administration in the rural districts as well as the towns. In England it can only be said to exist in the towns. It means, of course, when the people elect their executive officers as well as their councillors, and where election by the people can only be terminated or annulled by law. It is a government in localities, based on perfect independence of the central executive, but in the strictest dependence on the law—an administration by elected mayors, not of

nominated mayors; government by the agents of the people instead of government by prefects, the agents of central authority. Now this self-government appears to me alone capable of raising the Greeks from Mexican anarchy or Gallic despotism. My experience in Greece—and in former days I was a provincial councillor in Attica and presided at elections of the mayor of Athens as a member of the electoral college — persuades me that the Greeks are peculiarly prepared for self-government. . . . . My theoretical knowledge leads me to think that the greater the liberty (clearly defined) the surer the order. But of one thing I have no doubt, the demogerontes or demarchs elected by the people must not be liable to suspension or removal by the pasha. I intended to give an account of my views on the necessity of framing a strong Greek state, but I have no time, or this letter would be too late for the post. How the thing could be done without an able king is a question.

"Yours sincerely,

"GEORGE FINLAY."

"*Athens, February* 18*th*, 1867. . . . . The Greeks have a strong feeling of nationality, but they are very deficient in power as a nation, because they will not adopt national institutions. They think their orthodox Church and their ancient Greek grammar are enough for their national existence, and I am far from denying their power, but they might observe that the Russians beat them in orthodox piety, and the Germans in grammatical knowledge. Neither orthodoxy nor literature, as centuries prove, will serve as a foundation for political power, which must be founded on a national organization binding society together by a national army, or by parochial, municipal, and provincial institutions. The Greeks think a central government everything, and overlook that a free State requires citizens to perform local duties in the commonwealth as well as to exercise political privileges. Hence, order and organization are anti-Greek, and whatever demands their existence to ensure success, generally fails in Greek hands unless an individual can do the work. But on this subject I know I am tiresome, for I have spent my life in preaching the necessity of establishing a system of free institutions to organize the nation, and give the power of national action, which might be great, while the governmental action of a Greek State must be small as long as it lives by protection and not political vitality. The extension of Greece before the Greeks organize a system of free institutions would in all probability turn them over to some foreign despot, chosen by European cabinets for their own convenience. . . . .

"I must now conclude, and ask your pardon for troubling you with my despairing views. You must take into account that I am

an old man, disappointed with the progress which Greece has hitherto made in laying the foundation of free institutions in the East. So I hope you will overlook my exercising the egotistical garrulity of old age at your expense.

"Believe me, nevertheless, yours truly,

"GEORGE FINLAY."

In the June number of this Review I saw, and read, an article by a Conservative, upbraiding Mr. Gladstone for his having accused Austria of wishing to annex the little Balkan tribes, and then for having made an apology to the Austrian ambassador on securing from him an assurance that the Emperor of Austria had no such ambition or intention. I don't mean to defend Mr. Gladstone—it would be an impertinence on my part; and I do not quite understand whether the Conservative found fault with the accusation or the apology. But as I had the honour to have in the same number of the Review in which the Conservative's article appeared, some notions on the subject of the extension of Austria, and assumed that the object of the two-headed eagle was (as all the world knows that it is) to go to the Ægean and absorb all the minor nationalities and branches of nationalities between, I take the opportunity of recurring to the subject to point out that until Mr. Gladstone took up the subject, and came into a position to make his views on the subject of importance to Austria and Europe, no Austrian official ever cared to disguise the general intention of all that was official in Austria, of assuming the heirship of Turkey, and annexing those provinces. This intention was openly avowed, and was the cause of intense antagonism on the part of the Hungarians, who refused to be swallowed up in a realm so vast and heterogeneous. It was especially manifested by acts—in the taking possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the attempt to occupy Novi Bazar as a point only of value for ulterior operations; and still more unequivocally in the nefarious and infamous seizure of Spizza, which had been taken by assault by the Montenegrins; an act which, though sanctioned by the pliant accomplices of Austria in the Berlin Congress, was none the less the act of Austria alone as positively responsible, and was the most shameful and cowardly act of injustice even of all that Austria has been guilty of towards other and weaker nations. The sole reason for Austria's wishing to govern Spizza was that it was a strong defensive position for the new territory acquired by Montenegro, and the only one, *as against Austria*, which the principality had taken. The stipulation that Austria was to possess the right of way across all territory acquired by Montenegro, was another and even more unmistakeable proof of the fixed intention of Austria to go farther, because that right of way could only be available for the conquest of Montenegro or

the occupation of Albania. An Austrian official, who has been employed in all the late Balkan operations, said to me in 1876: "We may leave Montenegro independent, but we must put a girdle around it;" *i.e.* enclose it in Austrian territory. No one who has been in intercourse with Austrian officials during the last five years, and who knows anything of the history of Austria for the last fifty, can have a shadow of doubt that Austria did intend, and does still intend, to go to Salonica and, if possible, to Constantinople. That any man, even a diplomat, should disavow any such intention must have been such a surprise to Mr. Gladstone that I can quite understand that, accustomed to deal with people whose word is binding, he should have been surprised into believing that something had been said which he might accept as a renunciation of Austrian *progress*. It would be a mistake. Austria never renounces. It is not a government or a State; it is not an emperor or a reichsrath, or any other form of parliament which governs, but a bureaucracy, and bureaucracies have no souls, no honour, no humanity, no religion, no responsibility; escape all the responsibilities which weigh on individuals or ministers, and all the dangers which menace sovereigns. Nobody can have a right to disavow anything on the part of a bureaucracy. Mr. Gladstone might be justified in accepting the disavowal of the Emperor of Austria, but the Austrian Emperor is not even his own master; he is only an instrument in the hands of a bloodless, soulless organization, which is a survival of the days when all human rights were hidden behind the clouds that veil Divine justice.

My article on Austria above alluded to was out of hand before Mr. Gladstone made either of his speeches, and while the appearances were, to my apprehension, that the Government of Lord Beaconsfield were likely to remain in power another term of years; and my prevision that Austria would absorb the Balkan Slav States was based on the reasonable conviction that England would, under Conservative auspices, remain, as she had been, the contented tail of the Bismarck-Bureaucracy combination—a position which effectually secured the subjugation of all the Balkans by the said combination. The accession of Mr. Gladstone, and the successful carrying out of his policy, ought to insure that if Austria goes further it will be as the head of a confederation of independent States, but no longer either as empire or bureaucracy. Such a solution would remove the greatest danger which threatens the peace of Europe. Other dangers remain, but that was most imminent.

A LETTER FROM NEWPORT.

φαίη κ' ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως ἔμμεναι ἀεὶ
ὃς τόν' ἐπαντιάσει' ὅτ' Ἰάονες ἄθροοι εἶεν.

THE crimson leafage fires the lawn,
The piled hydrangeas blazing glow;
How blue the vault of breezy dawn
Illumes the Atlantic's crested snow!
'Twixt sea and sands how fair to ride
Through whispering airs a starlit way,
And watch those flashing towers divide
Heaven's darkness from the darkling bay!

Ah, friend, how vain their pedant's part,
Their hurrying toils how idly spent,
How have they wronged the gentler heart
Which thrills the awakening continent,
Who have not learnt on this bright shore
What sweetness issues from the strong,
Where flowerless forest, cataract-roar,
Have found a blossom and a song!

Ah, what imperial force of fate
Links our one race in high emprize!
Nor aught henceforth can separate
Those glories mingling as they rise;
For one in heart, as one in speech,
At last have Child and Mother grown,—
Fair Figures! honouring each in each
A beauty kindred with her own.

Through English eyes more calmly soft
Looks from grey deeps the appealing charm;
Reddens on English cheeks more oft
The rose of innocent alarm:—
Our old-world heart more gravely feels,
Has learnt more force, more self-control;
For us through sterner music peals
The full accord of soul and soul.

But ah, the life, the smile untaught,
The floating presence feathery-fair!
The eyes and aspect that have caught
The brilliance of Columbian air!

No oriole through the forest flits
  More sheeny-plumed, more gay and free;
On no nymph's marble forehead sits
  Proudlier a glad virginity.

So once the Egyptian, gravely bold,
  Wandered the Ionian folk among,
Heard from their high Letôon rolled
  That song the Delian maidens sung;
Danced in his eyes the dazzling gold,
  For with his voice the tears had sprung,—
"They die not, these! they wax not old,
  They are ever-living, ever-young!"

Spread then, great land! thine arms afar,
  Thy golden harvests westward roll;
Banner with banner, star with star,
  Ally the tropics and the pole;—
There glows no gem than these more bright
  From ice to fire, from sea to sea;
Blossoms no fairer flower to light
  Through all thine endless empery.

And thou come hither, friend! thou too
  Their kingdom enter as a boy;
Fed with their glorious youth renew
  Thy dimmed prerogative of joy:—
Come with small question, little thought,
  Through thy worn veins what pulse shall flow,
With what regrets, what fancies fraught,
  Shall silver-footed summer go:—

If round one fairest face shall meet
  Those many dreams of many fair,
And wandering homage seek the feet
  Of one sweet queen, and linger there;
Or if strange winds betwixt be driven,
  Unvoyageable oceans foam,
Nor this new earth, this airy heaven,
  For thy sad heart can find a home.

FREDERIC W. H. MYERS.

NEWPORT, R. I., *Sept.*, 1879.

EXPERIMENTS IN PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP.

THE results of the sales to tenants under the Church Act have been very frequently referred to in connection with the subject of what is commonly known as a peasant proprietary. The *success* of the Church Commissioners has been asserted by some and questioned by others. The discord of opinion as to this appears to arise from a difference in the meaning which the two parties attach to the word "success." The Church Commissioners have been successful without doubt in selling rapidly a large number of their farms to the occupiers; those who deny their success apparently mean that they have not succeeded in making a sudden and perceptible addition to the prosperity, thrift, contentment, loyalty, and patriotism of those who have been assisted in exchanging their status of tenancy for one of ownership. Success in this latter sense ought not certainly to be claimed, nor can it yet have been attained in any great and clearly apparent degree, seeing that most of these purchasers have not been owners of their farms for more than five years; that with the exception of 20 per cent. who bought by paying the whole purchase-money down, most of them began their career as owners burdened with a debt to the State, and had to incur very heavy legal expenses in connection with their purchases. I do not know whether there are any enthusiasts who think that these new owners are to be at once regenerated and transformed in all their habits, pecuniary circumstances, and character by becoming suddenly and unexpectedly proprietors in fee; if so, I have not met them, nor do I entertain such Utopian expectations myself. They have, however, an incentive to thrift and industry which they had not before; and their ownership should be a factor in the production of contentment and loyalty to the State.

The number of peasant proprietors created by the Church and Land Acts is, I believe, between 6,000 and 7,000. It is impossible to ascertain the number accurately, because in the case of sales under the Church Act it is known that in some cases the tenant to whom the offer of pre-emption was made assigned his right to another person who really bought, although the tenant remained in occupation of the farm. The best estimate I can make of the actual bonâ-fide sales to Church tenants is that over 5,000 persons have become owners of their holdings either by absolute purchase, or subject to a mortgage which is repayable by an annuity for ten, twenty, or thirty-two years, or subject only to payment of the interest at 4 per cent. on the loan, but with power to pay off the loan at any time either wholly or partially in small sums of £5, £10, and upwards.

The tenants on the Church Lands were as a rule very small occupiers, the average rent of their farms being £12. Their holdings were much below the average size and value of holdings in all Ireland, the average rateable value of which is about £20. The Church Lands were usually more highly rented, and the tenants were on the whole a poorer and less prosperous set of men than the tenants on ordinary private estates. I may refer in confirmation of this to the evidence of Mr. John Vernon, one of the largest and most experienced land-agents in Ireland, who has a wide and varied knowledge of the country, being also a landowner in Ulster, a railway director, and ex-governor of the Bank of Ireland. In his evidence to the Select Committee in 1877 on the Bright clauses of the Irish Land Act, he said (Q. 3965 and ff.), "The glebe lands as a whole are worse tenanted, and fully as highly rented, if not more highly rented, than most adjacent properties. I should say they were let higher than large estates adjacent to them. The holdings are smaller—generally, I should say, an inferior class of property."

This state of things was naturally to be expected. The clerical landlords were merely life tenants; they had no family connection with the tenants, no family traditions or tie with the glebe estate to preserve. It was often the practice that each incumbent as he succeeded raised the rents; they had no object in spending money in improvements, and the tenants naturally felt less secure than they would on an hereditary estate. The consequence was that, as Mr. Vernon stated, and as my experience showed me, the glebe lands were a decidedly inferior class of property. The greater part of them were in the north and north-west, comprising large tracts of poor, elevated, moory, and mountainous land in counties Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Armagh, and Cavan. The number of tenants holding from year to year or by terminable leases on the property dealt with was about 9,000; of which, as I have said, I believe 5,000 have bought rural holdings, including under this term not only farms, but cabins and small plots in country villages.

By the Irish Church Act each lessee or tenant was entitled to have an offer of his holding at a fixed price before it was offered for sale to the public. The average price obtained from the tenants was over twenty-three times the rent, which is somewhat higher than the average price of fee-simple property in the public market. The reasons for this were as follows. 1st. The duty of the Church Commissioners was to obtain the best possible price for their property; the creation of an occupying proprietary was incidental and subordinate. 2nd. They offered most of their property for sale during the years 1873-4-5-6, when the greatest prosperity prevailed. 3rd. Purchasers were enabled to buy on paying down only one-fourth of the price, and leaving the balance out on mortgage at 4 per cent. 4th. The price was

fixed once and for all by the Commissioners; there was no appeal; the tenant had to buy or lose his opportunity; therefore could not avail himself of the usual higgling that occurs in most private sales.

I may sum up this by saying that the Church tenants were usually poor and struggling farmers, occupying an inferior and neglected class of property; and that assisted by a loan, where desired, of three-fourths of the purchase-money, they paid a very high price for their holdings. In addition to this high price they had to pay the costs of their conveyances and mortgages, which were unnecessarily high, amounting, in some cases, to 30 per cent. on the purchase-money. How did these poor tenants buy and pay these heavy expenses as well? By very great efforts, sacrifices, and exercise of a remarkable thrift, which is common among small Irish farmers, but for which they have not obtained credit with those who have not an intimate personal acquaintance with them. Some few had money by them, hardly earned and carefully saved; some sold their stock; others borrowed from friends, neighbours, solicitors, and money-lenders, occasionally getting the loan without any interest, in other cases paying from 4 to 20 per cent. for it. Some received the required amount as a gift from relations in America, the Colonies, England, or Scotland. Such gifts were not unusual, and will not surprise those who remember the large remittances made by the Irish abroad during and after the famine, which were estimated by Dr. Hancock (*Journal Irish Statistical Society*, vol. vi. p. 283) to have amounted in twenty years to the enormous sum of £14,830,000. Sent, in the words of Mr. Murray, who first drew attention to them, "from husband to wife, from father to child, from child to father, mother, and grandparents, from sister to brother, and the reverse, and from and to those united by all the ties of blood and friendship that bind us together upon earth."

As illustrations of these gifts I may mention some instances where I have lately visited the recipients.

1. A farm of 5 statute acres, in a poor and mountainous district of Armagh, part of a property on which there were seventy-two tenants paying an average rent per head of £5 9s. The tenant, an old man of eighty-two; the price of the farm £80, of which it was necessary to pay down one-half. Two daughters in Chicago sent the £40 required, and the farm was purchased subject to a mortgage for £40 at 4 per cent. interest. The costs and other incidental expenses amounted to £10, which was borrowed in 1875 at 7½ per cent. interest, and in February, 1880, £6 of this had been repaid.

2. Adjoining was a farm of 13 acres, bought in 1875 for £96 by a payment of £48 and a mortgage for £48. The mortgage was paid off in two years, a son in England having sent his parents £100. This purchase involved the cost of a conveyance, a mortgage, and a

reconveyance, within a very short space of time, the amount being £14, equal to three years' rent of the farm.

3. A farm of 7 acres, in a mountainous part of Tyrone; at the time of the sale the person entitled to the offer of pre-emption was a middle-aged man deficient in intellect, without any family or relations in Ireland. The price of the farm was £58. Two sisters, domestic servants in Philadelphia, apprised by a neighbour of their brother's position, sent home £75 to be spent in securing the farm for him.

4. Adjoining this was a farm of 14 acres which was sold by the original purchaser and bought for £400, £10 auction fees, and £26 purchaser's costs. The occupants of the farm were an elderly woman and her daughter. The mother told me that the farm had been bought for her by her son who was a commercial traveller living in Belfast. They had been living on a six-acre farm on an adjoining estate, but the son appreciating the value of a freehold residence, and wishing to make his mother comfortable for life, had transferred her to this. I have met with many cases similar to these; and many cases of loans made by relations free of interest.

The sale of the farm cattle for the purpose of buying their holdings tended, of course, very much to embarrass and impoverish the smaller tenants, yet in most cases that I have recently visited I have found the new owners recovering from the effort, and in some cases more prosperous than formerly. As an instance of this I may describe a property which from its antecedents seemed a most unfavourable place in which to plant a peasant owner. It was a townland of 500 acres, belonging to the late Ecclesiastical Commissioners, by whom it was leased to Lord Lansdowne, and by him sublet to a middleman, under whom the occupiers seem to have had rather a bad time. Describing his rule, one of the tenants said, "According as we made any of the land good he would put a rise on us; and according as the crop hit he would lay the burden on us, and so kept us down." The land is exceedingly poor, and lies at an elevation of from five to nine hundred feet above sea level, with an exposed aspect. The late William Stewart Trench, agent for Lord Lansdowne, thus described it in 1869: "I consider it one of the worst circumstanced estates I have ever seen in Ireland, consisting of a numerous and pauper population, wretchedly housed, and highly rented."

Lord Lansdowne's lease having expired, the property was offered to the occupiers, twenty-five in number, and twenty-one purchased in 1871, most of them parting with all, or a large part, of their stock. I visited these tenants in 1877, and found them recovering and hopeful. Last winter Mr. P. Martin, M.P. for Kilkenny, visited them also, and described them to me as being *contented* and still

recovering, many having their little farms again fully stocked. Their interest and instalments to the Church Commissioners have been punctually paid, notwithstanding the two disastrous seasons of 1878-9.

Another instance of this class was that of a man who bought a small farm in Co. Armagh for £72, paying down £36. This amount and the costs of purchase were paid by sale of his cow, one or two calves, his poultry, and a small loan obtained at high interest. He had been in the habit of working during the harvest in England, and to set himself straight he remained there for the greater part of two years, earning enough money to repay the loan and buy a cow. I met him on his farm in 1877, where he was engaged in a most laborious work of improvement, removing granite boulders so large that they could only be dealt with by lighting fires under them and breaking them in pieces. In 1878, while working in Cheshire, he got pleurisy and inflammation of the lungs. His employers wished to send him to Chester Hospital, but, thinking that he was going to die, he insisted on being sent home; and he lay at death's door for some months, during which time his cow and calf had to be sold, and he was again left penniless. In 1879 he earned £9 at the English harvest, and his wife made £9 out of a small field of flax. In March, 1880, having done the spring work on his little farm, he again went to England in hopes of earning money to pay off the mortgage of £36 on his farm, being most anxious to have his land *free*. He bears an excellent character, has worked for many harvests with the same employer, and keeps the only child, old enough to go, diligently at school, being fully sensible of the disadvantage to himself of being unable to read and write.

The experiences of this man's neighbours illustrate the unfitness of our system of land-transfer for small properties such as these. Few people except those who have had personal experience of buying and selling, or are lawyers by profession, know what deeds are required to constitute their "title;" and the purchasers of Church lands were generally unaware of the costs they would have to incur to complete their purchases. A neighbour of the man mentioned above bought his holding in 1875 for £80, paying £40 down, which sum, together with £8 7s. 6d. for his deeds, he borrowed from a solicitor at 20 per cent. interest. After two years he paid off this loan, the lender being also the solicitor who undertook to prepare the deeds. Up to June, 1880, no deeds had been prepared, the man being put off with excuses and various pleas by the solicitor. What could a poor man do in such a case? As he said himself, "it would be a poor game for a labouring man like him to go to law with a lawyer." Title by deeds is a highly inconvenient system for persons who have neither bankers nor family attorneys wherewith to deposit

the ever-accumulating mass of papers, and who can seldom have in their cottages either fire-proof safes or even a perfectly secure receptacle. At the same time the deeds of his little plot are as precious and necessary to the peasant owner as to the largest proprietor in the country.

The delay and increased expense attendant on every subsequent transfer are a great disadvantage in the administration of any scheme such as the creation by State aid of an occupying proprietary. The application of a system of cheap and quick transfer to these small properties would enhance their value, thereby increasing the security of any loan made on them by the State, and they might easily be made subject to a code of law prohibiting the creation of such estates as tend to obscure and complicate the title. In the next place, when these owners get into difficulties, it is most desirable to facilitate the sale, so as to get rid of the bankrupt and obtain a solvent mortgagee to the State in his place. Lastly, the owner will be more likely to sell than let his property if he wants to leave it; whereas the difficulty of selling will now lead him rather to let than enter into the expensive, tedious, vexatious, and uncertain process of making title for the purpose of sale.

The Church Commissioners have not as yet had to foreclose any of their mortgages for non-payment of the interest or instalments; the arrears due from the peasant owners at the end of 1879 amounted to about 10 per cent. on the whole annual amount receivable; and it must be remembered that whereas landlords generally have found a difficulty in getting their full rents, the new peasant owners have had to pay the full amount of their instalments, which generally exceeded their old rents. Some asked for time, but all have shown an honourable anxiety to fulfil their engagements, and have recognised that it was impossible for the Commissioners to reduce their interest or give them any other relief. There have been, however, many cases of sales by the original purchasers, for various reasons; some on account of pecuniary embarrassment, others wishing to leave for private reasons. In all such cases that have come under my notice, the vendors have obtained good prices, fully equivalent to the value of their tenant right, plus the value of the fee considered as separate interests; and the purchasers have usually been well-to-do and often wealthy persons for their situation in life. The tendency of free sale of these freeholds has been to bring on the land a better and thriftier class of occupiers. I may give some few examples of such sales.

1. Farm in Donegal, bought in 1874 for £438, being twenty-seven and a half times the rent; £115 was paid down and a mortgage given for £323. The owner got into difficulties, and on the farm being set up for sale in 1879, it was sold for £1,000 to a farmer

who lived at a distance on another estate, where he told me he considered he had been unfairly dealt with in the raising of his rent owing to improvements made by himself on his farm.

2. Five and a half acres in County Down, rent £3, sold in 1873 for £67, and resold in 1878 for £190, to a man returned from America.

3. Seven acres adjoining above, bought in 1873 for £114, resold for £500 to a woman returned from America, who, as occupier in 1873, had bought another farm direct from the Church Commissioners.

The profit on resale—I have selected the highest prices met with — may seem to indicate that the original prices obtained by the Church Commissioners were low; they were, however, rather above the prices obtained for similar and adjoining properties in the openland market. The high price obtained on resale has usually been wholly due to the fact that these small fee-simple plots attract persons with money, often returned colonists, or Americans.

Such persons are to be found in every part of Ireland, yet it is but seldom an opportunity offers for them to settle down in a freehold or secure home. Last summer I came across a little colony of four labourers who had returned from America in 1877 with the savings of fifteen years. They spent seven months in a southern country town wasting their substance; they then heard of some small freeholds—not Church lands—for sale forty miles away, and they bought eighty acres between them. The rateable value of these eighty acres, which were part of an exposed moor, was £8, and the price paid was £1,670. The land had been partly reclaimed and improved before the sale, and in spring, 1880, reclamation and improvement were being continued by the owners, two of whom were building a comfortable slated house; one of them not being married and living with the other. Their farms were fully stocked; they had of course suffered from the failure of crops in the preceding year, but were contented, industrious, and improving citizens, having, as regarded themselves, but little concern with the "Land Question."

I have already said that some of these newly-created peasant proprietors have met with ruin; and some, I am aware, are now in difficulties and even distress, partly owing to the effort made to purchase, partly to the disastrous seasons of 1878-9. Some who were absolutely unable to pay their way have sold their properties, and been replaced by solvent men; no doubt others will do the same. The natural course of events will quietly eliminate the unfit and unfortunate, but the difficulty of title and quick transfer is a serious impediment to this process.

Notwithstanding the difficulties into which some purchasers have been plunged by the recent agricultural depression, I remark among them a general feeling of contentment and of self-reliance. They are pleased to be free from the control of landlords and agents; if they are discontented, it is with the weather and the markets, at which every farmer is entitled to grumble. It is of course a matter of regret with many that they bought in the years of high prices; if they could have waited until 1879 they think they might have obtained their farms for much less.

With regard to improvements, it can scarcely be expected that so soon after purchasing the new owners have been able to make any very expensive ones. But wherever they have had money, I notice they have been more ready to lay it out, and do so with more satisfaction than formerly.

I visited lately a farm of forty-five acres in Co. Tyrone; it had been bought for £800, one-fourth of this being paid down. Since my first visit, six years ago, the homestead had been very much changed—a well-gravelled approach led to the house, a small slated one built before purchase at the tenant's expense. To the grove of large trees round the house there had been added a small plantation of larch; a new cow-house and stable had just been finished at a cost of £100; and the old stable had been turned into a barn, and a threshing-machine put up in it. Boards for the floor were piled up to season; lime and stones were on the ground for more building. The owner said, "I'll leave a good set of slated buildings for whoever succeeds me." I asked who that would be, for he had two sons and one daughter at home, and I suggested that he might divide the farm. He was indignant at the idea, said it would be little enough for one, and that if he didn't live long enough to save something for the other children, his successor must help to start his brother and sister in life. The land had been and was in process of being improved by subsoiling, and removal of boulders, hundreds of loads of which had been piled up into a great cairn near the house. "I've done nothing," he said, "which I mightn't have done as a tenant, but now our improvements are our own; before we were taxed for them." His neighbours were improving in the same manner, building, removing, and straightening fences, and reclaiming the worst parts of their holdings. One of them remarked that if the Church Act had not been passed his rent would have been doubled on account of all he had done.

The following is an instance of unexpected improvement which illustrates many of the matters referred to above. In 1876 the townland of Erganagh, Co. Tyrone, was sold to 21 occupiers at 22½ times their rents. The following table gives the prices and costs paid in each case:—

	Purchase Money.	Paid in Cash.	Costs of Transfer Deeds.	Percentage of Costs on Purchase Money.
	£	£ .	£ s. d.	
1	220	55	19 9 3	8·85
2	461	116	20 12 0	4·46
3	85	85	11 7 6	13·38
4	118	30	18·17 3	15·98
5	273	273	10 0 0	3·66
6	177	45	19 0 6	10·74
7	215	215	9 15 0	4·07
8	101	26	18 18 9	18·75
9	103	26	18 18 2	18·35
10	160	40	18 8 7	11·51
11	115	29	19 0 3	16·53
12	272	72	19 13 8	7·23
13	84	42	18 12 3	22·15
14	72	36	18 12 9	25·88
15	96	48	18 3 2	18·91
16	158	40	19 5 8	12·20
17	141	36	18 17 1	13·37
18	231	58	19 12 3	8·49
19	101	26	18 17 3	18·67
20	216	216	13 2 9	6·08
21	92	46	18 16 10	20·48
	3,491	1,560	367 0 11	10·91

The sale was carried out by the Landed Estates Court, and the conveyances included a common of 200 acres held in undivided shares by the tenants. No. 11 was conveyed his holding of 8 acres, together with $\frac{1386}{31572}$ parts of the common. The other purchasers got similarly alarming fractional parts. Judge Flanagan, in May, 1878, referring to the sale, said (Evidence to Committee on Irish Land Act, Q. 5281), "I defy you to suggest any other mode of conveyance. Of course the tenants may split up their mountains into so many separate holdings as represent the undivided fractions, but they never would on account of the great expense. I see no other mode of doing it. You may parcel it out, but the expense would be so enormous that the thing could not be worked out." In spite of the difficulty and "enormous expense" apprehended by Judge Flanagan, and notwithstanding the impracticable fractions which must have been a serious obstacle, these poor farmers, after becoming owners, did split up their mountain common. Mr. Tuke visited this glebe last spring, and found the new proprietors busy at the reclamation of this barren tract. He writes, "They had agreed to divide it, and had engaged the 'best surveyor' they could find to allot it among them, and it was agreed that each lot should be carefully fenced not only from the adjoining lots, but also from the road and outer boundaries. This was most substantially done, or in process of being done." (*Nineteenth Century*, August, 1880, p. 188.)

Under the Bright Clauses of the Land Act about one thousand farmers have become owners of their farms, paying considerably more than the current market prices; the holdings sold were larger on an average than those on the Church Estates, and the occupants more wealthy. The terms on which loans were granted to them have not been so favourable as under the Church Act, the purchaser being required to find at least one-third of the price.

High prices, solicitors' costs, and bad times have pressed heavily on many of these purchasers, but, notwithstanding, I find among those I have visited contentment, in some places very great expenditure on the farm, enterprise stimulated, and an independent spirit which is very different from that prevalent on those large estates where it is the interest of every one to keep in favour with the agents and their office staff. Last spring I visited, for the third time, a farm, purchased, in 1874, near Derry; the rent had been £32, the price £900, of which £300 was paid down. There were 69 acres in the farm, of which much had originally been wet moor covered with heather and bent grass. Since my last visit much of this had been brought under cultivation, and now there remained but 5 acres of this barren ground to be reclaimed. It lay on top of a high hill, and on reaching it at 7.30 P.M. I found one of the owner's sons hard at work trenching the moor. His father gave me the history of the farm. He had only held half of it till sixteen years ago, when he bought the tenant-right of the other part for £150. He made some little improvements as a tenant, but nothing to what has been done since. "The Government," he said, "have twice the security for their money that they had when I bought." His farm was well stocked; the crops clean; his house was bad, but, as he explained, he couldn't do everything at once. As regards the succession to this farm, he intended, if he paid off the debt upon it, to leave it between his two sons, and in my opinion he might do so with advantage; when fully reclaimed, it would, from its situation and circumstances, form two very suitable farms. The story of another purchase will illustrate further the condition of these peasant proprietors. In a mountain valley of Tyrone, where cultivation has been pushed up in patches among the rocks and heather to the utmost limits, I visited a farm, bought in 1875 for £1,185. The owner had paid down £447, but had to borrow £150 from a neighbour. He had repaid £100 of this in 1879. He was an old man of seventy-five, and had bought the tenant-right of his farm at various times for about £500. During a residence of forty-five years on this estate he had never seen the landlord but once; had often got notices to quit from the agent; and one consequence of these was that his children had been anxious to emigrate, and all except one were in Australia and America. He had, as a yearly tenant, reclaimed a large part of his farm, and built a small flax and corn mill on a mountain stream.

Since he purchased he had laid out £100 on a dwelling house and £60 on a kiln. One of his neighbours was a blacksmith, who had bought the site of his cabin and forge, built by himself, for £8. He had paid £12 10s. 10d. for the conveyance of this plot, the details of the bill being—

	£	s.	d.
Three attendances	1	0	0
Proportion cost of re-survey	1	0	0
Preparing conveyance	5	0	0
Approval fee	1	1	0
Memorial and registration fee	2	0	0
Map	0	7	6
Printing	0	19	6
Parchment	0	4	0
Stamp duty	0	1	0
Stamp duty on memorial	0	5	0
Registry fees	0	11	6
Postages	0	1	4
Total	12	10	10

A general impression prevails amongst those who have suffered thus at the hands of the lawyers that the laws, if not designed, are actually such as to prevent poor men becoming and remaining owners of land.

In the same district another estate was sold to the tenants in 1875. The purchasers said they had the best landlord and agent in Ireland, but in no way did they regret having become their own landlords. I visited the highest-lying and poorest part of this property, and on the extreme summit of the moor found one of the purchasers superintending the thorough drainage of ten acres of bog. There was no doubt as to the satisfaction these men had derived from becoming owners. They had bought at a high rate—twenty-seven years' purchase—but their rents had been low, and would probably have been raised if the estate had been bought by a stranger. The farm on which the drainage was being done was 123 acres in extent; the rateable value £28 15s., or 4s. 9d. per acre, and the rent had been £25, or less than 4s. 1d. per acre. The adjoining farm was 48 acres, rateable value £18, and rent £17, or about 7s. per acre. The owner, a fine-looking, elderly man, crippled "with hard work," said the farm had been once almost all moor. It showed no trace of it now, except that the moor and the farm "marched" with each other. The low valuation made in 1852 was evidence of much improvement since then. "The plough could not touch a stone in it now," he said with pride. Such a farm is a good illustration of the difficulties attendant on the adjustment of the relations between landlord and tenant.

Mr. Tuke in his interesting pamphlet quotes approvingly the statement of the Devon Commission, that the inherent qualities

of the soil are the distinct property of the landlord, while "the labour and capital which a tenant may employ to call those qualities into activity are equally the distinct property of the tenant." That sounds very just; but what are the "inherent qualities" of a Donegal moor? How are they to be estimated and defined with such precision that the Legislature may take cognisance of them, and apportion them to the landlord, and how is the value of the tenants' labour and capital applied during a long series of years in the reclamation of the moor to be ascertained? And if fencing, draining, and reclamation have gone on little by little for forty or fifty years, how much more difficult is the problem of ascertaining the originally inherent qualities of the soil? If every tenant could secure for himself and as his distinct property the labour and capital applied to the soil, saved up and embodied therein, I think he would be well satisfied; but these have by law become the property of his landlord; they have been appropriated wholly or partly by increases of rent; and it is maintained by many that after some lapse of time they are rightly and morally the landlord's. That this should be so seems to me contrary to the dictates of natural justice. Hard by I had an opportunity of examining some reclamation in progress—such as, I believe, has gone on extensively in this district. The land was in its natural state, absolutely barren. The process to which it was subjected was a deep trenching, during which every boulder and stone touched was raised to the surface and eventually carried away, built into fences or piled into cairns. If paid for, the trenching costs 1s. a perch, or £8 an acre. The land then requires fencing and heavy manuring before it will yield a crop. The inherent qualities of such land would be highly estimated at 1s. per acre, while after being trenched, fenced, drained, and manured it is worth from 12s. to 20s. an acre.

The present condition of the occupying owners created by the Church Land Acts is being inquired into by some persons as if the result was to determine for them which is the best system of land-tenure. Is it the present one of large estates farmed by tenants-at-will, who are left to make and maintain all the permanent and necessary works and buildings, and who live in perpetual fear, not of capricious ejectment, for that is not so common as formerly, but of having their rents increased because of their own expenditure, or as a punishment for some breach of office rules, or because the owner conscientiously thinks he is entitled to the highest amount that can be wrung from the occupant of his land? Or is it a real economical and social advantage to have a large number of owners farming their own land, living in their own homes, gathering the fruit of their own labour and expenditure? It is unnecessary to discuss this question. What I desire to point out is, that the Bright Clauses system has up to this been tried under great disad-

vantages, and that many mistakes have been made in their administration, and yet that the result thus far is most hopeful. If land be bought at the current market rates with money lent by the State at 3 or 3½ per cent., there is every possibility of the scheme being a financial success, independently of all social and political advantages.

The average number of years' purchase of the net rentals of estates of all tenures for the whole of Ireland from 1865 to 1875 was as follows:—1865, 20; 1866, 20½; 1867, 21; 1868, 22¼; 1869, 21½; 1870, to August, 20¼; 1870, August to December, 21; 1871, 23½; 1872, 22¼; 1873, 22¼; 1874, 20½; 1875, 22¼. (Parl. Paper 238, Session 1876.)

The average number of years' purchase of fee-simple land sold in the Land Courts in 1875 and 1876 was as follows in the different provinces:—Ulster, 23·23; Munster, 20·82; Leinster, 22·69; Connaught, 21·97. (Parl. Paper 448, Session 1877.)

There are many estates in Ireland whose value is much less than it otherwise would be owing to the tenure of the landlords of the occupiers, who are frequently middlemen paying a rent to some superior landlord. The complexity of the title makes the estate worth far less than a fee-simple, yet the rents of the occupiers are not the less well secured. It is estimated that from one-third to one-seventh of Ireland is held under tenures of this kind; and such estates might often be bought for much less than twenty years' purchase. An estate offered for sale in 1879 is a good example of this. It comprised 1,745 acres; the rental paid by the occupiers was £2,400; the landlord held by a perpetuity grant, paying a head-rent of £1,018; so that the net rental was only £1,382. The estate was offered for sale in fifteen lots, the head-rent being apportioned among them, each one, however, being liable for the whole in default of payment by the others. There were over one hundred and fifty tenants on the estate; but only three small lots were bought by them, at more than twenty-two years' purchase, as much as the estate might have brought if it had been a well-circumstanced fee-simple; for the rest of the estate there were no bidders. Such estates are often not worth more than fifteen or sixteen years' purchase; and they might be bought with advantage by the State for resale to the occupiers, the payment of the perpetuity rents being provided for to the satisfaction of their owners.

I mention this because the possibility of financial loss is put forward by many opponents of the Bright scheme. I think there could be none if land was bought with judgment and at the market price, and if discretion were given to the purchasing body to sell on such terms as they chose, lending the whole purchase-money to the tenants, if they considered their tenant-right interest and the circumstances of the estate such as to warrant them in doing so.

MURROUGH O'BRIEN.

THE FUTURE OF SWITZERLAND.

In September, 1879, certain strangers who were present at the autumn manœuvres of the Swiss army ventured to express their surprise that such comparatively large sums of money should be spent on the troops, whilst the frontier passes and defiles remained without the slightest semblance of fortification. The Swiss army, it was added, would always be too weak both in numbers and material to offer any very serious resistance to an invading force. If there were to be any question of defence, it would have to be made in the mountain passes. These, therefore, should be fortified instead of wasting such considerable sums of money in maintaining the militia and landsturm at a standard of training and equipment as high as that of their rich and powerful neighbours.

The usual reply to these observations was to the effect that fortifications were quite unnecessary; that no power would ever dream of directly invading Switzerland; and that, moreover, the country was sufficiently protected by its neutrality.

Now, it will be well to examine the basis and foundation of this neutrality, and to draw attention to some of the dangers by which it is threatened.

To quote the words of a pamphlet [1] on fortification lately published at Zurich: It is to nature that the Swiss are principally indebted for their political freedom and national independence. The Alps constitute an excellent defence on the west, east, and southern sides, whilst the northern boundary is formed by the Rhine. The river in itself cannot be said to afford any very efficient protection; but the Black Forest and the plateaus of Suabia have left but few roads open to the invaders; whilst the internal dissensions of Germany have at all times been considered as the best safeguard of Switzerland on that side.

Owing to the advantage of holding the "hauts versants" of France, Italy, and Germany, the Swiss were able to render important services to their neighbours at certain times, and to refuse them on other occasions.

Little by little, however, their descendants began to make a traffic of their exceptional situation. They commenced allowing the passage of foreign armies through their country, in return for the payment of a good round sum of money. Occasionally, as in 1635, both of the belligerents purchased the right of transit at the same time. The French, commanded by the Duc de Rohan, occupied the Grisons passes; whilst the German army crossed over the St. Gotthard.

(1) *Die Landesbefestigung der Schweiz von einem Milizen Officier.* Zurich, 1880.

Having become accustomed to sell the right of passage, they ended by being unable to refuse it. In 1798—1800 each of the belligerents being interested that Switzerland should not be occupied by the enemy, they ended by all occupying it together at the same time. The unfortunate country was turned into one vast battlefield, and given over to pillage, flames, and famine.

At length in 1815, when the great powers were thoroughly exhausted by long years of war, they began to think of making peace. With a view of rendering it more effectual and lasting, it was decided that Switzerland should be neutralised. Her independence, however, would inevitably have been lost, if any one of the great powers had happened to be strong enough to resist the action of all the others combined. Fortunately for Switzerland this was not the case. It was to the interest of each that none of their number should be allowed to occupy so strong a position. Therefore it was neutralised.

Now a neutrality which owes its existence to the maintenance of the mutual jealousies of the surrounding nations, must at all times be very precarious. The Swiss, however, are unmindful of this fact. They do not appear to consider the very great uncertainty which must shroud the future of a small country with barely 3,000,000 inhabitants, closed in on every side by four great nations with an aggregate population of 140,000,000.

But Swiss independence will probably never be threatened by any deliberately planned invasion for the mere sake of conquest; on the other hand, however, it may be very seriously endangered by renewed European complications. In the event of a war between any of its great neighbours, it would form a strip of territory separating the combatants which at one moment might constitute a most dangerous impediment, and at another time a most welcome source of relief and support to either of the belligerents. It is now well known that in 1870 General Bourbaki had orders as a last resource to cross the frontier, and lead his army through Switzerland into Southern Germany.

Fortunately, the Swiss Government managed with great difficulty, and at a vast expense, to collect about 20,000 troops, and to station them along the frontier which was threatened. Owing to the state of utter disorganization and defeat of Bourbaki's army these measures proved to be sufficient for the defence of the neutrality. But means which may have sufficed to bar the passage of General Bourbaki's defeated and disheartened troops, will hardly prove to be an adequate protection against a French or German army, who, in the event of renewed hostilities, would probably *commence* operations by a march through Switzerland, instead of resorting to it as a last resource.

The pamphlet quoted above points out that since the last war France has spent over 18,000,000 francs in creating a double line of fortresses and forts along her eastern frontier. Every road, every river, every line of railway is commanded by them. These new lines

of defence are so strong that on several occasions the German military authorities have compared them to the great Chinese wall. They extend from Belgium in the north to Switzerland in the south, and are wellnigh impregnable. Germany, likewise, has spared no expense in perfecting the defence of her new frontier acquired in 1871. Five great fortresses and eight smaller ones, with the Rhine to fall back upon, render her line of defence as impregnable as that of France.

Now there is an old rule in warfare, according to which, when one of the belligerents finds the front of the enemy unassailable, he must wheel round and try to outflank him. Hostile armies fearing each other's strength have often adopted these tactics, and hence it has frequently happened that the struggle has taken place on quite a secondary line of operations. The two nations in question have so disposed their lines of defence that comparatively small armies would suffice to keep one another in check; and thus they would at any time have a force of 250,000 to 300,000 men each available for outflanking the enemy by marching over neutral ground. Looking at the matter from this point of view, it is very evident that Belgium and Switzerland are the two countries that would be chiefly endangered by any renewed complications between France and Germany. Of the two, however, Belgium has the least cause to be afraid. In the first place, neither France nor Germany would wish to draw Great Britain into a conflict which would inevitably ensue were Belgian neutrality to be infringed. Secondly, putting the Belgian troops quite out of the question, an army starting from any of the northern French fortresses and marching *viâ* Namur and Liège could only reach the Belgo-German frontier at Aix-la-Chapelle after about twelve days' march, and the Rhine about two days later. Besides, here the Rhine becomes a very formidable obstacle, being about eight times broader than at Basle. Thirdly, an army advancing in the above manner would run the risk of being attacked in the rear by the 150,000 Belgian troops stationed at Antwerp and by the German garrisons of Metz and Diedenhofen. Switzerland, on the other hand, is much less favourably situated. A French army of 200,000 men in possession of the Jura passes could easily reach Southern Germany *viâ* Schaffhausen and Constance in a four days' march, thus avoiding the Rhine fortresses and the Black Forest.

The French Government appear fully to have realised the advantages to be obtained from such a course of action; for another pamphlet[1] on fortification, lately published at Neuchâtel, draws attention to the very changed conditions of the Franco-Swiss boundary line, which is two hundred and fifty kilomètres in length. Fifteen first-class roads and nine lines of railway either traverse or converge

(1) *Les Fortifications Suisses et Françaises, par un officier d'état-major fédéral.* Neuchâtel, 1880.

near it; and of these latter six at least have been constructed since 1871. Every important route leading across the Jura into Switzerland is now guarded by newly-constructed forts, placed so near the frontier that their guns actually command a considerable portion of Swiss territory; in fact, France with her forts and her roads and her railroads practically holds the keys of the line of the Jura. Now, all these forts and roads and railways can hardly be designed for the mere purpose of defence, for it is scarcely probable that the Germans would care to storm the heights of the Jura in order to encounter the French on ground chosen by the latter. No, they are evidently meant to be used as the basis and starting-point for an invasion of Southern Germany. These conjectures are very considerably strengthened by the vast quantities of *matériel de guerre* which are being collected together at Besançon—a fortress of the first class, very much nearer to the Swiss than to the German frontier. All this tends to show that in the event of renewed complications between France and Germany hostilities will probably be commenced, on the French side at least, by a march into Switzerland. Germany, on her side, can scarcely be expected to await passively the arrival of the enemy at her very frontiers, and will probably likewise march into Switzerland to meet the invading forces. The rival armies would in that case find themselves in a rich and fertile country, with numerous lines of railway, excellent roads, no fortifications of any kind, and requiring at least a fortnight's time before the troops could be got under arms.

The authors of both the pamphlets referred to above earnestly entreat that every measure should be taken to prevent their country from again becoming a battle-ground for France and Germany. They urge that all the frontier passes and defiles, which on the Swiss side remain without the slightest appearance of fortification, should at once be put into a state of defence. Their appeal has fortunately had some effect, for a committee of the Federal Assembly has been appointed to report on the fortifications, which it is to be hoped will be constructed.

The Swiss have a national revenue of 40,000,000 francs, of which they devote over 16,000,000 francs to their military department. Surely it would be more politic to spend at least part of this comparatively large sum in fortifying the frontiers, instead of wasting it in attempting to rival the equipment and training of the regular troops of France and Germany. The money now annually devoted to the frequent changes of uniform and equipment would be far better employed in the construction of a fort to guard some frontier pass.

Once occupied by the belligerents, Switzerland would hardly recover her independence; nor would a European Congress again guarantee the neutrality of a nation which is at so little pains to preserve it. The country would probably be divided amongst its

four great neighbours. Nowadays people are imbued with that dangerous modern theory that countries should be possessed by the nations to which they ethnographically belong. The annexation of Schleswig-Holstein and Alsace-Lorraine by Germany, of Lombardy and the Venetian provinces by Italy, of Nice by the French, together with the Panslavist movement in Russia, and the Italia Irredenta in Italy, all owe their origin to this theory. It has been suggested that the partition of Switzerland could be made without difficulty so as to suit the ethnographical longings of the four great surrounding nations. The German-speaking Grisons, the Upper Valais, Catholic Central Switzerland, Appenzel, Toggenburg, and the St. Gall Rhine valley would be restored to the Austrian Empire. Germany would have Schaffhausen, Thurgau, Aargau, Zurich, Northern St. Gall, Basle, Solothurn, Berne, in fact all the territory extending the present frontier to the St. Gothard Tunnel, an enterprise which the German Government would scarcely have subsidised so very largely if it had not had in view the eventful possession of the northern portion of the line. Italy would obtain the Italian-speaking Grisons and Tessin, which would bring its frontier up to the southern extremity of the St. Gotthard Tunnel, which the Italian Government has likewise heavily subventioned. The French-speaking Bernese Jura, the Lower Valais, extending to the Italian frontier on the Simplon, together with all the Western Cantons would fall to France, who would thus enter into possession of the Simplon line of railway, in favour of which she is about to grant a very large subsidy. Thus each of the four surrounding powers would be satisfied.

Even such distant powers as Russia and Spain, although obtaining no direct advantage from the partition, would but little regret the disappearance of a country from which have emanated most of the troubles with which they are afflicted. Both have frequently protested against the *droit d'asile* in Switzerland, by which safety and protection are afforded to socialists and revolutionists. Nihilism and Communism meet here on safe ground, and print undisturbed their incendiary newspapers and pamphlets, to be scattered thence broadcast over Europe. These may appear to be rash assertions. In support of them, however, I would refer especially to the *Révolté*, a newspaper published fortnightly at Geneva. Nominally the organ of the French Communists, it entirely sympathizes with the revolutionary movement in Russia, and several prominent Nihilists figure on its editorial staff. In a number published in December last, it even went so far as to incite the terrorist party in Russia to further action, reminding them that the glorious revolution of 1793 was but the happy result of four years spent in burning châteaux, killing landed proprietors, and massacring the clergy and aristocrats. The Nihilist committee at Geneva, at the head of which is Mr. Dragomanow, the ex-professor of the University at Kief, publishes

besides two monthly papers printed in Russian. The first, called the *Alarm Bell*, is comparatively moderate in its views; whilst the other, *Our Cause*, expresses very much more violent opinions. A Polish monthly review, the *Rownox*, printed in Polish and French, also appears at Geneva. The doctrines which it professes are of the ultra-socialist kind, and it urges all true Poles to join the revolutionary party in overthrowing the existing Government in Russia. The *Social Democrat*, a paper expressing the views of the German ultra-socialists, makes its appearance every Sunday at Zurich; it has been strictly prohibited in France, Germany, and Austria in consequence of its violent attacks against the existing Governments of those countries.

There are besides several printing establishments belonging to the various revolutionary committees at Zurich, Berne, and especially at Geneva, which, known to the local police, are solely employed in printing revolutionary pamphlets, newspapers, and proclamations. I have frequently heard Switzerland compared to Great Britain as far as the *droit d'asile* is concerned. This may be done to a certain extent, and there is no doubt that England shares with Switzerland the privilege of offering hospitality and protection to political outcasts of all shades of opinion. But things which may be done by a powerful country like Great Britain are less judicious in the case of a small and weak state like Switzerland. Besides, the Swiss have means of avoiding these difficulties which we have not in England. The Swiss laws require that foreigners who remain longer than three months in the country should obtain *permis de séjour* from the local authorities. These permissions are only granted to persons provided with passports, or some other kind of official recommendation. Now as all these Communists, Nihilists, and political refugees at Geneva and elsewhere are without passports or papers of any kind, their sojourn in Switzerland is entirely dependent on the good pleasure of the Swiss police, and they could be expelled from the territory at any time without the least infraction of the laws of the country.

Having these means of control at their disposal, the Swiss are to say the very least injudicious in permitting the publication and sale of the prints referred to above. They cannot afford to allow their small country to become a source of perpetual trouble and disturbance to the great continental States. They imagine because they managed to escape complications with France in 1836, in the matter of the protection afforded to Prince Louis Napoleon; with Austria in 1848, when the latter was on the point of interfering in the Sonderbund disturbances; and with Germany in 1856 concerning the Neuchâtel difficulty, that their political existence is likely to be assured indefinitely by their neutrality.

Unmindful of the lesson taught by the sad events of 1798—1800, they again, as in former times, begin to barter away to the surrounding nations the right of transit through their beautiful country—for

this is the only light in which we can look upon the concession by which the German and Italian Governments were allowed to furnish in the form of subsidies the larger part of the funds required for the construction of the St. Gothard Railway. Even now, at this present moment, the Federal authorities are in negotiation with the French Government with a view of obtaining a subsidy of 50,000,000 francs (£2,000,000). Austria, likewise, complying with the repeated solicitations of the Swiss Government, has now commenced the construction of the Aarlberg Railway, and is considering a request that she should subsidise the Swiss lines which will communicate with it. From a Swiss point of view it is a most dangerous policy to allow the four great neighbouring governments to subsidise the principal Swiss main lines which, in the shape of a cross, are about to connect Austria with France, and Germany with Italy.

There may be a diversity of opinion regarding the advisableness of constructing the St. Gothard, the Simplon, and the Aarlberg lines, and Swiss economists may prefer retaining on their territory the transit traffic, which would otherwise pass *viâ* the Mont-Cenis, or over the Brenner. But surely there should be but one opinion in Switzerland against allowing these lines to be constructed with funds furnished by the German, the French, the Italian, and the Austrian Governments in the form of subsidies. Such enterprises as these should remain purely national undertakings, or be left alone altogether.

How serious are the dangers which these railways may at any moment call forth, may be seen by referring to the well-known railway difficulties between France and Belgium in 1869—difficulties which almost brought on a European war. If, then, Belgium experienced such difficulty in refusing the transit of French troops over its railways, how much more difficult will it be for Switzerland to forbid the transit of foreign troops over its territory, since its main lines are constructed with funds furnished by the Governments to which the troops in question belong.

In 1870, and again in 1878, when the treaties were being discussed by which Germany and Italy were authorised to subsidise the St. Gothard Railway, great opposition was made in the Federal Assembly by the French-speaking cantons, who had no hopes of deriving any immediate benefit from the undertaking. The debates on the subject were most acrimonious. Strange to say, however, the opposition to the treaties in question was not made on the patriotic ground that Swiss independence might become endangered by allowing foreign governments to subsidise enterprises which should be of a purely national character, and thus to obtain a footing in the country. No, the objection was only made on the selfish ground that it was unjust to pass any measure from which certain of the cantons would derive more benefit than others. Nor was this opposition dictated by any special love for their own cantons on the

part of the leaders, but merely by the plain solid fact that each individual patriot would be a more direct gainer by a measure passed in favour of his own canton, than by one passed in favour of the entire Confederation. The ideal love of the fatherland, which we so like to associate with the name of Switzerland, seemed to disappear entirely when the interests of the respective cantons, and more directly the interests of the patriots themselves came into question. That this was the case has been abundantly proved by the fact that the French-speaking cantons were easily induced to forego their opposition to the measure by means of a compromise, according to which the German cantons pledged themselves not to offer any objection to the treaty now about to be concluded with France, authorising her Government to grant the subsidy in favour of the Simplon Railway.

The industrial classes and small landowners are in favour of these enterprises, which they hope will have the effect of increasing trade, and of augmenting the value of real estate. Only a few of the large landed proprietors, and old families, oppose them on purely patriotic grounds. Unfortunately for Switzerland these latter are now but few in number, and are greatly outnumbered by the representatives of the commercial and industrial classes—people who think that they cannot afford to prefer patriotism to their material interests when the latter come into question. And who can wonder at them? Landed proprietors with old family traditions to preserve can afford to be patriotic, for their patriotism but seldom enters into conflict with their material interests. With the commercial and industrial classes in Switzerland, however, this is different. They have no family traditions to preserve, and are beyond everything else practical. Can it, therefore, be a matter of surprise that when patriotism threatens to become dangerous to their means of livelihood, they should be ready to forego the former in favour of the latter? There are not many there or elsewhere who would hesitate long when called upon to choose between patriotism and the ruin of their material interests, and to all appearances the time is not far distant when in Switzerland at least people will be called upon to make the choice.

The Swiss are entirely dependent on the four great neighbouring countries, not only for the supply of the necessary food imports, but also for the export of their own industries. Being essentially a manufacturing nation, and being moreover quite incapable of consuming all that they produce, the absorption of the products of their industries must necessarily be effected abroad. Of the four neighbouring countries, however, Germany has, by the adoption of a protective, nay, almost a prohibitive tariff become practically closed to Switzerland. The other three countries, France, Italy, and Austria, are being forced in mere self-defence of their commercial interests to follow the example of Germany—for free trade, although excellent in theory, becomes injurious and onerous when it is no longer

universal. France has already given indications of what her commercial policy will be, at least with regard to Switzerland. Her treaty of commerce having recently expired, she has temporarily raised many of the import dues on Swiss goods 25 per cent., and proposes further to increase them in every way. Italy and Austria have likewise very considerably increased their dues on Swiss goods within the last two years, and thus Switzerland is being practically closed in on every side. All this constitutes by no means a pleasant prospect for a nation which not only imports the greater part of its food from these four surrounding countries, but which depends almost entirely on their markets for the absorption of its silk and cotton fabrics, of its watches, clocks, and all kinds of machinery. Thus, for instance, during recent years the average value of the exports to France and Germany has amounted to 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000) respectively, and the value of imports from these two countries to 300,000,000 francs (£12,000,000) each. The average annual value of exports to Italy may be estimated at 28,000,000 francs (£1,120,000), and the imports from that country at 80,000,000 francs (£3,200,000). The commercial relations with other countries are comparatively unimportant. The extensive watch trade with America has very sensibly diminished since the establishment of the great watch manufactories worked by machinery, in the United States. The commercial intercourse with Great Britain is also very inconsiderable.

The outlook, therefore, is really serious. Manufactories will have to be closed, whole industries will be ruined, and the industrial classes will be forced either to emigrate or to turn to agriculture, which is not very remunerative in Switzerland. The only way of averting this danger is to conclude with one of the four surrounding nations a *zollverein*, or treaty of commerce, based on free-trade principles, according to which Swiss goods would find a market abroad without any let or hindrance.

The Swiss commercial and industrial classes are quite alive to the remedy in question, and have recently been agitating in favour of a zollverein with France. But here it is that patriotism comes into conflict with the material interests. For a zollverein binding Swiss interests exclusively to those of France would assuredly, as it has done in Germany, bring about a military convention, by which, in case of war, the strategical points of the country would be entrusted to the occupation of France; who, in return, might guarantee the independence of Switzerland. But is France better able to assure the independence of Switzerland than either Germany, Austria, or Italy? That is the question which the Swiss people are now called upon to decide.

FRITZ CUNLIFFE-OWEN.

AUTHORITY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE question of authority in the Church of England is one on the solution of which to a large extent depends the claim of the National Religion, as understood by Catholics, to the title, powers, and privileges of a Church. For, a religious communion which is not based upon authority, and does not appeal to it; which does not dogmatically teach upon authority, and fails to exert it in discipline; which makes no effort even to recover a lost, forgotten, or dormant authority —is not and cannot be the supernatural body that was established by Jesus Christ. Authority is one of the key-notes of the Catholic Church. What evidence may be produced of its presence in the Church of England as by law established?

In the oppositions which exist between a frank acceptance and a positive denial of the Religion of Christ—the only two logical conclusions in matters of faith which offer themselves to modern English society—the question of authority occupies, of course, a primary position. There are two forces only of mental action which induce intelligent and thoughtful persons to admit either alternative. These forces are generated respectively by the principle of obedience to external authority, and by the adoption of private judgment as a religious guide. The former is practically confined to the limits of the Catholic Church. The latter is widely present in all religious systems external to the Catholic Church. Indeed, the two forces are as mutually antagonistic as are the systems which they influence: and if placed in contact, they would become mutually destructive. In the acceptance of a divine revelation, as objectively and infallibly certain, they cannot co-exist. It is true, that private judgment may predispose a man to receive absolute truth upon divine authority: it may even cause him to reject private judgment itself, when a real ground of faith is recognised. It is true that private judgment may subsequently afford human sanctions, supply human arguments, suggest human illustrations, in support of supernatural assurance. But, these mental forces are not co-ordinate. They cannot be experienced, they cannot be utilised at the same time by the same person. Where obedience to authority in matters of faith is honestly rendered, the surmises of mere opinion cease to influence our decision. Where individual judgment is freely allowed to exercise its influence, the power of superhuman authority over the mind of man sensibly and immediately declines.

These propositions may be allowed to be logically exact when

applied in the abstract either to Christianity, or to any religious system which denies its divine origin. Yet, in the concrete, and specially when applied to forms of Christianity which surround and are distinct from the Church, they seem to admit of certain qualifications and conditions. And this becomes the more evident in proportion as any given severed communion approaches to, without being absolutely identical with, the Church. In truth, in most organized bodies external to the Church, efforts are constantly being made theoretically and are more often made unconsciously in fact, to extend the area of operation for these mental forces—authority and opinion. This extension takes a twofold form in action. Its results are seen either in a confusion between two independent powers by an attempt to assimilate them; or, in eliminating one of them by supposing the other to be all-powerful. Such efforts are really unsuccessful, however they may be apparently crowned with success. Their effects are comparable to vows of conditional poverty, or of modified celibacy. Religious obedience, the logical outcome of spiritual authority, must be either complete, or nugatory. It cannot be limited, or conditioned, by the dictates of private judgment. It cannot share its prerogatives, or divide its duties, with a rival, however insignificant. You cannot accept a divine revelation upon supernatural authority which you hold to be adequate; and yet allow, as a factor in the argument, the claims of human opinion. You cannot submit your will to a Catholic dogma, or accommodate your outward life to Christian ethics, by the light of private judgment; and yet, at the same time, be really influenced by external authority which is divine.

No: the two positions which are represented by the words, authority and opinion, or by their results, obedience and self-will, are intellectually and spiritually irreconcileable. But, in spite of their logical and practical inconsequence, men and women of the present day seek to accommodate principle with want of principle, and to develop their own personal estimate of truth into something external to themselves. They recognise the dignity and finality and power and unity of authority which cannot look to poor fallible human nature for its origin: but, they also feel the freedom, the self-reliance, the self-confidence, the mental attraction which attends the exercise of individual decision in matters of faith. Hence, they strive to attemper obedience by private judgment, and to satisfy the requirements of objective authority, whilst tenaciously holding to the dictates of personal preference. They are content to believe much, even if they are not prepared to believe all, that authority would require them to hold, were they candidly to admit its claims. But, they thus assent to religious belief at the expense of strict logical consistency in principle.

It is difficult, in the subtle workings of the human mind, always and accurately to distinguish the lines of demarcation which sever these two opposite and antagonistic forces. Or rather, the lines between authority and opinion, between obedience and self-will, which are clear and distinct in written argument, become somewhat indefinite and confused in action. This may be accounted for in two ways. For, first, the higher life in England is surrounded, and almost engulphed, by modern society which in religion, as the last mental sphere under the influence of obedience, has withdrawn itself from the obligations of authority. And, with the majority of cultured, if not with the majority of educated persons, authority in religion which compels intellectual obedience, has ceased to exercise any appreciable power.

And next, the Catholic Church in England is surrounded, but is by no means engulphed, by multitudinous forms of religious opinion, as distinct from faith. And this religious opinion, with whatever inconsistency, though nominally guided by the individual suggestions of subjective assent, is really and to a large extent directed by unrecognised authority which in part is true and in part is false, and hence is wholly delusive. These several surroundings, of absolute or conditional abandonment of the principle of authority in religion, increase the difficulty of distinguishing the boundaries and functions of external obedience and private judgment respectively. With the loss of true and consistent principle, the loss of language has come, in which to express it. And with the loss of language has followed the loss of definite and exact thought, in which to conceive it. Such loss has been largely replaced by the temper and exclusiveness of infidelity. The majority of persons who fail to believe and to act upon authority, fail likewise to understand that it is possible for the mind and will of man thus to be influenced. But, they fail not to affirm that this influence is impossible. They are powerless themselves to define the mode of accepting a divine revelation and the result of such acceptance, otherwise than under the inspiration of individual judgment. And they permit themselves to deny that divine authority is capable of producing, or in fact does produce, in the minds of others, any supernatural result whatever.

From this unwonted combination of latitudinarianism and dogmatism has ensued certain results which are noteworthy. Amongst others, it has produced mental confusion, where certitude was essential. And, it has produced self-satisfied assurance, where the diffidence of doubt might have been appropriately expressed. One who for years has led the ordinary life of an average Englishman is almost incapacitated, by the prevailing tone of scepticism in public opinion, from distinguishing between the two forms above noted of accepting

objective truth. He mistakes the submission of the whole man, body, soul and spirit, to a revelation from God, for intellectual assent. The reception of divine truth on the grounds of divine faith and at the dictates of human reason appear to him identical. Indeed, his reasoning powers have degenerated until his mind, on this topic, is hazy and obtuse. He becomes uncertain if, in the literal meaning of terms, he believes at all; or, why he believes at all. He becomes doubtful on what grounds he believes; or, if there be any real principle of belief. He is unable to say definitely what he believes on authority; or, if he believes anything. He is only inwardly firmly assured that he believes nothing which does not commend itself to his own individual judgment. And a consciousness which argument is unable to shake that he, personally, accepts nothing from external authority only, causes him to generalise too rapidly. He affirms that the experience of others is, and must be, the same with his own. No person, he declares, can believe anything on the principle of outward authority alone: *i.e.* apart from the believer's own private judgment. And yet, such a man as we contemplate is not, and cannot be, consistent. The doubtfulness and uncertainty of scepticism is more potent, in his case, than its dogmatism, real or assumed. In any given article of faith, and in most cases of conscience, he is positively at a loss to decide whether he entertains the one, or is affected by the other, upon definite principle or under the influence of choice. As a rational and accountable being, he cannot say if he wills to hold or to do at his own good pleasure, or if he be forced to believe and forced to act upon an obligation which is distinct from, independent of, superior to himself.

These thoughts are in the air at the present day. They infect the most opposite characters. They are contagious to the most contradictory natures. From the confusion of ideas which they create, arises one of the hardest of moral struggles and a very intricate problem of faith. The difficulty may be encountered by any person. It is fairly certain to meet all, at some stage of their career, who have been born and bred under the influence of subjective opinion on religious topics. It is quite sure to meet them, when they conscientiously desire to submit their reason to objective authority. How can any given person, how can these latter, thus situated, accurately distinguish between various modes of accepting the same eternal truth in faith or morals—for the two spheres are really inseparable? Having, perhaps for a lifetime, believed an article of faith, or practised a certain moral precept on private judgment, how can one in middle life or advancing years believe or practise the same on another principle—the principle of divine authority? Or, having been moved in part by opinion and in part by authority, or less by the one and more by the other, how can a man elect to be

influenced for the future wholly by the last and not at all by the first? What may be the religious, what may be the intellectual process, which enables him to pass from either position to the other? What is the result to one's own mind internally, to one's own conduct towards our neighbour? How does the change, if change there be, affect our relation towards the duty or the truth in question? Does it produce any actual or sensible alteration at all; or, does it produce any intellectual result on our estimate of either? Is it really possible to effect this spiritual transformation towards articles of faith, or moral duties, which have grown with our growth, and have developed with our mental development? Or, is it possible to effect more than in words and imagination so radical a change?

In this place, no attempt can be made to unravel these involved and complex tangles, moral or mental. But, it may be observed, that as similar questions certainly present themselves to all persons who submit to the claims of authority in the Catholic Church; so, it is highly probable that they also influence many who still enjoy the liberty, if not the license, of private judgment in the Protestant Establishment. What may be considered as possible in argument, is found to touch the minds of men positively and in practice. The very license of private judgment is suggestive, at the least, of a liberty for belief and action which is founded upon divine authority. Yet, the suggestion is often disallowed, and is even peremptorily denied in certain quarters. For instance: take an example from facts of which Anglicans are personally cognisant; to which many can bear witness; and from a class of men who, on their own principles, ought to be the last to furnish an example of hostility to the claims of authority. The High Church clergy as a body, and specially the extreme section of it, are inconsistent in this matter. They attempt forcibly to suppress all freedom of opinion, when it tends towards the adoption of dogmatic belief and moral action on the basis of genuine authority. They resent, as something personal to themselves, even an inquiry into the grounds of belief on an authority not created, or not accepted, by themselves, and of which they are not the sole living exponents. They seek to limit a principle in the faith of their "penitents," when carried to a legitimate conclusion, of which they incontinently avail themselves at the present, and apart from which, in theory, their own position is wholly untenable. They strive to prevent their followers from acting towards the Catholic Church, even tentatively, as they to an extent have been led to act in the past, when from mere Protestants they became "Anglo-Catholics" so called, or from being Evangelicals they adopted the beliefs and usages known by the name of "Ritualism."

Of course, such inconsistency is obvious. It is, moreover, useless

as an instrument of repression towards a large and ever-increasing number of the High Church party who possess the courage of their opinions, and are firm enough to act upon them. Meanwhile, however, ordinary members of the party, both men and women, are allowed to remain uninstructed and uncertain on the grounds of their faith, on the basis of authority, on the limits of private judgment, on the office of the intellect in religion. Both in morals and in faith, they are ignorant; as a school of thought they are densely ignorant—not of the outlines of Christian duty, not of the initial facts, mysteries, and dogmas of religion, not even of controversial commonplaces—but, of all that underlies the reception by Catholics of the elementary principle of belief, and of its relation to or difference from individual opinion. What they believe, why they believe, how they can believe, whether they actually do believe, upon the sure ground of authority, or on an uncertain and vacillating basis of mere opinion, they are powerless to define. And for such inability, their clergy are, both inferentially and actually, responsible. Blind leaders of the blind, not only do they fail to help their followers to form any argumentative theory on the topic, even if such theory be logically indefensible; but, as may be witnessed, they energetically stifle all honest inquiry upon it. Unfaithful and timid apostles of what, *ex hypothesi*, is divine truth, they refuse to entertain questions which, on real Catholic principles, are fair and legitimate questions for discussion. They positively forbid investigations which are not only not forbidden, but are directly encouraged, by their own communion. It is true that these inquiries may, and in all likelihood will, if impartially conducted, change the whole current of the inquirers' lives. They may, and most probably will, "undermine the faith," or more exactly the received opinions, of those who make the search. But, this contingency inheres in the opinions; it is not due to the fact or mode of investigation: nor could any like or any parallel result ensue from inquiry into the grounds of Catholic authority. The safest way, therefore, to retain one's belief in the Anglican position is, not to examine it too minutely, or, rather, to examine it not at all. And such is the fiat of the High Church party and of their public organs of opinion. They simply prevent inquiry. And their victims, yielding obedience to despotism which is all the more tyrannical because its claim is self-assumed and its exercise is self-regulated, are powerless. So long as they remain subservient to the individual judgment of a given clergyman—of their own previous selection, be it observed—so long are they powerless to rise to any intelligent or intelligible belief on subjects, not only most momentous in themselves, but most attractive and absorbing to human thought.

Beyond the plea of self-preservation, few excuses can be made for

those Anglican clergymen who thus play the part of dogmatic infallibility, without its sanction and without its power. But, for the helpless subjects of this intolerance many excuses are valid and much sympathy is due. They have existed, they have lived and moved and had their being, in an atmosphere of private judgment, whether their own or their teachers'. It would be little short of the miraculous, therefore, if, on the topic of authority in religion, they were otherwise than ignorant. For, their ignorance is not self-conscious. It is not even unmixed. They fancy they see, and they are to a high degree nervously sensitive, whilst they are still blind. They think they believe and act upon authority, whilst their basis of faith and of duty rests upon private judgment. They either mingle the two conflicting principles; or, they first create their own authority, and then submit to it their own and their neighbour's private judgment. But, even when confused with true authority, or when elevated into a false authority, their principle of belief remains that of private judgment still. Whether their careers have been followed in trade, or in politics, or in art or science, or in the business of social life, no real principle has ever through life guided ordinary English Churchmen beyond that of private opinion. Indeed, no real principle, comparable to a religious principle on authority, could guide them. And, their fault has been this: they have argued from analogy on subjects between which there can be made no genuine comparison. They have treated divine faith and moral duty as they have treated, and have successfully treated, various spheres of modern thought. They have applied the mainspring of much that occurs in human action to a revelation from God, which is outside and independent of all human influence that does not submit to it. In short, they have exercised a temper towards revealed faith and duty which in religion is called "private judgment."

But, private judgment and authority, in religion, are not like principles and cannot produce the same results. Private opinion may be refined and purified and illumined and even ennobled, if you will, in the individual lives of pious and devout souls. But, it remains private opinion to the end. It cannot become developed by faithfulness of intention, it cannot be transformed by sincerity of use, into that which it was not before. It is hard, it is only not impossible for one who has received truth upon the false principle, to accept it upon that which is true. An inspiration from God can alone reach the souls of those who from childhood have been wrongly influenced. Argument is powerless to persuade them: for their system is not based upon argument; and they will admit the argument, or be unable to refute it, but will not admit the logical conclusion. And inspiration does, as a fact, reach the souls of many—not in a body, not on great occasions; but one by one, under circum-

stances in which no two cases are alike, in spite of all opposition, perhaps in consequence of it. But, until the still small voice calls them to reason as well as to faith, average Anglicans are patient, tranquil, submissive, satisfied. They are content with, they do not aspire after more than, an idealised form of Protestantism. Notwithstanding their nominal acceptance of authority, they boast of offering a "reasonable service." They see no need of external authority, beyond what they think they possess: and few marks of it are allowed to reach them. Indeed, High Churchmen, not less than other more consistent Protestants, cordially and strongly dislike the idea of ignoring the claims of private opinion, in spite of pretended deference to ambiguous authority. They see in such abandonment of claim, something akin to servility. Where, with a safe conscience carefully placed in their "director's" keeping, they can exercise a choice by private opinion, however unreal or however disguised, modern Anglicans deny and renounce the basis of authority which is external and divine.

It may be admitted, then, that as these opposite modes of receiving divine truth, viz. on authority and by opinion, are presented to laymen by Anglican clergymen, there is much to account for, as well as something to excuse in their mental uncertainty and in their obliquity of choice. Both the explanatory and the extenuating circumstances may, perhaps, appear stronger from the following line of thought. And their consideration will serve to illustrate some aspects of the question of authority, as existing in and as accepted by the Church of England at the present time.

There are two and only two mental forces which logically determine a man's acceptance or rejection of revealed religious and moral truth. It is hardly needful to say, these two forces are private opinion and external authority. Yet, when pure reason, or divine faith, is not consciously the rule of life, there are more than two which influence him. And few persons are ever and always entirely faithful or logical: certainly those are not whom we are now contemplating. There are, indeed, two derivative forces which flow from a confusion between the two original organic powers, or from a misapplication of either of them. These derivative forces may be, they are, difficult to define accurately in precise terms. They may be hard to describe in their several proportions as factors, or in their legitimate results in action. But, they exist in reality: and they exert a perceptible influence.

First: there is a form of belief in external authority which, in order of time as well as by force of conviction, arises out of the assent of private judgment. This form of belief must not be mistaken for the mental attitude by which men are led to replace private

judgment by authority; by which they are led to recognise authority by means of private judgment; and by which, as in the presence of a divine principle, they thereupon dismiss that which is human. No: such an exchange, of a false principle for that which is true, is both consistent and logical. But, a mere confusion of the two principles, human and divine, is neither. Rather, it is a hybrid form of assent or consent to certain given dogmatic truths and to certain fixed moral duties, upon a system which combines opposite and contradictory theories.

Secondly: there is a form of belief which is founded on individual opinion disguised under the mask of obedience to divine authority. This form, again, must not be mistaken with others to which, in its results, it bears some outward resemblance. It must not be mistaken for the instinct which receives truths or obeys duties to an authority which it is still, for sufficient if not valid reasons, unable to acknowledge. Nor must it be mistaken for the inspiration which discloses an authority where none was expected, though the inspiration be followed when it is clearly recognised by faith. But the belief here indicated is one which professes to submit to authority when in reality no authority exists to submit to. It is one which mistakes a reflection of authority for the authority which is reflected. It is one which considers self-made glosses upon authoritative documents, or self-made catenas from authoritative writers, or self-made historical deductions from the action or speech of authority in the past, as equivalent to the teaching of a living voice of authority now. It is a belief, in short, which in the first place, and somewhat ostentatiously, creates its own authority from the dead record of a bygone age; and then, proudly bows down before the work of its own hands. Yet, it is one which is candid and genuine in its anxiety to be free from a false mental attitude towards eternal truth: but, at the same time, is intellectually powerless to distinguish the theological claims between a true and a false authority, between an authority which is real and one which is only conventional, fallible, and imaginary.

It is probable that the majority of English Church-people, at the present day, are influenced by the one or by the other of these two complex forms of illogical reception of truth and morality. It is clearly not easy to find one whose will is either subject to pure authority in matters of belief, or is the victim of unmixed private judgment. The circumstances of birth and education; the force of habit in accepting facts and conclusions outside religion upon a non-religious authority; and the very wide-spread remains, even amongst the most consistent Protestants, of a traditional system of faith and morals, however limited—these are some casual elements which combine to save an Anglican from the worst results of mere personal

opinion consistently carried to its legitimate fulfilment. When he follows private judgment to its logical conclusion he becomes, in regard to supernatural revelation, an Infidel. On the other hand, let a man be gifted with intellectual power to perceive and with moral strength to act. Let him be able to conquer the malign influence of early life, the stronger prejudices of later years, the almost invincible force of life-long habit. Let him become convinced, by means human or divine, of the absolute need of a principle of supernatural authority in religion—he immediately ceases to be a loyal and consistent member of the Anglican communion. *Ipso facto*, he stands beyond and outside its bounds. To what religion he shall betake himself, or whether he shall betake himself to any other creed, are further and distinct questions. Once clear of the accommodations and sophistries of Anglicanism, he will, in all probability, with thankful eagerness make his humble submission to the Catholic Church. But, in any case, he can no longer honestly subscribe to, nor be responsible for, the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion; nor, *ex animo* can he either accept or use the English Book of Common Prayer. Argumentatively, however, the two classes who hold to these illogical modes of receiving dogmatic or moral truth, hold also a recognised and even an honoured position in the Establishment. In point of fact the Church of England is mainly composed of those who deny the necessity of consistent adhesion to first principles of belief, strictly so-called, and of legitimate conclusions from any definite position in regard to faith and duty. It is composed of those who, in practice, adopt one or other of the two derivative and illogical compromises with revealed truth and morality, which have been above indicated.

In its more thoughtful and Catholic-minded section, the existing Church of England is largely recruited from these two classes. These sections are composed, in the first place, of those whose private judgment as a basis of faith apparently becomes changed, in a manner which defies explanation, into a reception of truth upon authority—and that, without an abandonment of individual opinion. The change might be termed a development, had not the result been abnormal and inconsistent. But, no one word can express the mental attitude which ensues. The principles of private judgment and authority are commingled and confused. These higher sections of the English Church are composed, in the next place, of those who seek to submit to authority, who think they are submitting to authority, who act as if, after a fashion, they submitted to authority. But, on a rigorous examination of their mental position, the authority which they actually obey is discovered to be, in the last resort, no authority at all. Their hypothetical authority is subjective; is self-made or self-claimed; is indefinite, irresponsible,

inarticulate, and without local habitation, or name. Such authority is merely a transcendental and sublimated form of private opinion.

These two classes, respectively, confuse the essentials of either principle; or infuse into the Establishment a principle which it clearly does not claim and which it does not really possess, but which is forthwith and presumably extracted from it, and utilised. Both of them are the self-deceived victims, rather than the deliberate foes of a system which they both equally accept and both equally deny; and which, in truth, is based upon no principle whatsoever. Both are compromised by a system which declines to be responsible for the logical results of any principle whatever—saving that of private judgment. No one can be conscious of the state of religious feeling in many parts of the Anglican Church, and fail to sympathize to a large extent with both classes of minds. None can realise untouched and unmoved in his inmost soul, the discord and misery which, explain it as you may, actually exist amongst Churchmen—the longing for better things, the weariness of the ceaseless conflict of opinion, the yearning for definite and final authority: combined with a natural even though illogical desire to "let well alone"—if it be so; not to make needless changes when things "work well"—if indeed they do; not to begin life over again towards the end of it—a result of all change; to die as one has lived—according to one's own lights, and after the example of far abler and holier men than we. None, even, can recall the outward form of the Established Religion, its bold, but untenable claims; its boasted, and to an extent truly, historical descent; its absolutely unique and unparalleled career; its present position, pitiable even to its enemies in the relentless and iron grasp of the State; its future aspirations, which vary with the mind that can dare to prophesy the future of Anglicanism—none can recall these features, but must understand, even if he cannot excuse both forms of mental aberration, both forms of theological inconsistency.

In order, however, to be able thoroughly to accept this apologetic and sympathetic attitude in regard to the absence of conscious principle, a condition must be enforced. One must be content to estimate Anglicanism from within, as the natural growth of its own peculiarly mundane system. It is hardly possible to accept it, critically, or as a stranger, from without. The latter logical view, which is also the supernatural, will be taken later on in this argument. Now, we may confine ourselves to the aspect which presents itself to the too-confiding children of the Church of England. From such a stand-point, therefore, what meets our mental gaze? We contemplate the apparent, but delusive difference religiously, or the actual difference, socially and politically, between the Religion established by law and ordinary Protestant Nonconformity. We

may remember what passes current for the Anglican hierarchy, and behold the embodiment of it in Bishops, who might if they would be mitred, actually sitting and voting in the House of Lords. We are told of the "incomparable Liturgy," with its Catholic phraseology, priest and sacrament, matins and movable feasts, vigil and eve, and an Order for Communion, once for a brief space of time called the "Mass." We shall be reminded verbally of the Catholic-sounding appeal to antiquity, the primitive Church, the first six centuries, the canon of St. Vincent of Lerins; and in action of the yet more Catholic-sounding revival of auricular confession and sacrificial worship. We cannot fail to hear of the Church of England by representation, and to learn, from a short paragraph in the *Times*, that Convocation is again permitted by the State to sit in solemn session, even if it be not allowed to make canons apart from the Crown. We may ourselves witness reforms and revivals; Church-building and restoration, suitable for Catholic rites in the future; an extension of the Episcopate by Act of Parliament; Diocesan Conferences which do not pretend to be Synods; national Congresses; retreats; sisterhoods. And we may be conscious of the claims of every Englishman on the Establishment, even if the claim of the Establishment on every Englishman cannot be still maintained.

This is the vision which is presented, under varied forms, to members of the Church of England from childhood. As such, it contains elements which excite pity and suggest excuse. Persons who are reared under the insidious influence of this false imagery and this baseless assumption may be forgiven, if they intellectually succumb to such life-long influences. They may be pardoned, if they fall into the mistake of confusing opinion with authority, in the aspect which both assume in the Establishment. They may be pardoned for holding, if these things are what they seem to be, and if these outward forms express true inward realities, that the Church of England teaches and acts upon a like principle with the Catholic Church; and that that principle is not private judgment, but divine authority. They may even be pardoned for adhering to these theological paradoxes with a pertinacity which almost defies logic and reason and argument and proof and even ridicule.

Nor are the excuses less potent, and our sympathy should be equally wide, in favour of those who first seek to originate a principle of authority in a religious communion which does not accept the principle; and then, fall down and worship the image which themselves have set up. The fact that they earnestly desire more than they possess of Catholic privilege, ought to predispose them to at least a lenient judgment at our hands. For, do they not thus inferentially admit the incompleteness and inadequacy of their own religious system? Such as these perceive the revival of—perhaps

they have even helped to revive—a wide-spread belief in nearly every Catholic dogma, and a less general but still extensive practice of many Catholic usages, nominally based upon Church authority. They hear preached—perhaps they have themselves preached—from the pulpits of the Establishment a verbal approach to the true doctrine of the Eucharist, if not the very doctrine itself. They see an imitation—perhaps have themselves been seen as actors in the imitation—of Catholic ceremonial sufficiently exact and elaborate to deceive all who are not born-Catholics, or converts to the Church. They know that a form of confession of sin is widely practised, however fitfully and spasmodically used on the part of the penitent; and that confessions are widely, many "extreme men" think are far too widely heard, however ignorant, or unskilful, or wanting in faculties may be the confessor: and this, even though they themselves may confess more than once in their life, and their director may be a discreet and learned minister of God's Word. And they are perpetually reminded, that everything they hold and most things they do, are held or done on the authority of the Church; even if they are themselves in doubt of the value of the symbol with no qualifying clause in regard to private judgment on the one hand, or to the Anglican formularies on the other. At length, they come to accept and to repeat, or to repeat and at length to believe, the principle they are taught, which, it may be they have taught others, parrot-like to utter, viz. the principle of Church authority.

Circumstances favour the delusion. The sentiments of those who would patch the garment of private judgment with new cloth, or would pour the wine of authority into old bottles, undergo a change similar to the efforts which they make. They declare that they are not common Protestants, and they strive to escape from the hated name of reproach. All they love and cherish, all they seek and revive, Protestantism abhors and Catholicism encourages. As a result, as the only legitimate result and only rational excuse for the Anglican counter-Reformation—though of late years pointedly disavowed by certain Ritualists—viz. re-union with the Catholic Church, is desired. Anglicans flatter themselves that a desire for union, which often amounts to a passion, but union on their own conditions, is practically identical with its fulfilment. Indeed, they begin with bated breath, in public, to call themselves Catholics—although to prevent mistakes and to save their own conscience, the term is carefully qualified by an Anglican prefix, even before a question is asked as to the quality of their Catholicism. And, by some internal process known only, or best understood by themselves, they at last persuade themselves and attempt to convince their neighbours that, thank God, they are not as other Protestants are. And why? Because they personally accept so much of Catholic faith and practice as they think

constitutes a good Catholic. Because they have discovered a communion, or are members of a Church which teaches, or allows them to teach, certain items of Catholic truth. Because they have restored to, or have revived in a religious body that amount of belief and action which suffices, in their opinion, to constitute a Church. Because all that is said and all that is done in the Establishment, now, is identical with the faith and duty of the first six centuries of Christianity—the fact being assured to them by certain learned Anglican professors, and the date being settled by Act of Parliament. Because all that is received and all that is reproduced is revived and taught, as they affirm, not upon private and individual opinion, as it seems to others, but upon authority, external and divine, which they vaguely but positively term "the authority of the Church."

Although we may to a certain extent understand and sympathize with both these classes of Anglican Churchmen, absolute agreement with either of them is impossible; and any agreement at all must be very largely conditioned. However great a resemblance may exist between true authority and that which is false, or however much their outward results may appear to be similar, there is a difference between them. However much private judgment may be minimised or idealised, or however little it may actually influence our belief and practice, it remains private judgment still. Neither of the two classes of Anglicans whose religious views have been reproduced are entirely consistent. Neither an intellectual confusion between authority and opinion; nor authority which is, *not* developed, but which seems to be developed from private judgment; nor, as a result of either, obedience which is voluntary but not of obligation—none of these mental conditions are or can be wholly logical. Indeed, from the nature of the case, a compromise between conflicting or inharmonious features is alone possible for a conscientious member of the Church of England who seeks the forms of consistency. There exists no external authority which Anglicans are free to accept, which they are of obligation bound to obey, or to which they can really appeal. Hence, any authority which they do acknowledge must be, in the last resort, subjective rather than objective. It must be self-instituted or self-conceived: it cannot be imposed from without, or from above. The English Church makes no profession to teach infallibly. Nay, in its Articles, it inferentially proclaims its own fallibility; and bids its children to ascertain and prove for themselves, even in the creeds and as best they may, that which is true. An Anglican, therefore, is distinctly dishonest to his own principles if he pretends to that which his Church fails to claim, to more than his Church claims, to something other than his Church claims, to something which his Church disclaims. By professing an authority which has no entity, and by obeying an authority which

does not command, the High Churchman really teaches his Church what his Church ought to teach him, he teaches his Church what his Church does not teach him. In short, the Anglican believes and acts on his own authority, and dignifies his want of principle by adopting the phraseology of Catholicism. For, it must always be remembered, that the principle of religious authority which is divine must, from the nature of the case, be an infallible principle; that in its exercise, it can neither deceive, nor even be capable of deceiving. Nor must it be forgotten, that obedience which is not the result of private judgment must necessarily be of obligation; that obedience to an authority which is powerless to deceive is an obedience not rendered of choice. Does the Establishment either claim the one, or enforce the other?

These positions on authority have been held and these theories on private judgment have been acted on by Anglicans, either instinctively or by hereditary teaching, from the age of reason. They have been inculcated, perhaps, more or less reservedly, at school. They have been openly defended at college. They have been certainly taken for granted at ordination. They have been enunciated from the Anglican pulpit; and have been enforced in the Anglican confessional and system of direction. They form an integral portion of the inner life of every High Church clergyman and of many High Church laymen. A day comes, however, but it seldom comes twice in the mental history of most Anglicans, whether clergymen or laymen, when a pause is made in their onward course of leading others or of teaching themselves. It little matters what may be the final reason of the pause. A small foreign substance may impede the working power of an intricate mechanism. A casual remark, a review of a book, a word in a friend's letter, the religious difficulty of a fellow-labourer, the secession of a former ally, an inspiration from without to one's own mind—may be the reason. In any case, a pause is made, and the Anglican asks his conscience, as in the presence of God; asks himself who, it may be, has to give a reply to others, this momentous question: By what authority which I consider infallible and to which obedience is paid of obligation; by what authority external to and independent of my own individual opinion, am I actually guided, in the Established Religion?

Of course, the answer which time out of mind has glibly slipt from the tongue, or dropt from the pen of the English divine or laic of the High Church school, takes this form: "By the authority of the Church." But, a moment at length arrives when such a reply does not fall as a matter of course, does not fall at all, nay, is powerless conscientiously to fall from an accredited apostle of truth, or from an honest disciple of truth. A doubt has arisen in his own soul—a doubt of the perfect sufficiency or absolute finality of this stereotyped

reply. The honest High Churchman scorns to offer for the acceptance of another an answer which at once fails to satisfy his own reason, and stimulates his intelligence to further investigation. For, these inquiries have arisen unbidden, but suggestively in his mind; and he dare not repeat again the formula of Anglicanism to another, until he has once for all mastered its consequence to himself. What *is* the "authority of the Church," he asks: by the "Church" being understood, in the language of him who employs the term, the Anglican body as by law established; and by "authority" being meant, in the usual use of words in this relation, an external, a supernatural, and, in its effect, a coercive power duly exercised amongst men? Does such a body exist which is possessed of such a power? Who gave to the Established Religion in this land this divine power; and when and under what conditions was it given? Where does such power actually reside, and by whom in the Anglican communion is it energised? What proofs can be supplied of the existence of this power in the Establishment; or, what evidence can be offered of its action? Does the English Church really claim this stupendous prerogative? and if so, where and in what terms, in her formularies or by her writers, theoretically, with what results through her bishops, or in her courts practically does she claim it? And lastly, does any intelligent member of the English Church really accept this claim on her behalf; or does any consistent member act in accordance with such opinion, in his belief and practice?

Such are some of many inquiries which sooner or later—later, probably, rather than sooner, but still at a given time in the career of each one—haunt the memory, puzzle the intellect, undermine the will of candid and consistent Anglicans. And, a day arrives when no logical answer, no answer that is satisfying, can be afforded to them by the sufferer.

But, these questions do not force themselves all at once, with persistency or inexorably, upon the mind of the Anglican, be he minister or layman. By no means. There have been forebodings of the mental commotion. There have been preludes to this consummation. These questions may, or some of them may, without presumption, but upon personal testimony be indicated in these articles. Perhaps, the subject may be more clearly and exhaustively treated, if the impersonal form of composition be now abandoned; and if one may venture, without offensive egotism, to place upon record some individual experiences. It is not unlikely, that what the writer has been called to pass through, the reader may have felt. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility, that both will eventually arrive, even after a common conflict, to a like conclusion. And in the discussion of such important topics, as has been well said, egotism may be the truest modesty.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

A STORY OF ANNEXATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

On the 12th March, 1878, a somewhat striking and unusual ceremony took place at a point on the West Coast of Africa, some eight hundred miles north of Cape Town. Anchored in the port or roadstead known as Walwich (or Walfisch) Bay, lay her Majesty's ship *Industry*, then recently arrived from the Cape, under the command of Staff-Commander Dyer. On shore, on a flagstaff provided for the occasion, the Union Jack was being hoisted with the accompaniments of a salute of twenty-one guns and a *feu de joie* fired by seamen and marines. A handful of European traders and a number of specially invited natives, subsequently entertained by the British commander "at a small expense," completed the crowd of witnesses. A Proclamation was at the same time read, setting forth that whereas it was "expedient that the port or settlement of Walfisch Bay and a certain portion of the territory surrounding the same" should be taken possession of on behalf of her Britannic Majesty Queen Victoria, and be declared a dependency of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, therefore the proceedings above described took place, and certain boundaries were declared within which British jurisdiction was thenceforth to be exercised. And having duly fulfilled his mission, Staff-Commander Dyer, leaving the flagstaff and Union Jack under the care of a "respectable resident," proceeded to Ascension, whence, a fortnight later, he forwarded a report of what had passed to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Staff-Commander Dyer, so far as he was personally concerned, had full authority for what he then did. He acted under the orders of the senior naval officer on the station, Commodore Sullivan, who in his turn acted under instructions received, through the Under Colonial Secretary at Cape Town, from Sir Bartle Frere, at that time travelling in the eastern districts of the colony. It was under authority received from Sir Bartle Frere that Staff-Commander Dyer was empowered to fill in, at his discretion, and after consultation with a certain Mr. Coates Palgrave, blanks left in the Proclamation for a definition of the boundaries of the new settlement. Not finding Mr. Palgrave when he arrived at Walwich Bay, he fixed these boundaries with the advice and assistance of certain European residents, bringing beneath the jurisdiction of the British Government a territory containing, perhaps, some three hundred or four hundred square miles, and for the most part consisting of sand. Some ten months later, on the 8th January, 1879, Letters Patent were passed confirming the Proclamation of the 12th March, 1878, and empowering the Colonial Government to annex the settlement to the Cape Colony.

So that all that was done by Staff-Commander Dyer may be regarded as sanctioned and approved.

The authority on which Sir Bartle Frere acted is by no means so clear. The instructions given by him were founded on a confidential dispatch from Lord Carnarvon dated the 23rd January, 1878. That dispatch has never been published. All that is known about it, through reference in published dispatches, is this—that its instructions with regard to the tract of territory to be annexed were disappointing, and that it expressly imposed the condition that any expense incurred was to be borne by the Colonial Government.

It was, indeed, on behalf of the Colonial Government that the act of annexation was carried out. It was in consequence of a resolution passed by the Colonial Legislature that, in 1876, the Mr. Coates Palgrave above referred to was "nominated and appointed to be a Commissioner for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting upon" the preliminary steps to be taken for "extending the limits" of the Cape Colony on the West Coast of Africa, "so as to include Walwich Bay and such tract of country inland as may be found expedient and approved of by her Majesty." It was to the Governor of the Cape Colony that, on his return from the expedition undertaken in the performance of the duties entrusted to him, Mr. Palgrave made his report. It was by the Colonial Legislature that his report was discussed, and it was on the strength of this report that Sir Bartle Frere, who had succeeded Sir Henry Barkly during Mr. Palgrave's absence, penned a lengthy dispatch to the Secretary of State, dated 13th November, 1877, recommending that no time should be lost in hoisting the British flag at Walwich Bay, preparatory to annexing the whole coast-line up to the Portuguese boundary, and expressing it as his opinion that a British protectorate should be extended eastward as far as the Transvaal—a protectorate extending over some ten degrees of latitude and twelve degrees of longitude, and including some four hundred thousand square miles of territory. With this dispatch was forwarded a letter from Mr. Palgrave, reporting his arrival at Walwich Bay on a second expedition, while some passing reference was made to the report of his first visit. The report itself, however, was not forwarded, nor has a copy of it ever reached England through any official channel; and yet it was practically upon the strength of this report that the extension of British authority, in a shape more or less defined, was recommended over a district as large as Afghanistan and nearly double the size of Asia Minor. And it was practically upon the strength of this report that Lord Carnarvon, in his confidential dispatch of the 23rd January, 1878, sanctioned that act of annexation which Staff-Commander Dyer so satisfactorily carried out.

Mr. Palgrave's report, therefore, becomes a document of very

considerable interest. It relates to an attempt—an attempt practically successful and which may be repeated—on the part of a Colonial Government to annex to itself extensive territories, and to involve the Imperial Government in responsibilities the ultimate end of which can hardly be foreseen. It reveals to us the reasons by which this Colonial Government was actuated, and the manner in which it went to work. In a word, it supplies a very vivid illustration of the manner in which we may find ourselves committed without our consent or knowledge, and pledged, unless we make a most decided resistance, to the carrying forward of a policy altogether wrong in its conception and unworthy in respect of the means employed to advance it. Mr. Palgrave, in the opening sentences of his report, declares himself to have been sent from Cape Town "with the view of paving the way for the extension of British dominion over" certain chiefs and territories; and the manner in which he proceeded to "pave the way" forms a story of very considerable interest.

The Commission, signed by Mr. Molteno, then Colonial Secretary at the Cape, under which Mr. Palgrave started on his journey, has been already referred to. Besides his Commission, he was furnished with a letter of "instructions" from Mr. Brownlee, then Secretary for Native Affairs. Starting with the admission that the Colonial Government knew very little indeed of the tribes to the north of the Orange River, beyond the fact that they had "for some years past expressed a desire to enjoy the privileges and protection of civilised Government and humane forms of law," Mr. Brownlee proceeds as follows:—

"In general terms I may state that it is the desire of Government that you should, as soon as possible, proceed to Walwich Bay, and from thence penetrate into the country north of the Orange River, both above and below Walwich Bay, visiting the various principal chiefs and tribes, and explaining to them the benefits and advantages they would derive from Colonial rule and Government, which, as before observed, they have from time to time in past years expressed themselves desirous of securing.

"Having had the opportunity of several personal interviews with you on the subject, it would be superfluous for me now to repeat the suggestions which I was then enabled to make as to the terms in which you might express yourself in representing to the chiefs and their people the nature and extent of the obligations which would devolve upon them by their coming under the rule and influence of a civilised Government.

"But it may not be out of place here to remind you that it should be clearly explained to the chiefs that if they are sincerely desirous of coming under our Government they must be prepared strictly to respect life and property, and forsake those habits of injustice, violence, and marauding to which so many of them have been prone in former years. Nor is it the desire of Government that any chief or tribe should come under its protection until the general nature and tendency of our laws, and the responsibilities of all who live under them, have been clearly explained to them as far as they are capable of understanding such a subject."

The letter concludes by reminding Mr. Palgrave that it is not the

desire of the Cape Government "to intrude, in any manner, upon territories which may already have become definitely subject to any other civilised Government holding a recognised position upon the southern portion of the Continent of Africa," and with an expression of the desire of the Government to receive from him all possible information as to the productions, climate, geography, mineral resources, &c., of the various sections of the country.

Thus armed, Mr. Palgrave embarked at Cape Town on the 10th April, 1876, in the schooner *Themis*, anchored at Walwich Bay after "an unusually long voyage of fifteen days," and at once proceeded to land the stores required for his long land journey. Walwich Bay, formed by a sandy promontory some seven miles long, known as Pelican Point, appears to be a safe and sheltered harbour, open only to the north, from which quarter winds are generally light. The natural advantages of the anchorage, however, are to a great extent counterbalanced by the desert nature of the coast. "A more dreary scene," says Mr. Palgrave, "can scarcely be imagined. There are no adjacent mountains to relieve its monotonous character, and no vegetation to enliven it. Low sand dunes form a sort of fringe to the coast and oppose to the transport of the country the greatest obstacle. Through these sand dunes no permanent way has ever been attempted, partly because they are ever shifting, and partly because the only practicable road to the plain beyond is for nearly four miles along the bed of the Kuisip, a periodical river which, although seldom in flood, has at times the force of a mountain torrent, when it would destroy the best road which could have been made." The absence of pasturage or water forms another "grievous obstacle" to transport, and although both are to be found at certain points within a radius of ten miles from the shore, the pasturage is altogether insufficient to sustain the cattle in that part of their journey to the interior, while the water is unwholesome. For inhabitants, the "settlement" of Walwich Bay had, at the time to which Mr. Palgrave refers, some 150 or 200 natives, a degenerated branch of a tribe of the Namaquas, who had resorted to the spot partly for the sake of what they could get in the way of fish, partly for what they could get in the way of labour, and some five or six Europeans, the owners of the four "stores" which, constructed of wood and iron, and raised on artificial foundations of sand-bags, represented the commercial enterprise of the place. The two principal stores among these four, let it be observed, belonged the one to a Swedish firm, and the other to a German trading company. Of local industry, apart from the landing of goods from the vessels occasionally visiting the port, there was none. Fish-curing had been tried, but the want of a good drying ground had led to its abandonment.

Having been saluted by the white population—swelled at the

moment to the extraordinary number of twenty-three—and received from them a united expression of their wish to see the British flag hoisted at the first opportunity, Mr. Palgrave, on the 3rd of May, started on his trip up the country. For four hours, at the rate of a mile an hour, the bed of the river Kuisip was traversed, and not until eleven o'clock the next day, after a continuous tramp of twenty-two hours, broken only by half-an-hour's break about sunset, was the first "outspan" place gained. Even then the hard, sterile crust of the country was not pierced. Another night and morning were consumed in painful and laborious "trekking" before the first inhabited spot, known by the name of Salem, and occupied by a few colonial bastards, was reached. Here the grass country fairly begins, the road improving with every mile made eastward, and though water is scarce—obliging the oxen to be driven several miles from each outspan place to quench their thirst—still it can be had. This water question forms the knot of the difficulty in respect of any extensive opening up of the road for traffic in the future. Forage may be conveyed along the route and stored up at fixed points. The cost of conveying water, however, would be usually too great to admit of its transport being considered practicable, while rain seldom falls over the district extending some forty miles from the sea, where water is most wanted.

Trekking still eastward from Salem, following the course of the Zwachaub River, in the dry bed of which are found the corn-lands of the country; past the village of Otjimbingue, possessed of a store said to be the finest in the country, a church, a school, a blacksmith's shop, and a baptized population of some 350; past Otjikango, or Barmen, where date-palms, apples, grapes, mulberries, and figs are found growing side by side, and where the Damara chief welcomed the Commissioner as one "who had come to save them, and was only just in time"—thus trekking eastward by slow degrees the party arrived at Okahandja, the kraal of Kamaherero, paramount chief of the Damaras. At this point what may be called the serious business of the expedition commenced, and in order that the account of what subsequently passed may be intelligible, it will be necessary, following to some extent the lines of Mr. Palgrave's narrative, to say a few words on the position and origin of the tribes to which reference is made.

Probably the tribe which has been longest resident in the districts referred to in Mr. Palgrave's narrative is that known to Europeans as the "Berg Damaras," but who call themselves "Houquain," and are called in contempt by the Namaquas "Ghou-damap," or "men made of dirt." As a matter of fact, this tribe—dark-skinned and of the negro type—are not Damaras at all; at least, they are totally distinct from the Ovaherero, to whom the name of Damaras was

given by the Namaquas. Going back some 150 years, the Namaquas, a race of yellow people very much resembling Bushmen, would probably be found inhabiting the central part of South Africa up to the twenty-first parallel of latitude, or thereabouts, and living side by side with the remnants of the Houquain, or "Berg Damaras," who had adopted their language, and whom in all probability they had in earlier times enslaved. Into the country which these two tribes occupied the Ovaherero pressed down from the north, not improbably forming part of the great wave of migration towards the south and south-west which resulted in placing the Zulus and the Amaxosa—the general name for the more warlike tribes on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony—where they have recently made their presence felt. First pasturing their flocks near the Atlantic sea-board, and to the southward of the Cunene River—the river Nourse of Mr. Stanford's more recent maps—they gradually moved farther south, coming into collision with the Namaquas, who fell back on other branches of their own original stock in the direction of the Orange River, while the "Houquain," or "Berg Damaras," took refuge in the mountains, where they have remained ever since. For some little time, indeed, the Ovaherero made themselves complete masters of the country, extending their influence from the Atlantic (where a portion of the tribe, having seceded, occupied permanently the district known as the Kaoko) as far east as Lake N'gami, where they came in contact with a tribe of Bechuanas, to whom they gave the name of Ovambanderu. It was more by persistence than by violence that they made their pressure felt, and they not improbably lived on moderately friendly terms with those whom they had practically conquered.

A new element, however, was at last introduced into the political situation. Some seventy or eighty years ago a number of Hottentots, led by the notorious desperado Jaager Afrikaaner, escaped from the Cape Colony across the Orange River, and, being possessed of firearms and horses, practically took possession of the southern part of Great Namaqualand. Feared and hated at first by reason of their plundering propensities, they were at last asked by the Namaquas to become their allies in a campaign against the Damaras. Jonker Afrikaaner, who had succeeded his father Jaager Afrikaaner as chief, consented to this request, the result being that, in an attack upon the Damaras by Hottentots and Namaquas combined, the former were utterly routed, and compelled to fall back a considerable distance to the northward. Subsequently, one of the Damara tribes having sought the assistance of Jonker Afrikaaner and his followers against another portion of the nation, the astute Hottentot captain took advantage of the opportunity to subjugate the whole country, and enslave the tribe he had assisted. Jonker Afrikaaner and his allies,

the Namaquas, took possession of the more westerly portion of the Damara territory, while the east, formerly occupied by the Ovambanderu, was allotted to fresh bands of Hottentots who had arrived from the Cape Colony.

The Damaras, however, were by no means finally conquered. It was, according to Mr. Palgrave, about the year 1840 that they became enslaved, and within twenty-five years from that date, many of them having become possessed of guns, they made a strong effort for their freedom. For seven years a succession of wars were carried on, in which the Damaras were successful over the Namaquas on almost every occasion, and it was only through the influence of Sir Philip Wodehouse, then Governor of the Cape Colony, that hostilities were brought to an end. The Southern Namaquas, urged by the British Governor, and aided by the missionaries stationed in the country, intervened to bring about a peace, which was formally entered into in September, 1870, at Okahandja, between Jan Jonker Afrikaaner (the grandson of Jaager Afrikaaner), on behalf of the Namaquas, and the chief Kamaherero, on behalf of the Damaras. That this peace was very unfavourable to the Namaquas under Jan Jonker there can be no doubt. It contained provisions amounting to a practical surrender of their right to live in the Damara country or to interfere in Damara affairs, while it gave them, "by way of loan," a place to live in, known as Windhoek, within Damara boundaries. Whether the consent of the Afrikaaners, as Jan Jonker's mixed following may for convenience' sake be called, to this treaty was obtained altogether by fair means does not seem quite clear. According to a statement made by him to Mr. Palgrave, the granting of Windhoek to Jan Jonker "as a loan" was a condition imported into the treaty of peace after a verbal understanding had been arrived at, protest against which at the more formal meeting was silenced by a display of force on the part of the Damaras. At all events, on this ground and on the perhaps more serious ground that the Afrikaaners were hindered by the Damaras from hunting within limits allowed by the treaty, ill-feeling soon began again to show itself. "Faults committed on both sides soon showed that the fires of their old hatred were still smouldering. Rumours were everywhere rife of the return to hostilities, and it is certain that about this time Jan Jonker Afrikaaner began again to look for assistance amongst the neighbouring Namaquas, and that Kamaherero, foreseeing the difficulty of again collecting his warriors"—this is, at least, among the pretexts put forward—endeavoured to enlist the sympathies of the Cape. With this object, a letter was in 1872 addressed to Sir Henry Barkly by Kamaherero, on behalf of the Damaras, and the chief Aponda, on behalf of the Ovambanderu, praying "the excellent British Government" to give them advice as to how to govern their country, and

how to keep in check the Namaquas, who, it was asserted, would not leave them in peace. "If," they said, "the Government does not inquire into this matter, it seems to us that we must carry on a war of extirpation one with the other, and so we beg the Government not to disregard our request, but to take pity on us and comply with our prayer."

This letter, according to Mr. Palgrave, was "an ingenuous expression of their conviction that without our assistance they were unable to preserve their hardly won independence, except by perpetual conflict." When it is seen, as will be seen presently, under what conditions such a letter was likely to be written, the ingenuousness of Mr. Palgrave's expression of opinion will probably be suspected. In the meantime the value of the assertion of the Damara chief as to his helplessness may be measured by the following passage that occurs two pages later in Mr. Palgrave's report, when he is describing his journey from Okahandja to Okothondje, through the very heart of the Damara country:—

"The whole of this part of the country was studded over with 'cattle posts,' and all along the road we were visited by natives, whose behaviour was a sufficient guarantee for their friendly feeling. *All the men, and even boys of twelve, carried guns, and these mostly good rifles. The only flint guns I saw had been relegated by the original owners to the youngest of their sons able to carry them; and I may record here in passing, that everywhere through the country the same sight is met with. So overstocked is the gun market, that at the time of which I write there were* 6,000 *in the country waiting sale, and not less, probably much more, than twenty tons of gunpowder, and a proportionate weight of lead.*"

A people thus armed, it might have been thought, stood in but little danger of external disturbance. Yet, if documentary evidence is to be believed, the uppermost feeling in their minds was dread of being involved in war. In 1874 a second letter, signed by three Damara chiefs, was sent to Sir Henry Barkly, soliciting the interference of the British Government with respect to an "anticipated Boer invasion." The writers, or rather the signatories, of this letter professed to have "learnt with deep concern that a very extensive gathering of Dutch farmers, supposed to have left British territory," had arrived within the borders of Damaraland for the avowed purpose of establishing themselves and their families in Damara territory, and possessed of the intention of making war upon the Damaras if there should be any unwillingness to accept them as settlers. "We therefore," this letter went on to say, "most humbly entreat your Excellency, as the representative of the British Government, to aid us by exerting whatever power the Government may possess, in an endeavour to prevent our country being plunged into another dreadful war, and with a powerful nation such as the Boers are represented to us." Not only did the Damara chiefs protest against an incursion in force; they objected

even to a peaceable settlement of the Boers in the country, on the ground that they had already difficulty in finding pasturage for their own flocks and herds. Their objection was all the stronger because they had been "led to believe" that the Boers were a nation who had "always looked upon the black tribes with scorn and indignation, and who both recognised and practised slavery." To make matters worse, the Damara chiefs "had been given to understand" that the Boers had expressed a preference for a certain district, one of the best-watered and finest grazing districts in possession of the Damaras. They would not, therefore, hesitate to repel the Boers by force if necessary, although they hoped, at the same time, that the British Government would address a letter to the intruders in such terms as might have the effect of preventing "a fearful and sanguinary war throughout the country."

These letters are of importance. In the first place they constitute the only written evidence of any kind in support of the assertion that there was any defined or general desire on the part of the Damara chiefs to come under British authority. In the next place they are of importance as affording a glimpse of the nature of the influences at work for the purpose of securing British interference and the establishment of British rule. It can hardly be supposed that the Damara chiefs were the actual authors and composers of these sonorous appeals. The letter of 1872 is not given at length in Mr. Palgrave's narrative. It professes to have been written "at the instance" of the chiefs, and was, without doubt, the composition of a trader or missionary residing in the country, whose disinterestedness may be suspected, and whose perfect irresponsibility is certain. That letter failed to produce any effect, for reasons which are obvious. In 1872 the Cape Colony was still more or less under the authority of the Crown, and no Governor would be likely to encourage the idea of unlimited imperial interference in a merely native quarrel. Some more powerful argument must be employed, and in 1874 the departure of the "Trek-Boers" from the Transvaal furnished an admirable pretext for again addressing the Cape Government. How little these Boers, the history of whose sufferings in the wilderness forms one of the most harrowing chapters of recent South African history, were likely to "invade" Damaraland may be gathered from the very vagueness of the letter in question. The chiefs whose "marks" are appended to it had been "led to believe," and "given to understand," and it does no great violence to probability if it is concluded that those who gave the Damara chiefs these impressions were the actual writers and authors of the letter, and that they were none other than the "S. A. Mumford" and "Frederick Green" whose names are appended as witnesses to the signatures of the chiefs.

an excuse for taking her destiny into his hands, she consenting, it was also a reason why he dared not press his whole weight to win her to the step.

Sunless rose the morning. The blanketed figures went out to salute a blanketed sky. Drizzling they returned, images of woefulness in various forms, including laughter's. Alvan frankly declared himself the disappointed showman; he had hoped for his beloved to see the sight long loved by him of golden chariot and sun-steeds crossing the peaks and the lakes; and his disappointment became consternation on hearing Clotilde's English friend (after objecting to his pagan clothing of the solemn reality of sunrise, which destroyed or minimized by too materially defining a grandeur that derived its essence from mystery, she thought) announce the hour for her departure. He promised her a positive sunrise if she would delay. Her child lay recovering from an illness in the town below, and she could not stay.

Clotilde was taken from him in a heavy downpour and trailing of mists.

At the foot of the mountain a boy handed her a letter from Alvan —a burning flood rolled out of him like lava after they had separated on the second plateau, and confided to one who knew how to outstrip pathfarers. She entered her hotel across the lake, and met a telegram. At night the wires flashed "Sleep well," to her; on her awaking, "Good morning." A lengthened history of the day was telegraphed for her amusement. Again at night there was a "God guard you!"

"Who can resist him?" sighed Clotilde, excited, nervous, flattered, happy, but yearning to repose and be curtained from the buzz of the excess of life that he put about her. This time there was no prospect of his courtship relapsing.

"He is a wonderful, an ideal lover!" replied her friend.

"If he were only that!" said Clotilde, musing expressively.—'If, dear Englishwoman, he were only that, he might be withstood. But Alvan mounts high over such lovers; he is a wonderful and ideal *man*: so great, so generous, heroical, giant-like, that what he wills must be.'

The Englishwoman was quick enough to seize an indication difficult to miss—more was expected to be said of him.

"You see the perfect gentleman in Dr. Alvan," she remarked, for she had heard him ordering his morning bath at the hotel, and he had also been polite to her under vexation.

Clotilde nodded hurriedly; she saw something infinitely greater, and disliked the bringing of that island microscope to bear upon a giant. She found it repugnant to hear a word of Alvan as a perfect

gentleman. Justly, however, she took him for a splendid nature, and assuming upon good authority that the greater contains the lesser, she supposed the lesser to be a chiselled figure serviceably alive in the embrace.

Chapter VII.

He was down on the plains to her the second day, and as usual when they met, it was as if they had not parted; his animation made it seem so. He was like summer's morning sunlight, his warmth striking instantly through her blood dispersed any hesitating strangeness that sometimes gathers during absences, caused by girlish dread of a step to take, or shame at the step taken, when coldish gentlemen rather create these backflowings and gaps in the feelings. She had grown reconciled to the perturbation of his messages, and would have preferred to have him startling and thrilling her from a distance; but seeing him, she welcomed him, and feeling in his bright presence not the faintest chill of the fit of shyness, she took her bravery of heart for a sign that she had reached his level, and might own it by speaking of the practical measures to lead to their union. On one subject sure to be raised against him by her parents, she had a right to be inquisitive: the baroness.

She asked to see a photograph of her.

Alvan gave her one out of his pocket-book, and watched her eyelids in profile as she perused those features of the budless grey woman. The eyelids in such scrutinies reveal the critical mind; Clotilde's drooped till they almost closed upon their lashes—deadly criticism.

"Think of her age," said Alvan, colouring. He named a grandmaternal date for the year of the baroness's birth.

Her eyebrows now stood up; her contemplation of those disenchanting lineaments came to an abrupt finish.

She returned the square card to him, slowly shaking her head, still eyeing earth as her hand stretched forth the card laterally. He could not contest the woeful verdict.

"Twenty years back!" he murmured, writhing. The baroness was a woman fair to see in the days twenty years back, though Clotilde might think it incredible: she really was once.

Clotilde resumed her doleful shaking of the head; she sighed. He shrugged; she looked at him, and he blinked a little. For the first time since they had come together she had a clear advantage, and as it was likely to be a rare occasion, she did not let it slip.

She sighed again. He was wounded by her underestimate of his ancient conquest.

"Yes—*now*," he said, impatiently.

"I cannot feel jealousy, I cannot feel rivalry," said she, sad of voice.

The humour of her tranced eyes in the shaking head provoked him to defend the baroness for her goodness of heart, her energy of brain.

Clotilde 'tolled' her naughty head.

"But it is a strong face," she said, "a strong face—a strong jaw, by Lavater! You were young—and daringly adventurous; she was captivating in her distress. Now she is old—and you are friends."

"Friends, yes," Alvan replied, and praised the girl, as of course she deserved to be praised for her open mind.

"We are friends!" he said, dropping a deep-chested breath. The title this girl scornfully supplied was balm to the vanity she had stung, and his burnt skin was too eager for a covering of any sort to examine the mood of the giver. She had positively humbled him so far as with a single word to relieve him; for he had seen bristling chapters in her look at the photograph. Yet for all the natural sensitiveness of the man's vanity, he did not seek to bury the subject at the cost of a misconception injurious in the slightest degree to the sentiments he entertained toward the older lady as well as the younger. "Friends! you are right; good friends; only you should know that it is just a little—a trifle different. The fact is, I cannot kill the past, and I would not. It would try me sharply to break the tie connecting us, were it possible to break it. I am bound to her by gratitude. She is old now; and were she twice that age, I should retain my feeling for her. You raise your eyes, Clotilde! Well, when I was much younger I found this lady in desperate ill-fortune, and she honoured me with her confidence. Young man though I was, I defended her; I stopped at no measure to defend her: against a powerful husband, remember—the most unscrupulous of foes, who sought to rob her of every right she possessed. And what I did then I again would do. I was vowed to her interests, to protect a woman shamefully wronged; I did not stick at trifles, as you know; you have read my speech in defence of myself before the court. By my interpretation of the case I was justified; but I estranged my family and made the world my enemy. I gave my time and money, besides the forfeit of reputation, to the case, and reasonably there was an arrangement to repay me out of the estate reserved for her, so that the baroness should not be under the degradation of feeling herself indebted. You will not think that out of

the way; men of the world do not. As for matters of the heart between us, we're as far apart as the Poles."

He spoke hurriedly. He had said all that could be expected of him.

They were in a wood, walking through lines of spruce firs of deep golden green in the yellow beams. One of these trees among its well-robed fellows fronting them was all lichen-smitten. From the low sweeping branches touching earth to the plumed top, the tree was dead-black as its shadow; a vision of blackness.

"I will compose a beautiful, dutiful, modest, oddest, beseeching, screeching, mildish, childish epistle to her, and you shall read it, and if you approve it, we will despatch it," said Clotilde.

"There speaks my gold-crested serpent at her wisest!" replied Alvan. "And now for my visit to your family: I follow you in a day. En avant! contre les canons! A run to Lake Leman brings us to them in the afternoon. I shall see you in the evening. So our separation won't be for long this time. All the auspices are good." He wished her to see them, and pursued:

"'Bride of the Elect of the People!' is not that as glorious a title, think you, as queen of an hereditary sovereign mumbling of God's grace on his worm-eaten throne? I win that seat by service, by the dedication of this brain to the people's interests. They have been ground to the dust, and I lift them, as I did a persecuted lady in my boyhood. I am the soldier of justice against the army of the unjust. But I claim my reward. If I live to fight, I live also to enjoy. I will have my station. I win it not only because I serve, but because also I have seen, have seen ahead, seen where all is dark, read the unwritten—because I am soldier and prophet. The brain of man is Jove's eagle and his lightning on earth—the title to majesty henceforth. Ah! my fairest; entering the city beside me, and the people shouting around, she would not think her choice a bad one?"

Clotilde made sign and gave some earnest on his arm of ecstatic hugging.

"We may have hard battles, grim deceptions, to go through before that day comes," he continued after a while. "The day is coming, but we must wait for it, work on. I have the secret of how to head the people—to put a head to their movement and make it irresistible, as I believe it will be beneficent. I set them moving on the lines of the law of things. I am no empty theorizer, no phantasmal speculator; I am the man of science in politics. When my system is grasped by the people, there is but a step to the realization of it. One step. It will be taken in my time, or acknowledged later. I stand for index to the people of the path they should take

to triumph—must take, as triumph they must sooner or later:—not by the route of what is called Progress—pooh! That is a middle-class invention to effect a compromise. With the people the matter rests—with their intelligence! Meanwhile my star is bright and shines reflected."

"I notice," she said, favouring him with as much reflection as a splendid lover could crave for, "that you never look down, you never look on the ground, but always either up or straight before you."

"People have remarked it," said he, smiling. "Here we are at this funereal tree again! All roads lead to Rome, and ours appears to conduct us perpetually to this tree. It's the only dead one here."

He sighted the plumed black top and along the swelling branches decorously clothed in decay: a salted ebon moss when seen closely; the small grey particles giving a sick shimmer to the darkness of the mass. It was very witch-like, of a witch in her incantation-smoke.

"Not a single bare spot! but dead, dead as any peeled and fallen!" said Alvan, fingering a tuft of the sooty snake-lichen. "This is a tree for a melancholy poet—eh, Clotilde?—for him to come on it by moonlight, after a scene with his mistress, or tales of her! By the way and by the way, my fair darling, let me never think of your wearing this kind of garb for me, should I be ordered off the first to join the dusky army below. Women who put on their dead husbands in public are not well-mannered women, though they may be excellent professional widows, excellent!"

He snapped the lichen-dust from his fingers, observing that he was not sure the contrast of the flourishing and blighted was not more impressive in sunlight: and then he looked from the tree to his true love's hair. The tree at a little distance seemed run over with sunless lizards; her locks were golden serpents.

"Does she look as grimmish as she does in the photograph?" said Clotilde.

"Who? the baroness?" Alvan laughed. The baroness was not so easily defended from a girl as from her husband, it appeared. "She is the best of comrades, best of friends. She has her faults; she may not relish the writ announcing her final deposition, but be you true to me, and as true as she has unfailingly been to me, she will be to you. That I can promise. My poor Lucie! She is winter, if you will. It is not the winter of the steppes; you may compare her to winter in a noble country; a fine landscape of winter. Do not expect me to show like that undertakerly tree till my years are one hundred. Even then it will be dangerous to repose beneath my branches in the belief that I am sapless because I have changed colour. We Jews have a lusty blood. We are strong of the earth.

We serve you, but you must minister to us. Sensual? We have truly excellent appetites. And why not? Heroical too! Soldiers, poets, musicians; the Gentile's masters in mental arithmetic—keenest of weapons: surpassing him in common sense and capacity for brotherhood. Ay, and in charity! or what stores of vengeance should we not have nourished! Already we have the money-bags. Soon we shall hold the chief offices. And when the popular election is as unimpeded as the coursing of the blood in a healthy body, the Jew shall be foremost and topmost, for he is pre-eminently by comparison the brain of these latterday communities. But that is only my answer to the brutish contempt of the Jew. I am no champion of a race. I am for the world, for man!"

Clotilde remarked that he had many friends, all men of eminence, and a large following among the people.

He assented: "Yes: Tresten, Retka, Kehlen, the Nizzian. Yes, if I were other than for legality:—if it came to a rising, I could tell off able lieutenants."

"Tell me of your interview with Ironsides," she said proudly and fondly.

"Would this ambitious little head know everything?" said Alvan, putting his lips among the locks. "Well, we met: he requested it. We agreed that we were on neutral ground for the moment: that he might ultimately have to decapitate me, or I to banish him, but temporarily we could compare our plans for governing. He showed me his hand. I showed him mine. We played open-handed, like two at whist. He did not doubt my honesty, and I astonished him by taking him quite in earnest. He has dealt with diplomatists, who imagine nothing but shuffling: the old Ironer! I love him for his love of common sense, his contempt of mean deceit. He will outwit you, but his dexterity is a giant's—a simple evolution rapidly performed: and nothing so much perplexes pigmies! Then he has them, bagsful of them. The world will see; and see giant meet giant, I suspect. He and I proposed each of us in the mildest manner contrary schemes—schemes to stiffen the hair of Europe! Enough that we parted with mutual respect. He is a fine fellow: and so was my friend the Emperor Tiberius, and so was Richelieu. Napoleon was a fine engine:—there is a difference. Yes, Ironsides is a fine fellow! but he and I may cross. His ideas are not many. The point to remember is that he is iron on them: he can drive them hard into the density of the globe. He has quick nerves and imagination: he can conjure up, penetrate, and traverse complications—an enemy's plans, all that the enemy will be able to combine, and the likeliest that he will do. Good. We opine that we are equal to the same. He is for kingcraft to mask his viziercraft—and save

him the labour of patiently attempting oratory and persuasion, which accomplishment he does not possess:—it is not in iron. We think the more precious metal will beat him when the broader conflict comes. But such an adversary is not to be underrated. I do not underrate him; and certainly not he me. Had he been born with the gifts of patience and a fluent tongue, and not a petty noble, he might have been for the people, as knowing them the greater power. He sees that their knowledge of their power must eventually come to them. In the meantime his party is forcible enough to assure him he is not fighting a losing game at present: and he is, no doubt, by lineage and his traditions monarchical. He is curiously simple, not really cynical. His apparent cynicism is sheer irritability. His contemptuous phrases are directed against obstacles: against things, persons, nations that oppose him or cannot serve his turn: against his king, if his king is restive; but he respects his king: against your friends' country, because there is no fixing it to a line of policy, and it seems to have collapsed; but he likes that country the best in Europe after his own. He is nearest to contempt in his treatment of his dupes and tools, who are dropped out of his mind when he has quite squeezed them for his occasion; to be taken up again when they are of use to him. Hence he will have no following. But let me die to-morrow, the party I have created survives. In him you see the dam, in me the stream. Judge, then, which of us gains the future!—admitting that in the present he may beat me. He is a Prussian, stoutly defined from a German, and yet again a German stoutly defined from our borderers; and that completes him. He has as little the idea of humanity as the sword of our Hermann, the cannon-ball of our Frederick. Observe him. What an eye he has! I watched it as we were talking:—and he has, I repeat, imagination; he can project his mind in front of him as far as his reasoning on the possible allows: and that eye of his flashes; and not only flashes, you see it hurling a bolt, it gives me the picture of a Balearic slinger about to whizz the stone: for that eye looks far, and is hard, and is dead certain of its mark—within his practical compass, as I have said. I see farther, and I fancy I proved to *him* that I am not a dreamer. In my opinion, when we cross our swords I stand a fair chance of not being worsted. We shall:—you shrink? Figuratively, my darling—have no fear! Combative as we may be, both of us, we are now grave seniors, we have serious business: a party looks to him, my party looks to me. Never need you fear that I shall be at sword or pistol with any one. I will challenge my man, whoever he is that needs a lesson, to touch buttons on a waistcoat with the button on a foil, or drill fives and eights in cards at twenty paces: but I will not fight him though he

offend me, for I am stronger than my temper, and as I do not want to take his nip of life, and judge it to be of less value than mine, the imperilling of either is an absurdity."

"Oh! because I know you are incapable of craven fear," cried Clotilde, answering aloud the question within herself of why she so much admired, why she so fondly loved him. To feel his courage backing his high good sense was to repose in security, and her knowledge that an astute self-control was behind his courage assured her he was invincible.

She named the city on the shores of the great Swiss lake where her parents were residing, she bade him follow her thither, naming the hotel where he was to be found, the hour when he was to arrive. "Am I not precise as an office clerk?" she said, with a pleasant taste of the reality her preciseness pictured.

"Practical as the head of a State department," said he in good faith.

Clotilde's epistle to the baroness was composed, approved, and despatched. To a frigid eye it read as more hypocritical than it really was; for supposing it had to be written, the language of the natural impulse called up to write it was necessarily in request, and that language is easily overdone, so as to be discordant with the situation, which the writer could know, while it is, as the writer feels, a fairly true and well-formed expression of the pretty impulse. But wiser is it always that the star in the ascendant should not address the one waning. Hardly can a word be uttered without grossly wounding. She would not do it to a younger rival: the letter strikes on the recipient's age! She babbles of a friendship: she plays at childish ninny! The display of her ingenuous happiness to give pleasure to the abstemious noble friend causes feminine nature's bosom to rise in surges; the declarations of her devotedness to the man waken comparisons with a deeper, a longer-tried, a horrible suffering. Actually the letter of the rising star assumes personal feeling to have died out of the abandoned luminary, and personal feeling is chafed to its acutest edge by the perusal; contempt also of one who can stupidly simulate such innocence is roused.

"I do think it a nice kind of letter, and quite humble enough," said Clotilde.

He agreed: "Yes, yes: she knows already that this is really serious with me."

So much for the baroness.

Now for their parting. A parting that is no worse than the turning of a page to a final meeting is made light of, but felt. Reason is all in our favour, and yet the gods are jealous of the bliss of mor-

tals; the slip between the cup and the lip is emotionally watched for, even though it be not apprehended, when the cup trembles for very fulness. Clotilde required reassuring and comforting: "I am certain you will prevail; you must; you cannot be resisted; I stand to witness to the fact," she sighed in a languor; "only my people are hard to manage. I see more clearly now that I have imposed on them; and they have given way by a sort of compact so long as I did nothing decisive. That I see. But, then again, have I not your spirit in me now? What has ever resisted you?—Then, as I am Alvan's wife, I share his heart with his fortunes, and I do not really dread the scenes from anticipating failure, still—the truth is, I fear I am three parts an actress, and the fourth feels itself a shivering small morsel to face reality. No, I do not really feel it, but press my hand. I shall be true—I am so utterly yours: and because I have such faith in you. You never yet have failed."

"Never: and it is impossible for me to conceive it," said Alvan thoughtfully.

His last word to her, on her departure, was "Courage!" Hers to him was conveyed by the fondest of looks. She had previously said, "To-morrow!" to remind him of his appointment to be with her on the morrow and herself that she would not long stand alone. She did not doubt of her courage while feasting on the beauty of one of the acknowledged strong men of earth. She kissed her hand, she flung her heart to him from the waving fingers.

GEORGE MEREDITH.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

ALTHOUGH the events of the past month have contributed but in an imperceptible degree towards the solution of the Eastern Question, they have served to acquaint the world in a very full and practical manner with the precise nature of the difficulties by which the path to such a solution is barred. Every nation in Europe is more or less interested in the future of the Turkish Empire. The settlement of the Balkan peninsula, and the ownership of Constantinople, are subjects whose importance is coincident with the whole continent. The substitution of a group of really independent nationalities north and south of the Danube for the provinces of which the Porte is still suzerain, would make its influence immediately and powerfully felt upon Russia and Austria. The effect would be contagious, and there is not a single European Power which would be able to contemplate with indifference the subsequent development of affairs. There can be little doubt that these are the issues now on the point of being raised, and that it is simply a question of time—and that a very short time—when the great Powers will have to decide what line they shall adopt with reference not only to Greece, but to the movement for the unification of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. These are matters which it is impossible to separate. If the Eastern Question could be divided and subdivided at will into distinct and independent portions, most of its gravest perils would disappear. Unfortunately it is a logical and political whole, and permanently to settle one branch of it means to guarantee the settlement of the remainder. If the European Concert proves effectual in securing the peaceful transfer of Dulcigno to Montenegro, the same agency may be employed with a greater prospect of success in the case of Greece. But does it therefore follow that the machinery which was adequate to the one emergency will be adequate also to the other? And if the question must be answered in the negative, can we be certain that any settlement with which that machinery is credited is safe and permanent? The great Powers may have satisfied the claims of the Montenegrins. This will only render the Greeks more urgent in pressing their demands. If, as is at any moment possible, there breaks out a national rising in Macedonia, it is inevitable that the same impulse should be illustrated elsewhere. Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia will hasten to level to the ground the artificial barriers which now divide them, and it is more than probable that the Armenians will be encouraged by the spectacle to throw off the Turkish yoke.

Each one of these crises is a source of danger to the peace of the world; each one of them is in the nature of things inevitable. Diplomacy cannot clear the sky of these dark clouds. The origin of the peril is not a minor affair of national misunderstanding—a comparatively trifling dispute about riverain rights or harbour dues. It is the future well-being of nationalities which is at stake, and nationalities that—from their own point of view—Europe is under a moral obligation to strengthen and befriend. How does Europe itself look at the matter? and when we say Europe, we mean not the sovereigns and statesmen by whom, as Lord Beaconsfield once reminded us, the Continent is governed, but the peoples,—the multitudes from whom those august personages derive their power. Statesmanship and diplomacy are confronted, as we have seen, by problems of pressing and exceptional difficulty. What, under the circumstances, could be more natural or right than that the responsible administrators of the affairs of the different European States should look at this moment of perplexity to the popular will for some definite indications as to the course to be taken. In most countries they will look in vain. The stage in the Eastern Question at which we have now arrived awakes no sort of enthusiasm in the minds of the European public. The questions which agitate the masses in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, are not whether Greece is to have Macedonia, Thrace, or Epirus, or whether the last vestiges of the authority of the Sultan are to disappear from the Balkan peninsula. These are subjects which at the present moment have not enough of actuality to interest the great bulk of the population in any European country.

Hence the political difficulties of the Governments of Europe are excessively increased. If Mr. Gladstone or M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire looks to the public opinion of his countrymen for guidance, he discovers in effect that this public opinion does not exist. The one desire which animates the French people is to avoid complications whence it is not manifest that they can derive some advantage. Nor has the idea of Greek aggrandizement more of charm for the English imagination. No one doubts that they are an interesting people. Byron has thrown over them the glamour of his poetic genius; education and association have invested their ordinary nomenclature with a certain significance and charm. But the notion of risking a war in order that the Hellenic kingdom may acquire a frontier after its own heart, is entirely alien to the enormous majority of Englishmen, and it is certain that if Mr. Gladstone were to take the lead in coercing Turkey to satisfy Greece, he would, in the event of any miscarriage of his policy, have to reckon with the English people. We do not mean that the existing British sentiment is in any degree unfriendly to Greece. On the contrary, most

persons would like to see the additions to Greek territory made at once, if only they could be made without war. But if war, or the threat of war, is necessary, and if the threat of war raised by the English Government is not successful, the Hellenic sympathies of the public in this country are not strong enough to give ministers an indemnity for their blunder.

The dangers and difficulties that await us in the South-east of Europe will not disappear merely because they are ignored. So long as they are there the peace of a considerable section of the world is in a continuous state of jeopardy, and no government, whether that of England or of any other Power, can be relieved of its obligations in the affair merely because definite action must be attended by grave domestic political risks. The nations of the world cry out for peace. The public opinion of every country in Europe is against active interference in the East for the sake of extending the limits of the Greek kingdom. But the action which it may be necessary to take cannot be controlled by these considerations. A law as inexorable as that of gravitation draws the European Powers into the vortex which they would fain avoid. When they signed the Berlin Treaty they made themselves responsible for the maintenance of some kind of order in the South-east of Europe. Independently of their personal interest in the Sultan's power in the Balkan peninsula, it would be impossible for them to hold aloof should the whole of that corner of the world be surrendered to war and revolution. And it is war and revolution which are now imminent. Bulgaria, Eastern Roumelia, and Macedonia will not continue to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Porte. It may be possible for the Sultan to avert disturbance by concession; it may be possible for the European Concert to convince him of the necessity of this concession. But these are only contingencies, and the whole Eastern Question turns upon the chances of their transformation into accomplished facts.

What is the light thrown by the past on these chances, and in that light what encouragement can be found for the future? The European Concert has successfully submitted to tests more severe than was in certain quarters considered possible. But Dulcigno is not yet in the hands of the Montenegrins, and we have not visibly advanced beyond the point at which we had arrived six weeks or a couple of months ago. In other words, we have not passed out of the epoch of negotiation, bargaining, evasions, and delays. We may hear at any moment that the entire affair is satisfactorily settled, and that the Sultan has yielded all that was demanded of him. On the other hand, it is quite as possible that the period of notes and ultimatums may begin again. Before the Porte, early in the present month, published its defiance of the will of Europe, and signified that if the Powers would withdraw their ships, and

bind themselves not again to menace violence, it would see what could be done with the Albanians, we heard that the transfer of Dulcigno would inevitably take place in a few days' time. All the preliminaries had been arranged; nothing but the achievement itself remained. This is really much the condition in which matters stand at the present moment. The Sultan has virtually cancelled his note of October 3rd. He professes to be perfectly willing to surrender Dulcigno. The only point yet to be arranged is that involved in the conditions of the cession. Montenegrins, Turks, Albanians are still haggling about these, and, according to the latest intelligence, the negotiations are stationary. Any pretext for delay serves its turn with the Porte. Prince Nicolas claims that the Sultan should not only cause Dulcigno to be made over to him, but that he should guarantee its new owners from future attack by Albanian malcontents. The Porte responds with the demand that its ships of war should be admitted into the harbour of Dulcigno, and that its flag should be allowed to fly in Montenegrin waters. At the same time we are informed everything is really settled—everything, that is, except the one thing which the naval demonstration was intended to accomplish.

This is a state of affairs which can scarcely be pronounced satisfactory; it is natural to ask why it should have continued so long, and whether it is likely to continue much longer? The answer to these questions necessitates some little inquiry into the nature of the European Concert. That concert is not, happily, at an end; and when the Sultan abandoned the attitude which he assumed in the early days of October, a practical proof was given of its reality. It has not answered all the expectations which were formed of it. Even before the end of September a weak point in it was disclosed. On the 27th of that month the Montenegrins were to have occupied Dulcigno. Prince Nicolas stated that he was not ready—meaning that he perceived the impossibility of carrying the contemplated occupation into effect without encountering the armed opposition of the Albanians and possibly of the Turkish troops. Then came Riza Pasha's intimation that he was without any instructions to order or to consent to the evacuation of Dulcigno by the Montenegrins until the naval demonstration was at an end. The announcement was followed by the Sultan's note of October 3rd. That document had no sooner been formulated than the English Cabinet met, and it became known that by way of carrying the policy of coercion a step further, they had decided to intercept the Turkish revenue at Smyrna, and if necessary elsewhere. It appeared immediately that if this course were adopted by England, the European Concert would be broken up. Russia and Italy approved the proposal: Germany and Austria held aloof, on the ground that it would be equivalent to

a declaration of war against Turkey. Upon this incident there are two observations which must be made. It must be admitted, in the first place, that there are contingencies against which the agreement of the European Powers is not proof; that, in other words, it is not an instrument capable of cutting every knot that may present itself. But, in the second place, to suppose that it would have this virtue of omnipotence would be to entertain unnaturally high hopes of it, and would be to exceed the account which has been repeatedly given by Mr. Gladstone and other members of the Government of its scope. Ministers have always given the public to understand that when they talked of settling the Eastern Question by the agency of the European Concert, they spoke of a policy which should not go beyond the point on which the European Powers were agreed. They never ventured to hold out the prospect that absolute unanimity would exist on the subject of what it was best to do. They simply pledged themselves to take no action at all unless it was taken in common with the other Powers. It would have been ridiculous for Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues to pledge their word to the certainty that no difference of opinion should arise; all that they could say was that when these differences manifested themselves they would not act. This is what they said, and this is what they have done.

There are two points of view from which the refusal of the Powers collectively to organize and participate in a project for sequestrating the revenues of the Porte and the subsequent withdrawal of the proposal may be regarded. Inasmuch as it reveals an opposition and divergency of judgment, it is a sign of weakness. On the other hand, however, the prompt and complete abandonment of the scheme is suggestive of durability and strength. The Powers have differed, it is true, but they have only differed at the beginning to agree in the end; and for the future that is by no means an evil sign. Naturally, the episode is one that suggests several grave reflections for the future. The European Concert, it is plain, is an arrangement from which much may be hoped, but of which also something is to be feared. About its reality up to a certain point there is no doubt; the only question is whether we may not be on the eve of occurrences which will transcend that limit. The Concert has unmistakably a real meaning and validity, if it is looked upon as a symbol of diplomatic union and harmoniously pacific effort. The European Powers, all of them, recognise the paramount importance of preserving, if possible, the peace of the world. There is no reason to suppose that if they saw their way towards coercing the Turk without war, they would object to take in hand the tactics of coercion. But so far as can be seen, when we speak of the Concert of the Powers, we speak of an understanding for the maintenance of which peace is essential. If the flames of war are lighted in the

East, and anarchy and bloodshed call for European intervention, we can scarcely hope that every State in Christendom will agree as to the lines on which this intervention should be conducted. The wider the area of disturbance, the less the likelihood of practical unanimity among the Powers.

For these reasons the European Governments must directly make it their business to confine their efforts to objects which are within the range of diplomatic settlement, and in all probability the scope thus afforded them for the exercise of their energies will be larger than is often supposed. In proportion as the Porte is unreasonable and obstinate the Powers will continue united and firm. And this spectacle may possibly be enough to enforce the necessity of prudence and moderation in the Turkish mind. If the Dulcigno question be settled peaceably, we shall have not indeed a guarantee that the Greek difficulty will be disposed of in the same manner, but good ground for hoping that such a solution may not prove impossible. Few people can seriously think that if the Porte is once convinced that the European Concert is real, it will long continue to resist any demands which may be made of it. For when the Porte is spoken of, what is meant is not the strongly compact will of a resolute nation, but the firmness or stubbornness of the Sultan and of a body of governing pashas. The true sentiment of nationality is scarcely known in the European provinces of Turkey, and even when it comes to the question of making considerable additions to the Hellenic kingdom, there will be none of that popular indignation and patriotic enthusiasm out of which the Sultan could alone hope to organize a successful resistance. Nor is it probable that the Porte, if it saw that Europe had plainly wished such a consummation, would stake its existence as an empire on the retention of Macedonia, Thessaly, and Thrace. The Porte wants money more than territory; and Sultan and pashas alike prefer a life of indulgence and ease to striking strenuously heroic attitudes of patriotic resistance. On the other hand, enough is known about them to make us sure that they will not surrender an inch without many protests, and only after much recourse to the tactics of tortuous evasion—nor even then unless they are convinced that Europe is united and thoroughly in earnest. If these conditions are forthcoming, and no untoward contingency intervenes, there is good ground for fairly hopeful anticipations of the future action of the European Concert.

The hypothesis, it must be allowed, is one of no ordinary magnitude, and the dangers which lie in the path of the peace of Europe are many and great. We do not, however, think that they proceed from the causes that are sometimes assigned. Much that is idle, mischievous, and false has been said about the part that the

different Powers are severally acting towards the Porte, and there are some quarters in which the rumour has gained credence that Germany is encouraging the Sultan in his disregard of the pressure of Europe. The statement is absolutely without foundation. No Power, in Europe or out of it, is engaged in "backing up" the Porte in any manner or degree, however clandestine. The Porte may and probably does think that more than one European Government is prepared and anxious to do so, but the belief will turn out to be an illusion. The simple truth is that Germany has got quite enough on her hands without embroiling herself in Turkish affairs. Prince Bismarck is occupied with the commercial concerns of the empire committed to his care, and with his plan for including Holland, for financial purposes, in the German Bund. Austria can have but one prayer—for peace. The idea of a war occasioned by the Eastern Question is utterly intolerable to and detested by France. If the desire of the nations could make the European Concert a pledge of peace, we may be quite satisfied that it would do so.

The real peril to the Concert and to the tranquillity of Europe proceeds not from the probability of intrigues between any one of the Powers and the Porte, but from the tenour of events which neither the Porte nor the Powers may be able to control. That the demands of Greece, now that they have received the sanction of the Supplementary Conference at Berlin, must receive some settlement is certain. The question cannot be postponed indefinitely. It may, indeed, be disposed of without war. But if war is to be avoided the European Powers have little time to lose, and the Porte must show, more speedily than she is in the habit of doing, that she can profit by experience. In all probability there is not a single State in Europe—the Hellenes themselves alone excepted—which would not infinitely prefer that any active movement for the realisation of Greek independence, in Macedonia or elsewhere, should be postponed. Russia undoubtedly would be greatly disappointed if a rising in Macedonia, or Thrace, or Epirus were to precede a rising in Bulgaria or Eastern Roumelia. But it has yet to be seen whether the Greeks will bide the convenience of others, or whether they will continue any longer to be satisfied with promises. National sentiment is rising to a height which it may be difficult to control, and if hostilities of any kind between the Greeks and the Turks were to declare themselves, an entirely new aspect would be given to the Eastern Question, and the European Concert would enter upon a novel and unknown future.

Nearer home than the Adriatic or the Ægean we are met by a question of truly imperial magnitude to which events are sternly pressing for an answer. Is the English Government

competent and prepared to administer Ireland upon Constitutional principle, and in a spirit of statesmanlike courage? So far as the present cabinet is concerned, the next few months will show what decision has been taken on this subject. We are acquainted with the policy which ministers intend immediately to adopt; we do not yet know, and we cannot know till Mr. Forster brings in his Irish Land Bill next Session, what will be their policy in the future. The prosecution of the Irish Land agitators is an exceedingly small matter in comparison with the legislation on Irish Land, to which the Government are pledged. The effect of prosecution may be repressive and even within certain limits remedial, but it will not touch the root of the evil; it will afford us no durable guarantee of the existence of a better state of things in future; it will not divest the cry of "Justice for Ireland" of one atom of its emphasis or cogency. What is wanted is that it should be as unnecessary and as absurd to demand "justice for Ireland" as "justice for England." The end is a difficult one to attain; but it is exactly difficulty of the sort which it is the business of enlightened statesmanship to overcome. Bad as is the condition of Ireland, there is one thing which in our opinion is even worse, and that is the former temper of England towards Irish affairs. Until Englishmen and English governments as a whole—not stray individual statesmen, but English administrators in their collective capacity—recognise that Irish agitation, disaffection, and even sedition, cannot be dealt with by denunciation and coercion alone; that drastic legislation in the case of Ireland is not necessarily legislation which is punitive; that when an Irish crisis occurs, it is quite as much because no effort has been made to prevent it, as because the seasons have been severe and the elements unpropitious—until these things have come to pass, we shall always have an Irish question complicated, dangerous, and desperate upon our hands.

It might indeed be questioned whether the acts of violence—assassination included—provoked by the land laws have been more numerous this year in Ireland than similar outrages provoked by the game laws have often before now been in England. But however suggestive and salutary such an analogy may be, it does not constitute any valid objection to the course taken by ministers. The state of things in Ireland being what it was, there were only two ways in which the government could deal with it. They might have obeyed the counsels of those who mistake violence for strength, and whose voice is not that of wisdom, but of vengeance. In other words, they might have called Parliament together, have applied for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—following possibly the procedure of 1871 when the Westmeath Act was passed—and in other ways have had recourse to the whole machinery of coercion. There

is no doubt that if the Government had done this, they might have put down public meetings, have silenced the nationalist press, have made several scores of arrests, and have established a reign of terror throughout Ireland. And supposing the precedent of the Westmeath Act had been adopted throughout parts of Ireland, several Tory irreconcilables would have applauded such an exhibition of force, and Mr. Froude would perhaps have written an article to assure ministers that if they went on in this way they would have his blessing and would prosper. But what advance, in the name of common sense, would have been made towards a permanent and practical solution of the Irish difficulty? Does any one suppose that coercion would have proved of the slightest avail, save at the moment when it was in the full swing of its peremptory operation; that it would have contained any promise of order and hope for the future; that it would have left a single Irishman better affected towards English government and English law? It is notorious that it would not have accomplished one of those things. It would have left matters exactly where it found them. It might have repressed one Irish disturbance for a time, but it would have insured its recurrence in the near future.

There is another reason why ministers should not hastily have had recourse to the tactics of coercion. They were logically prevented from doing so both by their words and actions a few months ago. Mr. Forster has repeatedly said that he was determined to employ all the power of the law for the purpose of giving security to life and property in Ireland. But he has never said, he has never hinted, that—until it was proved to be inadequate for the emergency—he would go beyond the law in its ordinary and normal shape. At the end of last May ministers decided not to apply for a renewal of the Peace Preservation Act, on the ground that they considered no exceptional legislation necessary for the governing of Ireland. On various occasions during the Session, Mr. Forster, in reply to questions on the condition of Ireland, and his intentions with regard to its future administration, stated that he would punish the perpetrators of outrage and violence, and that he believed the law, as it was, gave the Government all necessary powers for their purpose. Before, therefore, Mr. Forster and his colleagues could reasonably ask Parliament for extraordinary powers, it would have been imperative for them to show that the condition of Ireland had suddenly become infinitely worse than they had foreseen—that an alarming and unexpected crisis had arrived, and that the repressive authority of the Constitution was exhausted. Until this contingency, which as yet we are happy to think is sufficiently remote, was realised, ministers could not have advocated coercion without being self-accused of weakness and of inconsistency. They had undertaken

to govern Ireland by the agency of constitutional law. They had done what in them lay to abolish the last remnants of a state of siege in Ireland. Not before the law was manifestly paralyzed and impotent could they have dared to confess that their forecasts were falsified, and that their just and moderate policy had failed. In prosecuting Mr. Parnell, and other leading members of the Land League, ministers are simply carrying the law a step further than it has yet been carried. They contend that the Irish agitators have by their speeches incited the Irish peasantry to the commission of grave crimes, and that as a consequence they are punishable by law. On the probability or possibility of establishing this contention, we do not care to speculate. The indictment, we are told, is being drawn with the utmost care, and certainly all the care which is possible will be needed. The charges now proposed are of a nature that it is never very easy to establish, and unless the indictment is technically flawless the prosecution will fail. The effect of prosecution will be not to terminate or even check the utterances condemned as dangerous, subversive, and revolutionary, but to teach those who frame those utterances new dexterity and caution. The method of the propagandists will adapt itself to the changed conditions, but the propaganda will continue to be there. If Ireland is to be satisfied or pacified, it must be, we repeat, not by legal prosecutions, however merited, but by timely and prudent legislation. It is not for us to tell the Government what sort of Land Bill they should introduce next Session, but it is safe to tell them that if they bring in a feeble and a temporary measure, they had better leave the subject untouched. If the only legislation to which ministers can make up their minds is a scheme that resolves itself into the extension of the Ulster tenant-right to the whole of Ireland, the Irish land question, instead of being solved, will only be raised in a more emphatic shape. It is an arduous and critical enterprise, no doubt, which confronts the Government, and ministers must expect to hear hard and angry cries raised against them. They will be told that they are introducing an epoch of confiscation, that they are cutting at the root of all property, that they are cruelly punishing the good landlords for faults which they have never committed. Of course admirable and exemplary persons will always exist under any system, however evil; but their existence is no argument in favour of the system itself.

October 25th, 1880.

Dry as these facts may seem, their apprehension is essential to the due understanding of what follows. A pretty complete catalogue has now been made of the various forces at work. We have a Colonial Government, eager to extend its boundaries so as to obtain control over the large metalliferous districts believed to exist to the north of the Orange River. We have a tribe—the Damaras—anxious to emphasise a hardly won predominance by securing British support. We have traders and missionaries scattered up and down through the country, intriguing for their own advantage with native chiefs on one hand and with the British Government on the other. We have a useful bogey in the shape of a threatened invasion of the Boers. And finally, and as a keystone to the whole, we have a specially appointed Commissioner, himself to no small extent interested in the successful carrying out of the scheme of annexation, and sufficiently unscrupulous in respect of the means employed in his work of "paving the way for the extension of British dominion."

Having established a base of operations at Okahandja, Mr. Palgrave's next step was to pay a visit to the chief Therawa, known to Europeans by the name of "Old William," whose kraal was at Okothondje, on the Omaruru River. Therawa being ill, the Commissioner called to see him. The chief's first question apparently bore reference to the letter written in 1874—two years before—to Sir Henry Barkly, of which Therawa had been one of the signatories. The letter, Mr. Palgrave assured him, had been received, and had, perhaps more than anything else, decided the Government to send a Commissioner, whose duty it now was to see how far the Government could afford them protection. A great meeting, the Commissioner went on to say, would be necessary before he left the country, to be held probably at Okahandja. After a stay of a few days, Mr. Palgrave passed on to visit the Zwaartbooi Namaquas—a tribe who had in the war of a few years before sided with the Damaras, and had in consequence been turned out of their original location at Rehoboth—a spot considerably to the southward—by the rest of the Namaquas under Jan Jonker Afrikaaner. Settled now at Bokberg, to the west of Okahandja and just outside the limits of the dry coast district, they numbered some 1,000 or so, and were desirous of moving northward, if the Damaras would let them, into the Kaoko country, which lines the coast to the south of the 18th parallel of latitude. Stopping with this tribe for two days, Mr. Palgrave "twice elicited an opinion from them." The bearing of that opinion will best be understood by quoting it as recorded in the minutes of a meeting held on the 8th of July, 1876. At this meeting, the Commissioner having "explained fully the object of his visit," Abraham Zwartbooi, the chief, replied:—

"'I am very glad that the Governor has sent a Commissioner into the

country, though I have little to say. I am living in a part of the country which is not sufficient to support my people.'

"Here Abraham called on his brother Petrus to speak.

"Petrus Zwaartbooi continued—'Yes, we are glad you have come. We stand alone, and have no one to look to for help. I will speak for ourselves, Namaquas, alone, that is my brother's people. We want to live at peace with everybody, but neither our own colour nor the black people (Damaras) understand us, and that is why we are glad you have come. We are in a place without water, and would gladly be under the wings of the British Government, for then we can look for a place that has water, and that can support us. The Damaras have told us that we can look for a place towards the sea. If we find a place we are not sure that the Damaras will keep their promise and allow us to leave here and occupy it.'

"Abraham Zwaartbooi remarked—'I should like a British magistrate.'"

Abraham Zwaartbooi, however, would seem to have had doubts, for next day he addressed Mr. Palgrave as follows:—

"'I am at a loss what to say through ignorance. My ignorance keeps me silent. I am anxious to have a magistrate. I do not know how to keep him; we are too poor. Whether other magistrates are or are not placed in the country, I should like to have one. But I wish to know what I shall have to do for my part when I have a magistrate. I am ignorant. I do not know. Shall I remain chief of the tribe if a magistrate comes and assists us and sets us straight? Will he remain with us or leave us, and shall we then have to govern ourselves? We are too poor to pay for a magistrate.'"

After some more conversation, Abraham Zwaartbooi declared that they must have time to make up their minds, and that he would write to the Commissioner expressing his views. Write accordingly he did, but, as will be seen, the questions in which he and his people were interested were decided without any particular reference to their wishes.

Okahandja was reached again, by way of Otjimbingue, on the 27th July, and on the 29th was held the first of a series of meetings which constitute the central episode of Mr. Palgrave's narrative. Addressing the assembled chiefs, Mr. Palgrave informed them that he wanted an answer to the message he had delivered a few weeks before. "When I delivered that message," he said, "you will remember that I told you that it was part of my instructions from the Government to make myself acquainted as much as possible with both the country and the people, so that I might advise the Government how far it will be practicable for them to render you assistance in the event of your asking for it." Proceeding then to refer to the letter of 1872, Mr. Palgrave informed his audience that he presumed the letter was written because the people wished the Government of the colony to keep its eye on them, and that the Government had in consequence kept its eye on them, and kept many undesirable people out of their country. Then came an allusion to the second letter—the letter of 1874—expressing alarm at the arrival of some Boers, and leading, according to Mr. Palgrave, the Governor of the Cape to consider whether the Damaras were worth protecting. As

the result of this deliberation, a Commissioner was sent, "not so much to warn you," said Mr. Palgrave, "of the dangers that threatened you, as to ascertain to what extent you were cognisant of them; and, by becoming conversant with your opinions, your hopes and fears, take counsel with you, and learn from your own lips how your independence and your country could best be preserved to you."

After discussing the matter a little further, and referring to the reasons that led to his being appointed Commissioner, Mr. Palgrave proceeded to give his advice in words that must be quoted. As he is his own reporter, there can be no question as to the trustworthiness of the report.

"Perhaps it would be as well for me to point out the only means, in my opinion, of averting the dangers that threaten you.

"You must place the Colonial Government in such a position that it can, when necessary, interfere on your behalf.

"The Government might send some one to live with you, who could watch over your interests, and there is no power that would not respect the dignity and position of such a person, *unless it was wished to make war with us;* so that you see your safety might be ensured by the residence of even one man in your country if the Government would send such a one.

"If the Government does assist you, you must not think that nothing is expected from you. You must not suppose that you are to remain no better than you are now.

"You are to be civilised, and if the Government thought you were incapable of being civilised they would have nothing to do with you; and bear in mind that would be the great work of the man the Government would send to you.

"Perhaps you think that the man sent to you will not take notice of what you do, or will shut his eyes to your faults; but if you think so you are mistaken.

"You might ask the Government, if you like, to send you a blind man, who cannot see what you do, and let the man be deaf also, that he may not hear if you do wrong, so that you may do as you please; but the Government, as you know, would not listen to your application.

"But ask the Government to send you a man who will not shut his eyes to your faults, a man who will advise you and attend to your temporal wants, as the missionaries look after your spiritual wants; a man who will have patience with you and teach you gradually the advantages of having principles of law and order fairly established; a man who will assist you and show you how to preserve your country, and I am sure the Government will give your application every consideration."

What chance there was of the assembled chiefs understanding the real meaning of this eloquent address there is no means of imagining. It was translated to them, it may be presumed, sentence by sentence, by a missionary and a trader, who in all probability followed their natural instincts far enough to give the benefit of the doubt against the interests of the Damaras when any delicate question of rendering arose. How far, for example, did the chiefs understand that the latter part of this address was only a friendly expression of Mr. Palgrave's opinion, and not a command from the

Government he represented? What meaning did they attach to the warning that they "were to be civilised"? The meaning which Mr. Palgrave attached to the expression, as well as the meaning of his description of the sort of man who ought to be sent to them, will be seen immediately. In the meantime, let it be noted that up to this point the explanations made indicate nothing but a benefit to be conferred on the Damaras, the only return for which was to be looked for in their becoming "civilised."

Kamaherero, of course, at the close of this address asked for time to consider, and the further discussion of the subject was adjourned for a month, in order, so it was said, that chiefs living at a distance might be consulted. There may, however, have been reasons why such a postponement was convenient to both sides. Mr. Palgrave states, with regard to his own employment of the intervening time, that he was occupied in explaining "at various places" the "general nature and tendency of our laws, and the responsibilities of those who live under them," and that on his return to Okahandja he found the chiefs "already discussing the terms of their request." It must not, however, be supposed that the end he had in view was being neglected in his absence. The Damaras were being taught their lesson, and as their instructors were the ultimate interpreters of their wishes, it is clear that they had every chance of expressing themselves entirely to Mr. Palgrave's satisfaction. This is what Kamaherero said on the 4th of September, 1876, the Rev. H. Brincker and Mr. R. Lewis acting as interpreters as before:—

"'I have nothing to speak about except the answer I have to give to you. I have not much to say, but what I do say is the message you must take to the Governor, and what I say all say. I wish to tell the Governor that I want some one to be the head of our country, and I wish you to be that head.

"'The Portuguese are our enemies, the Boers are our enemies, and the Griquas are our enemies; and so if I give myself over to the protection of your Government, I do not wish to have a stranger, and as we know you I wish to have you.

"'This is what I have to say at present. Anything else I have to speak about I will say on your return; and if it is that the British Government will aid and protect us, and you return, I wish you to live with and near me. My reason for this is that if I am in trouble and require aid and advice, I wish you not to be too far. If you are far from me and I want your advice, I may have to go through hunger and thirst to reach you, and that would not do, and so I want you by me that you may know my troubles and necessities when they arise. I have said what I have to say. What more I have to say I will consider while you are still here, and tell you before you go. . . . . When you return I will go all through the country with you, and point out the residences of the magistrates.'"

In the same strain spoke the chief Aponda, giving utterance, however, to the very suspicious sentiment that "justice and the Scriptures are one and the same thing." So, also, spoke Umtate, on behalf of the old chief Therawa, who was too ill to attend. The three signatories of the letter of 1874 had, therefore, followed up

their general representations with a specific request, and the satisfaction which it gave to Mr. Palgrave to sit and listen to their words may easily be imagined. It was, he told them, a great day for Damaraland. They must not, however, he went on to say, dictate to the Government as to who was to be sent. "Instead of what you have said, say that you would like to have Mr. Palgrave sent to you, if it can be so arranged." There was another thing to which Mr. Palgrave objected—the proposition that the residences of the magistrates were to be pointed out on his return. After all, he reminded the chiefs, the Government might not send any one, and this consideration should induce them to leave nothing unsaid to induce the Government to assist them in the way they wished. And then comes a curiously significant paragraph:—

"The next hour was taken up by the discussion among themselves as to what ground should be placed at the disposal of the Government, when the Special Commissioner adjourned the meeting until the following day, to give them further time to consider the matter amongst themselves."

They had learnt their lesson remarkably well. Not a word had been said to them by Mr. Palgrave about magistrates or ground, yet these two most desirable propositions, from the colonial point of view, were already floating about among them. The next day the duties of the "magistrate"—it had been agreed that there was to be only one for the present—were discussed, and the understanding arrived at that if a "magistrate" were sent, he was to have jurisdiction only in those cases in which a foreigner and a Damara were concerned. He was, in fact, to have much the same authority as a consul. This arrangement gave Kamaherero considerable relief. He admitted that until then he had believed he was to part with the greater portion of his authority, and that, although he agreed, he found it hard to do so. The argument employed, and doubtless hourly dinned into him, to induce him to consent to arrangements distasteful to himself, must be clearly borne in mind. "The Portuguese are our enemies, the Boers are our enemies, the Griquas are our enemies." The only way of saving themselves was to throw themselves upon British protection, so that some one might be sent to live with them. For had not Mr. Palgrave told them that the presence of one such man in the country would compel every power to respect their interests, unless it was wished to make war upon the British Government?

The Resident, then, was to have consular and not strictly magisterial functions; and it did not occur to Mr. Palgrave to explain to the chiefs the exact position, under international law, which this resident would occupy in respect of the enemies of the Damara state. He had far more important matters to talk about.

"*Special Commissioner*—'Now, have you thought how you are to pay those who are sent to assist you. When I tell the Governor that you want magis-

trates he will ask how you will pay for them. I have been told that you propose setting aside a part of your country for the purpose, and that is a very good plan indeed. Are you ready to say what you have set aside? And then you must bear in mind that years may go by before even the value of an ox is obtained from the ground, so you must be prepared to give money from your pockets.'

"It was then intimated that they had not quite decided on the extent of the 'Reserve.'

"Special Commissioner, continued—'It seems you are not yet prepared, so you must go back to your werft and decide. I cannot go down to the Governor and deliver half a message.'"

The meeting was adjourned for four days, and of what passed during those four days there is, of course, no record. On the 9th of September, 1876, the chiefs declared that they were quite ready. They had set aside a tract of country for a "Reserve" for their Government, and were willing to pay besides. The chiefs would collect taxes among themselves, and if it was not sufficient, they hoped the Governor would lend them money until such time as enough revenue could be raised from the "Reserve." And then they called upon Mr. Lewis to describe their boundaries, and the boundaries of the portion they wished to set aside for a "Reserve." In order to make the meaning of what follows perfectly clear, the length of each line in miles has been inserted:—

"Mr. Lewis then described the boundaries as follows, the Rev. H. Brincker interpreting to the Damaras:—From the Atlantic Ocean in a line parallel with the latitude of, and to Rehoboth (145 miles); thence in a straight line to Otjimbinde (270 miles); thence in a straight line northerly to Otjiondarmie in the Omuramba Ovambo (225 miles); thence along the Omuramba Ovambo, by Ondera and Onondava and Etosha westward, skirting the boundaries of the Ovambo, Ovangandjera and Okaruthie to the Cunene River (450 miles); thence down the Cunene River to its mouth (90 miles); and thence southerly along the coast to the point opposite Rehoboth (460 miles).

"The boundaries of the country which the Damaras occupy and wish to be their 'commonage' are as follows:—From Rehoboth to Otjimbinde (270 miles); thence to Okatcheru and Otjituo (195 miles); thence westerly to Otjahevita (120 miles); thence along a line which shall embrace the country at present occupied by Kamaretti to Okothondje, on the Omaruru River (very vague, but according to Mr. Palgrave's map 175 miles); from thence down the Omaruru River to a point twenty or twenty-five miles east of Erongo; thence in a straight line to Otjimbingue; and thence to Rehoboth (according to the map, which does not agree with the above description, 140 miles from Okothondje to Rehoboth)."

In order fully to understand the meaning of the above arrangements, a map would be necessary. It will be enough, however, to say that the Damaras are left with a small square tract in the centre of the country admittedly their own, and to make plain the extent to which they were robbed by quoting Mr. Palgrave's figures:—

"In round numbers it may be stated that Damaraland has an area of 100,000 square miles. Of these 20,000 may be struck out as useless or unknown, coast desert, and other barren tracts; 35,000 square miles are taken

up for commonage, and of the remaining 45,000 square miles, one-third should be set aside for the occupation of Berg Damaras and Bushmen, and those Namaquas who at the present time are recognised inhabitants of the country."

Let us see, then, what had been done, and for what professed purpose. Ostensibly in order to provide support for a single magistrate, who was to exercise some sort of consular functions, the Damaras gave up at one stroke some thirteen-twentieths of their territory, resigning all control over other tribes—such as the Berg Damaras and Zwaartbooi Namaquas—who resided within their boundaries; and—for this is a matter of some considerable importance—put the British Government in possession of country between the eighteenth parallel of latitude and the Cunene River, which, by treaty, was under Portuguese jurisdiction. The protection of the Damaras was the ostensible ground of this cession of territory. Whether it was the real ground, whether the Colonial Government cared for the Damaras at all, may be judged of by the manner in which Mr. Palgrave proceeds to speak of the disposal of the "Reserve." Farms, he says, for at least 400 families might be found in the 30,000 square miles remaining, some of them with sufficient water to serve as sites for villages. Pasturage suitable for oxen was everywhere abundant, and while the northern part of the country was too richly grassed for sheep or goats, there were patches of considerable extent resembling the "karroo" in the Cape Colony, on which "it was already in contemplation to place the merino." Speaking of the country known as "the Kaoko," in North-Western Damaraland, Mr. Palgrave asserts that it is a regular cattle-breeding country, which ought, when its waste pastures were utilised, to supply four or five thousand head of cattle annually to the colonial market. He is, indeed, at a loss to understand why the Damaras, who held it for many years, abandoned it for the less healthy plains they now desired "to retain for their exclusive use." It would not be difficult to guess how any desire on the part of the Damaras to retain possession of "the Kaoko" was nipped in the bud in their discussions on the extent and boundaries of the Reserve, nor is it, after this, difficult to understand why the Zwaartbooi Namaquas, who had expressed a wish to be located in the Kaoko, were told to remain where they were. After dwelling on the extreme probability of rich mineral deposits being found in the Kaoko, Mr. Palgrave says:—

"But metals and minerals are not of any greater account to the future welfare of the country than the trade with the interior tribes, which must grow more and more important as the 'Reserve' becomes occupied *by a population in which the European element is certain to predominate.*"

Ostrich feathers and ivory, Mr. Palgrave asserts, would be the objects of an extensive trade, and adds that, even as he was writing, a Mr. Eriksson had gone towards the north-west to open commercial

relations, and, no doubt, to find a market for a superfluous stock of guns and powder. Will it surprise any one to learn that a partner of this Mr. Eriksson's was one of the most active agents in the work of hoisting the British flag at Walwich Bay?

The whole story is thus complete. There is no need to quote at length the letter to the Governor of the Cape Colony, signed by Kamaherero and his subordinate chiefs, humbly asking his Excellency to make it known everywhere that the sea boundary of their country was in his possession. There is little need to allude to the words of "encouragement and hope" which were addressed to the chiefs, after the act of robbery had been consummated, by the interpreting missionary, the Rev. H. Brincker—words to which the Damaras are said to have returned answer that they were now perfectly easy in their minds. Enough has been said to show the character and aim of the whole proceedings, and the nature of the means employed to obtain possession, under false pretences, of the territory of an ignorant and confiding people. That a copy of Mr. Palgrave's report was not sent home to the Colonial Office, to be included in a Parliamentary Blue Book, will, after what has been said, cause no great surprise. What will cause surprise is that Sir Bartle Frere, in the dispatch recommending the practical annexation of the whole country south of the Portuguese boundary and west of the Transvaal, should not have expressed some opinion on the utter nefariousness of Mr. Palgrave's proceedings.

The subsequent meetings with the chiefs of other tribes, and the means employed to bring them into the same condition of reliance on British magistrates and British authority, need not be gone into. It is sufficient to say that to those who seemed likely to be recusant the threat of their being left to themselves to struggle against an imaginary Boer invasion was always held out. In these threats the missionaries are found in every case siding against their coloured flock, reminding them, as the Rev. Mr. Schroeder did at Windhoek (the residence of Jan Jonker and his Afrikaaners) of "their helpless condition," and warning them to be "very careful how they treated the kind proposals of the Government." How these proposals were really regarded may be gathered from the letter of one Jacobus Isaak, a Namaqua chief living at Berseba. "When," he says, "an English resident comes here to support us, and to assist us in all the political affairs of the land, and does not deprive us of our land, or of our capacity as captains, so far on this condition I accept the proposals. But if I was to be subservient to the Resident I see no existence for us." He had some reason for saying this. "I dread, if I am to tell you the truth, to accept the proposal, *for already in Little Namaqualand* (south of the Orange River) *it began thus, and to-day they are English; also the same with Griqualand West.*" There is the

history of years of spoliation and injustice in these few words. And there is, too, a pretty plain intimation of the feeling of distrust which such injustice has created.

The country—the "Reserve"—given by the Damaras was not, after all, made the subject of wholesale annexation. For reasons which were doubtless stated in Lord Carnarvon's confidential dispatch, Sir Bartle Frere's recommendation for the immediate annexation of the whole coast-line from the Orange River to the Portuguese boundary was not acted on. Only over the little strip of sandy waste round Walwich Bay is the British flag flying, and under its shelter, by latest accounts, Mr. Palgrave was building himself a substantial residence. But that the scheme will some day again be set on foot there can be little doubt. Both parties in the Colonial Legislature are interested in carrying out the plan originally suggested. It was by Mr. Molteno's party—at present the Opposition—that Mr. Palgrave was appointed "Trans-Gariep Commissioner," and it is hardly likely that the party now in power will be less eager to see the limits of the colony extended. And if ever a desire for such extension of territory was utterly inexcusable, it is in the case under discussion. Not only has the Cape Colony on its northern side the most perfect "scientific frontier" ever laid down by art or by nature, but within that boundary it has thousands of square miles of territory practically unoccupied, and waiting to be brought under the influence of that "civilisation" of which Mr. Palgrave was the harbinger to the confiding Damaras.

There is yet one more consideration which will appear to some of even greater importance than the question of the treatment of native tribes by British Governments. Are we to regard Portugal as an African Russia—as a power continually, as it has been the habit to assert with regard to Russia, pushing on its frontier to meet our own? And are we to adopt in Africa, for similar ends, that "forward" policy which has proved so disastrous in Asia? It is clear that, if the "Reserve," as conceded by the Damaras, had been annexed as was at first intended, British authority would have been brought into immediate, and possibly unfriendly, contact with Portuguese authority, which extends a considerable distance to the south of the Cunene River. Or is the situation to be reversed, and is England to become in very deed to Portugal in Africa what she has been taught to complain that Russia is to herself in India? Sir Bartle Frere, one of the acknowledged designers of the "forward" policy in India, has made no secret of his desire to see British protection extended "from the Cape of Storms to Guardafui." The policy which he typified is, it is true, for the moment discredited. But there is no very good reason for believing that it is dead and buried.

F. Reginald Statham.

JOMINI, MOREAU, AND VANDAMME.

One day, early in 1806, the Emperor Napoleon, being then the temporary occupant of the imperial castle of Schönbrunn, in the outskirts of Vienna, chanced—a most uncommon thing with him—to find himself at leisure. The crowning victory of Austerlitz had been won not many days before, and the defeated forces of the allied Russians and Austrians were still further demoralised by the rapid manœuvres of the French Emperor, commenced after the battle with a view to forcing his enemies to make peace upon his terms. Napoleon, like a few other historical soldiers of the highest type—such, for instance, as Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, and Julius Cæsar, among the ancients, or Cromwell, Marlborough, and Frederick the Great, among the moderns—was even greater as diplomatist than as a general. In the tranquillity of his study at Schönbrunn—the favourite room of the dispossessed Austrian Emperor—he foresaw that peace must inevitably result from the work achieved by him during the last few weeks, and with the restless activity of mind which, up to 1810, was his most marked characteristic, he turned to Maret, who was not yet Duke of Bassano, exclaiming, "You have nothing to do; come, read me a few pages from that work sent to me at Austerlitz by Ney, and written by one of his staff officers." Maret took up the book with regret, for, as he afterwards confessed to its author, he could no more understand it than if it had been the cabalistic volume of a magician. Before he had read many pages the Emperor stopped him with the ejaculation, "Don't tell me that the age is not advancing. Here, for instance, is a young *chef de bataillon,* and, what is worse, a Swiss, who teaches us what no professors ever made me learn, and what, moreover, very few generals understand." As Maret proceeded with his reading the astonishment of the Emperor knew no bounds. Presently it was succeeded by an ebullition of anger. "How on earth," he demanded, "could Fouché allow such a book to be printed? Why, it is calculated to teach my system of war to all my enemies. It must be seized, and I will at once take steps to prevent its further circulation." Maret pointed out to him that it was impossible to suppress the book, as its publishers were sure to have distributed many dozen copies among their friends as presents, while another hundred or two must have found their way to Germany—a country with a greedy appetite for such works. After a few moments' reflection the Emperor said, "Perhaps I attach too much importance to this publication. The old generals who command against me read nothing, and will not

profit by its lessons, while young soldiers who read it will never be trusted with a command for years to come."

The work in question was the *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*, written by Antoine Henri Jomini when he was in his twenty-second year. Many capable judges (and among them Sir Archibald Alison and M. le Colonel Charras) have expressed the opinion that Jomini, as a writer, had no superior among those who took part in the Napoleonic wars upon either side. It is true that Jomini had none of the fire which inspired Sir William Napier, and that he lacked the grace of style which distinguished the memoirs of Ségur, and in a less degree of Marshal Marmont. But it is certain that none of his contemporaries, excepting Napoleon himself, possessed in a higher degree that keenness and breadth of sight, and also that grasp of military detail, which go to the formation of a consummate strategist. As is usual with men of his type Jomini was a prig, without tact, with no idea of managing men, and with a self-consciousness and irritability fatal to success in the field or the council of war. He had not the art of winning friends, while his abilities and quickness of perception raised him up a host of enemies among the officers at his side. But, given certain conditions of warfare, no man was quicker in discovering what it was possible for a commander to achieve, or what were the tactics to which his antagonist could, and probably would, have recourse. To those who have a taste for the study of war the career and character of such a man as Jomini can never be without transcendent interest, and more so than ever in these days when armies, consisting of many hundred thousands of men, and perfectly prepared for immediate action, are moved with the precision of clock-work, and when the fate of campaigns is decided in a few days, so as to make irreparable the errors which arise from unscientific ignorance or from national unreadiness. Few of the sciences, indeed, are so exciting as that which relates to military matters, nor are there any which can in an equal degree command the attention of all sections of the community. The destinies of nations as well as the lives of individuals depend upon it, and at the same time it satisfies the aspirations of the hot-headed adventurer and of the deep thinker. Within its confines theory and imagination find scope for the wildest flights of hypothesis; nor are the abstract calculations of the cold reasoner excluded from its field of survey. The military art unites every variety of knowledge, embracing, by means of fortification and artillery, the sciences of physics and mathematics; by means of administration, the political, economical, and judicial sciences; and, by means of proclamations, of orders of the day, and, above all, of the history of military events, affording opportunities for the fullest display of literary ability.

Among the many Helvetians who elected to serve under a foreign flag

to satisfy their military ardour, several rose to high positions in their adopted country; but the most celebrated of them all was Antoine Henri Jomini, who served in thirteen campaigns, and acted as adviser to the greatest monarchs of Europe during the most momentous events of modern times. No career is better qualified to exemplify the vicissitudes experienced by the Swiss mercenaries than that of the young battalion-commander, who at the early age of twenty was already in the first rank of military writers, and who, through love of his vocation, served as a volunteer in the army of Napoleon. In that capacity he was present at the capture of Ulm—which involved the surrender of the whole Austrian army—at Jena, at Eylau, and at the Beresina, and finally at Bautzen, where he rendered signal services to France, and in return was rewarded by humiliation and insults. Notwithstanding the treatment he had received from the French, nothing would induce him to give up a profession for which he felt himself designed; but when at last he found that he had no longer a chance of obtaining justice under the tricolour of France, he resolved, in 1813, to enter the service of Russia, in which, though called upon to fight at once against his old comrades in arms, he continued to fulfil his new duties with the same zeal and devotion which had always distinguished him when fighting by their side. Indeed, the single-mindedness and patriotism with which Swiss soldiers when serving under a foreign flag never forgot the country which gave them birth, could not be better illustrated than by the services which General Jomini rendered to Switzerland at Leipzig, at Weimar, and at Frankfort. His nationality stood in the way of his becoming either a Frenchman or a Russian, and in either case he would have spared himself an infinity of insults and annoyances. His ability as a strategist often afforded him opportunities of rendering important services either in council or in the field; but the fact that he was an alien was thrown in his face, causing his advice often to be neglected, and excluding him from all chance of preferment, however merited.

Although Jomini was never in actual command of an army, yet it fell to his lot as chief of the staff to be responsible as counsellor and director of many material operations. In this capacity (as so often happens in war) the blame due to the faults of others was often heaped upon his head, while the praise due to his prudence and sagacity was in many cases unduly accorded to others. Finally, his enemies, discovering that his services were too eminent to be ignored, had recourse to the expedient of putting him under arrest for alleged neglect of details, aggravating the disgrace by mentioning his name in general orders as a chief of the staff who had failed in his duty. Stung to the quick by the undeserved outrage inflicted upon him in return for his distinguished conduct at Bautzen, he resolved to quit the service

of a country which did not appreciate his talents, and in which the malice of powerful enemies exposed him to perpetual injustice. This step, although it has been severely criticised, appears to have been justified by the treatment he received in France, and was not censured even by the susceptible and fault-finding Napoleon. By some Jomini was called a deserter; but this he could hardly have been, as, not being a Frenchman by birth or naturalisation, he resigned his French commission to accept service under the Emperor of Russia, owing to his deep love for the military profession.

Thus far I have traced the career of Jomini in outline, and it now remains to follow it more in detail. This celebrated general and military writer was born at Payerne, a small town in the Canton de Vaud, on the 6th March, 1779. His father held the position of syndic of his native town, a position which corresponds to that of mayor in France and England. His family was of Italian origin, but had been settled in Switzerland for many years. From the very first his tastes were essentially military, even his toys consisting of guns, drums, and other martial objects. It is related of him that he used to drill his schoolfellows, and hold reviews and sham-fights. At the age of thirteen his parents began to think about choosing a career for him, but he promptly announced his intention of becoming a soldier. With this object in view, they tried to get him into the military school at Montbéliard, founded by the Prince of Würtemberg. But the school was about this time transferred to Stuttgart, so that Jomini had to give up all hopes of entering it. Some other attempts were made to start him upon his chosen career, but from one reason or another they were abortive. He then consented reluctantly to go into business, and was sent to a school at Aaran to learn French and to receive a commercial education. At the age of sixteen he was admitted as clerk to a bank in Bâle, where he had to pay a heavy premium, and was set to copy letters without having a chance to learn business. Finding that he was wasting his time, Jomini accepted an offer made to him by M. Mosselmann, a banker in Paris. His salary was to start at 3,000 francs a-year, and in point of fact was doubled in a twelvemonth. But the young Swiss wished to set up in business on his own account, and went accordingly into partnership with a countryman of his own as an exchange agent. Just at this time the armies of the French Republic, under the leadership of Napoleon, were gaining the glorious victories of Montenotte, Lodi, and Castiglione, in Italy, and Paris was in ecstasies over the exploits of the brilliant young captain who was destined subsequently to be the Dictator of Europe. Jomini shared in the general excitement, and all his early military aspirations revived within him. In 1798 the new Helvetian Republic was organized, and a Swiss officer, named Keller, was appointed Minister of War to the young

State. On his way to assume the duties of his new post, Keller happened to pass through Paris, when Jomini managed to obtain an interview with him, and persuaded him to accept him as an aide-de-camp. On their arrival in Switzerland, however, they found that Keller had been replaced in his post by M. Réponel, and consequently Jomini was again disappointed in his hopes of a military career.

Nothing daunted, he presented himself to the new Minister, and after relating the circumstances connected with his arrival in Switzerland, made an offer of his services. After some delay they were accepted, and Jomini was appointed chief secretary to the War Department, with the rank of captain. Here he worked hard at the military organization of the Republic, and drew up a plan for a consolidated Swiss army, to take the place of the numerous regiments maintained by the various cantons, each of which had its separate uniform and method of drill. In short, Jomini became to the new Helvetian Republic what Carnot was to its French sister. At this time he was only twenty years old. He retained his post in the Swiss War Ministry till after the Peace of Lunéville in 1801, when, by reason of civil commotions, he was obliged to resign. He went back to Paris, and resumed his commercial career by taking a share in a large manufactory of warlike accoutrements. But his military tastes would not permit him to adhere to a commercial life, and accordingly, in 1803, he left it to devote himself for good and all to the study of the art of war. He made an attempt to obtain the post of aide-de-camp to General Von-der-Weidt, who had entered the French service, but was unsuccessful. He tried next to enter the Russian service, and with that object in view took the first volume of his *Traité des grandes opérations militaires* to the Russian chargé d'affaires, M. Oubril, who received him very ungraciously. Although twice rebuffed, Jomini was not discouraged, and when Ney arrived from Switzerland to be present at Napoleon's coronation, he took his manuscript to him. Ney was much impressed by the work, and advanced him some money towards getting it printed. Ney afterwards offered to take Jomini with him to the camp at Boulogne as a volunteer, promising to have him made an A.D.C. later on. Accordingly he took his departure for the camp, where he passed the year 1805.

Events, however, were soon to happen calculated to give Jomini—then aged twenty-six—an opportunity of showing the stuff of which, mentally and physically, he was made. In the September of 1805 Ney's corps was suddenly ordered to Ulm, and naturally his volunteer aide-de-camp accompanied him. At the end of September 180,000 French troops, commanded by Napoleon himself, were concentrated on the right and front of the Austrians, who, under Mack, were posted on the Danube, with their left at Ulm, and their right

near Donanwerth. Napoleon disposed his forces so as to capture the whole of the Austrian army. The corps of Bernadotte and that of Marmont were to cross the Danube at Ingolstadt and Neuburg, and to throw themselves across the direct line of retreat on Vienna. At the same time the main body of the army under Napoleon was to pass the Danube at Donanwerth, to crush the Austrian right, and, by seizing the line of the Lech, to complete the environment of the enemy.

Marshal Ney's corps, the sixth, had a very difficult part to perform. It fell to their duty to watch the road from Ulm to Ratisbon on the left bank of the Danube, in order to prevent the Austrians from seizing it, in which case they would be able to retreat at their ease through Bohemia, and to join the Russians, who were in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Ney was reinforced by the divisions of Baraguay d'Hilliers and of Gazan, which brought the total of his corps to about 30,000 men. Murat was in command of the right wing, and owing to a mistake on his part, Napoleon's dispositions were on the point of being rendered futile. Evidently not understanding the reason why Ney's corps was kept on the Danube, Murat gave orders for it to move on to Iller, so as to prevent the Austrians from retreating by way of Tyrol. This manœuvre would of course leave a line of retreat open through Bohemia. Ney, however, by Jomini's advice, wrote a letter remonstrating with Murat about his order, and pointing out the danger of leaving the left bank of the Danube unwatched. Of this letter Murat took no notice, so Ney had no choice but to obey orders. Luckily, however, a whole day had been gained, and Ney had scarcely commenced his march to the Iller, when he heard the sound of cannon behind him, which proceeded from 30,000 Austrians who had attacked Dupont's division on the left bank of the Danube, and were trying to force their way through an intercepting body of only 7,000 men. Such, however, was the obstinacy with which Dupont maintained his resistance, that Ney, again by Jomini's advice, had time "to march to the cannon," and, by reinforcing Dupont, to stop a second attack of the Austrians. If Prince Murat's orders had been at once obeyed, the Austrians, finding the left bank of the Danube unguarded, would have quietly made for Bohemia, destroying the bridges behind them, and thus the whole plan of the campaign would have been frustrated. The mistake having been repaired, Mack, after the battles of Elchingen, Albeck, and Michelsburg, was shut up and captured at Ulm with 30,000 men. In these combats Jomini gave proofs that he possessed great personal courage as well as great strategical acumen. But it is more material to repeat the following remarks of Sir A. Alison in his *History of Europe*:—"A spectacle took place on the following day unparalleled in modern warfare, and sufficient

to have turned the strongest head. On that memorable morning (October 20, 1805) the garrison of Ulm, 30,000 strong, with 60 pieces of cannon, marched out of the gates of the fortress to lay down their arms." It was reserved, however, for France subsequently to throw Ulm into the shade by affording opportunity for the occurrence of the three prodigious calamities which overtook her arms at Metz, Sedan, and Paris in 1870 and 1871. Nevertheless, the capture of Ulm is always mentioned by the panegyrists of Napoleon as the most convincing proof of his consummate ability; and it has just been shown that the campaign which ended in the triumph at Ulm would undoubtedly have miscarried but for the clear prescience of Jomini, who kept Ney and Murat on the track of their duty as the Emperor, their master, had laid it down for execution.

At the beginning of October, 1806, Ney's corps was ordered to proceed towards Nuremberg, and Jomini, to his great astonishment, received instructions to repair to Mayence, and there to await the arrival of Napoleon. On reaching Mayence he learnt that the Emperor had also just arrived, when he hastened to present himself at the archbishop's palace, where Napoleon had established his head-quarters. He was at once admitted to the Emperor's presence, who, after complimenting him on his treatise, informed him that he was to remain in his suite. Jomini represented to him that his horses and equipages were with Ney's corps, and requested four days' leave to fetch them, adding that he would rejoin him at Bamberg. "At Bamberg," rejoined the Emperor; "and how do you know that I am going there?" Jomini answered, "Inasmuch as your Majesty intends, I presume, to execute the same manœuvre against the Prussian left that was executed by you against the Austrian right at Ulm, you must of necessity go through Bamberg." The Emperor replied testily that such was his intention, but charged Jomini to disclose this secret to no one. From this moment Napoleon understood Jomini's genius, and determined to make the best use of it. But the Emperor's ingrained and deep-seated jealousy, which made it impossible for him long to endure contact with a mind capable in some measure of fathoming his own, could hardly fail to expose Jomini, sooner or later, to his displeasure; and thus it happened that, not long after the battle of Jena—at which, by-the-bye, the young Swiss general had greatly added to his laurels—the Emperor was posing at Berlin in a part which he loved to assume, and for which his Italian *finesse* and adroitness in intrigue especially fitted him. Prussia was at that moment divided into two parties, of which the first and most powerful was for peace at any price; and the other, inspired chiefly by the indomitable Blucher, was for continuing the war. The astute Emperor played with both parties alternately, but was secretly resolved to try his victorious hand upon

the Russians, and, having entered Poland, to elevate it again into an independent kingdom. Among many others, Jomini clearly foresaw the dangers and difficulties of the contemplated measure, and, less politic and time-serving than the rest of his associates, had the courage to address a pamphlet to his overbearing chief, setting forth in masterly detail the disadvantages of entering Poland. This pamphlet—perhaps the best that ever came from Jomini's facile pen—was the ruin of his fortunes as a French soldier. Indignant that a subordinate should criticize his conceptions, the Emperor took an early opportunity of rebuking Jomini publicly, and when it subsequently became apparent that the campaign of Eylau was one of Napoleon's greatest mistakes, his antipathy to Jomini became uncontrollable. Nightfall, however, had hardly closed upon the ghastly struggle at Eylau, fought amidst blinding snow, before the Emperor, mastering his jealousy, gave abundant evidence that in Jomini he recognised those military instincts which no other general upon the field possessed in so eminent a degree, except Napoleon himself. As the *Petit Caporal* entered the bureau of the postmaster at Eylau, in which he was about to pass the night, he beckoned to Jomini, and between them a long *tête-à-tête* conference took place. Acknowledging that Jomini was right in the counsel he had given at Berlin, the Emperor reviewed the situation without reserve or equivocation, and we have Jomini's confession, made many years later to Bertrand, that never before or after had he been so struck by the iron courage and inexhaustible resource of his imperial companion. To fatigue, to hunger, to cold, to the natural craving for repose which overtakes all men after a long day's battle, Napoleon was utterly insensible, and upon leaving him, after a night passed in discussion, Jomini could not refrain from the admiring ejaculation, "Voilà un homme!" Morning came, and brought with it the sound of Ney's cannon as he burst upon the Russian right. "It was time," exclaimed the Emperor, transported with joy; and the Russians, alarmed at the arrival of French reinforcements, sullenly commenced their retreat. The battle of Friedland soon followed, and by re-establishing the ascendancy of the French Emperor, enabled him to conclude the Treaty of Tilsit. In his interesting memoirs Marmont tells us that at Tilsit Napoleon was at his apogee, and that thenceforward he began to indulge his appetite, to grow fat and heavy, to trust more to luck, or, as he phrased it, "to his star," and to disregard the patient calculations by which he had made himself the Dictator of Europe. The peace of Tilsit soon banished Jomini from his mind, and if he thought of him at all it was merely to remember that a foreigner had successfully criticized his plans before they were executed, and had been admitted to the knowledge, when the battle of Eylau was hanging in the balance, that it ought never to have been fought.

The Treaty of Tilsit, framed with admirable sagacity and much to his own advantage by the Emperor of the French, set him free to return to Paris, where, amidst unparalleled manifestations of public joy, he arrived upon July 27, 1807. Europe was at his feet, seeing that he had crushed Prussia, overawed Austria, and so weakened Russia that she was constrained to enter into a firm alliance with France. Napoleon seized the opportunity to establish a rigorous censorship of the press, to banish Madame de Staël and Madame de Récamier, and to strengthen the foundations of his dynasty by creating an aristocracy of his own. The titles of Prince, Duke, Count, Baron, and Chevalier were revived and scattered broadcast with profusion, but the only reward of which Jomini was deemed worthy was the cross of a Knight of the Legion of Honour. Conscious of his own deserts, Jomini felt acutely the ignoble jealousy of which he was the object on Napoleon's part, and the undying hostility manifested towards him by Berthier, then Duke of Neufchâtel, and afterwards Prince of Wagram. All the titles in the world would not have availed to make Berthier equal to Jomini in literary ability or in the comprehension of the military system of their common master, no less than in an intuitive perception of its errors and shortcomings. Justice at the hands of Napoleon was never likely to be forthcoming towards a foreign subordinate with independent powers of mind, and therefore Jomini became more than ever determined to find an employer to appreciate him. Many years, however, were still destined to pass before he was able to throw aside his French uniform. I have endeavoured to show that Jomini, although an irritable prig, was a book soldier of the best kind; and with him it may not be disadvantageous to contrast Jean Victor Moreau, who cared nothing for books, but was renowned for his tact and conciliatory manner in the field.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, the three greatest military figures of France were, undoubtedly, Napoleon, Masséna, and Moreau, of whom the last was born in 1763, five years later than Masséna, who first saw the light in 1758, and six years before the birth of Napoleon, which, like that of his most conspicuous antagonist, Wellington, took place in 1769. Most of the French generals of the Napoleonic era were of humble origin, but Jean Victor Moreau was the son of an advocate at Morlaise, in Brittany, and, thanks to the solicitude of an excellent father, received a first-rate legal education. The father himself perished upon the guillotine in 1794—a victim to the insensate suspicions of the Revolutionary committee at Brest, which condemned the worthy old man to death because he had undertaken to manage the properties of some aristocratic *émigrés* who had fled the country to save their lives. The wanton murder of his father changed Moreau's whole

nature, and led him to remark that thenceforward his only home would be in camp. Originally both father and son were mild Republicans in politics, but after 1794 the son lent his ear more readily to the cajolery of Napoleon, who, being well aware of his great military talents—which, nevertheless, according to his invariable custom, the Emperor never ceased publicly to decry—was determined to win him over as an adherent. It was not, however, until 1799, when Napoleon returned from Egypt, that Moreau consented to serve under the victor of Lodi and Arcola, and scarcely was this consent given before Moreau repented of his weakness, exclaiming that he was about to assist in imposing a tyrant upon his native country. Prior to 1799 he had seen many years of active service with ever-increasing distinction. In April, 1792, Austria declared war against France, and Moreau raised a company of volunteer gunners, and became their captain. His rare gifts of organization and of gaining the hearts of his soldiers were conspicuous from the first, and when at the close of the year he joined the army of Dumouriez, his ability was immediately recognised. In 1793 he was appointed general of a brigade, in 1794 of a division under Pichegru, for whom Moreau entertained the warmest affection, and whom, as commander of the right wing of the Republican army, he assisted materially in the victories over the Austrians which carried Pichegru and Jourdan in triumph to Brussels in the July of 1794.

But it was reserved for 1796 to display Moreau in his true colours, and the campaign which he conducted in that year against Austria has won for him the highest commendations from military writers, including his able opponent the Archduke Charles, than whom—Napoleon and Jomini alone excepted—there was in that stormy era no keener critic of warlike operations. The campaign commenced with a slight numerical superiority on the side of Austria.

In 1796 the great advantage of the Austrians in cavalry was a far more potential element of success than is now the case, when battles are never won, as at Marengo, by mounted soldiers. But each of the French commanders evinced ability of the highest kind, and Moreau's retreat through the valley of Neustadt, in the Black Forest, commonly called in local parlance the "Valley of Hell," was so ably conducted that—a sure proof of its merit—it was elaborately criticized and found fault with by Napoleon himself. The retreat was a series of conflicts, and when the Archduke Charles, having defeated Jourdan, turned with a far superior force upon Moreau, the destruction of the French army of the Rhine and Moselle seemed inevitable. Jomini, indeed, pronounces that had the Archduke been quicker in his movements when he got Moreau into the dangerous defile, of which the outlet was in the hands of the Austrians, there must have been a repetition of the Caudine Forks. So dexterous, however, were

the arrangements of the retreating general that, after fighting two considerable battles, he got safely back to the Rhine from the heart of Bavaria, having spent six months in his enemy's country.

The treaty of Campo Formio put a short stop to hostilities, which were resumed in 1799. It was at this moment that Napoleon put forth his matchless powers of persuasion to induce Moreau to serve under him, and each of the two consummate generals—*duo fulmina belli*—betook himself to Italy. Then followed, in 1800, two of the most critical victories ever won by French arms—Marengo and Hohenlinden. Each battle has been again and again reviewed by military writers, and by none more exhaustively than by Lanfrey in his recently published *History of Napoleon*. The verdict of posterity is that Marengo was lost by Napoleon and retrieved by Dessaix and Kellermann; that Hohenlinden was won exclusively by the genius of Moreau, admirably seconded by Richepanse. The French soldiers who had fought in either battle met in 1801 at Paris in friendly rivalry, but the victors of Hohenlinden were more generally popular than the victors of Marengo. From that moment Napoleon conceived an invincible antipathy to Moreau, although with characteristic dissimulation he presented his rival with a pair of richly chased pistols, regretting that he could not have Moreau's victories inscribed upon them, because they were too numerous.

The intrigues by which, availing himself from 1802 to 1804 of Moreau's lack of civil prudence, Napoleon set himself to get rid of his rival, have nowhere been so clearly unmasked as in the interesting *Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat*, which have just been published. Suffice it to say that Moreau was brought to trial for having been cognisant of the conspiracy in which Pichegru was the chief actor, and in 1804 the victor of Hohenlinden was forced to leave his native country. He sailed in 1805 from Cadiz for the United States, where he lived in tranquillity and much respected until 1813, when the Emperor Alexander of Russia, aware that he had no great captain of his own to pit against Napoleon, invited the exiled French general to return and take command of a Russian army. Moreau, then in his fifty-first year, accepted the invitation, and sailing from the United States landed at Stralsund, where he was received by another illustrious French commander, Bernadotte, whom the vicissitudes of an eventful career had arrayed in hostility to Napoleon. Together they proceeded to Prague, where they were received with enthusiasm by the Austrians and Russians, and in concert with Jomini, who had just left the French service, they put their heads together to devise a campaign for the Emperor Alexander. The Austrians, however, showed an unworthy reluctance to accept as generalissimo an Emperor who was guided in his military councils by Frenchmen, and at last the supreme command was intrusted to

Prince Schwartzenberg, who held it until the capture of Paris in the next year. Upon August 27th, 1813, there was fought at Dresden one of those tremendous battles which sufficiently proved Napoleon's unequalled mastery of the details by which great victories are won. The French army, one hundred and thirty thousand strong, had to encounter an allied force of one hundred and sixty thousand men; but the allied left, composed of raw Austrian troops, was separated by a precipitous defile from the main body. Instantly profiting by the mistake, Napoleon sent Murat to attack the Austrian left, which he turned and burst with his irresistible cavalry, twelve thousand strong, upon the rear. The rout was complete, and Napoleon then addressed himself to the Russian right, which he drove back upon its reserve. At this moment Moreau, conspicuous in front of a Russian division, was struck on the right knee by a cannon shot, which, passing through his horse, shattered his left leg also. Both legs were amputated, but mortification set in, and five days later he died. His embalmed body was carried to St. Petersburg, and buried with great pomp in the Catholic Church. His widow received a lump sum of £20,000, and a Russian pension of £1,200 a year; nor was there any dissent among his contemporaries from the opinion confirmed by the subsequent judgment of posterity —that France, however rich in great generals, had produced few abler fighting soldiers than Jean Victor Moreau. Marmont indeed proclaims with truth that "Moreau knew nothing of strategy. His skill displayed itself in tactics. Personally brave to a fault, he handled well, in presence of the enemy, troops occupying ground within the limits of his vision; but he delivered his principal battles with only a portion of his force." Such was also the verdict of Jomini; but the campaign of 1796, the passage of the Rhine in face of the enemy in 1797, and the battles of Biberach and of Hohenlinden, are sufficient to place Moreau on a very high pedestal. With all his falsifications of history at St. Helena, Napoleon could not deny that Moreau—whom he hated for many reasons, but especially because Moreau was bitterly opposed to the creation of the Legion of Honour, which he turned into ridicule—had no superior among his generals except Masséna, Dessaix, and Kleber, of whom the last two fell early in the wars of that convulsive period. Subsequent writers of all countries have ranked Moreau as inferior in the field to Napoleon alone. When Masséna met Wellington, and had to recoil from before the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras, the weight of years, acting upon a constitution naturally feeble and impaired by war, had begun to tell upon the French general, and, without detracting for a moment from Wellington's transcendent merits, Englishmen may, perhaps, be permitted to rejoice that their great commander had not, with far inferior strength, to face Moreau as generalissimo in Spain, with Jomini as his chief of staff, instead of

Masséna, Marmont, Soult, and King Joseph, acting separately. Indeed, Moreau and Jomini, serving thus together, would have been as formidable a pair as Blucher and Gneisenau.

While Moreau was an exile in the United States, Jomini continued to serve France with unflagging zeal, though uncheered by such loyal recognition of his merits as was ostentatiously accorded by Napoleon to far inferior soldiers. The Swiss general followed Ney as chief of his staff to Spain in 1808, and took part in the pursuit of the English army to the sea-coast in 1809, which ended in the battle of Corunna and in the death of Sir John Moore. The next eight months were devoted by Ney to a task for which he was wholly unfitted—the occupation, to wit, of the Asturias and of Gallicia, with the entire native population bitterly hostile to the French invaders. Jomini did his best to ally the jealousies subsisting between Soult and Ney; but the latter had become prejudiced, thanks to Berthier, against his chief of staff, who, nevertheless, was dispatched by Ney to Napoleon at Vienna, with a view to explaining why it was that Ney refused to serve under Soult. He performed this difficult office with singular fidelity to Ney, who requited him in his absence by appointing another to the vacant post of chief of the staff. It became obvious that nothing could preserve Jomini from repeated slights and insults, which culminated when he was ordered to report to Berthier, his persistent enemy, and to serve upon his staff—the last resort of all the most incapable and sickly officers in the French army.

At the moment General Czernischeff, A.D.C. to the Emperor of Russia, arrived in Paris, and renewed the offers made to Jomini in 1807 to enter the Russian service. Justly indignant at the scurvy treatment he had received, Jomini lent a willing ear to the tempter, and sent in his resignation to Berthier, which, as usual, was not accepted. The Russians were then at peace with France, and General Czernischeff hesitated to give Jomini a Russian commission before he was clear of his allegiance to the French Emperor. During the whole of this time Jomini was busily occupied with his writings, and having finished his treatise upon Frederic the Great's wars, addressed himself to those between France and Austria in 1794—95. Napoleon was well aware that Jomini's pen would have much to do with influencing the verdict of posterity, and persuaded him to write a history of the Italian campaigns in 1796 and 1800, promising that he would supply the necessary documents, which, however, were withheld by Berthier, who had himself undertaken the same job, and did not wish to be supplanted by Jomini. In 1812 the outbreak of the war between France and Russia found Jomini in a very delicate position. He was not yet free from his French uniform, and in his bureau at Paris a Russian commission was awaiting him. Unwilling to serve actively in the field against the Emperor Alexander, he

applied for and received the post of Governor of Wilna, and was subsequently appointed to the Governorship of Smolensko. Scarcely had he assumed the latter post when tidings reached him of the retreat from Moscow, and, with a fidelity and disinterestedness rare under similar circumstances, he posted with the utmost speed to the Beresina, in order to ascertain that the bridges were in order. At this critical moment he learnt that a fresh Russian army, under Tchichagoff, of which the very existence was unknown to Napoleon, had arrived from Turkey, and was approaching the scene of action. Tchichagoff, marching with the utmost celerity, fell upon Minsk, which he captured, together with its immense French magazines, and then proceeded to attack the fortified bridge over the Beresina at Borisow, which he took and burnt, thus cutting off the only remaining line of retreat for the grand army.

Justice has never been done by French historians to Jomini for the singular vigour which he then displayed. It was due to him, more than to any other, that while Victor and Oudinot held back Tchichagoff and Tormsoff, a new bridge was built over the Beresina at Studzianka, out of materials furnished by the wooden houses of the Russian village. Over this the remnant of the French army passed, with the exception of a vast mass of enfeebled stragglers and demoralised camp-followers, who were left to perish, when Victor—the last to cross—fired the bridge. Jomini's strenuous efforts, combined with the unparalleled severity of the Russian winter, brought on an attack of inflammation of the lungs, and at length he reached Paris, more dead than alive. He was confined to his bed for three months, and upon recovering was again appointed chief of the staff to Ney, and hastened to the front to take part in his last campaign as a soldier of France. So conspicuous were his services on the field of Bautzen in 1813, that Ney, with tardy justice, recommended him at last for the rank of general of division. But the hostility of Berthier was even yet unexhausted, and when Jomini, as chief of staff, was late in sending in his fortnightly returns, Berthier put him under arrest, and named him in general orders as having failed in his duty. The cup of his mortification was now full to overflowing, and when, for the fourth time, he sent in his resignation to Napoleon, it was at last accepted. Between them Napoleon and Berthier had driven an inexpressibly valuable officer, and perhaps the best military writer of this century, out of the service of that people which Napoleon, in his dying words, professed "to love so well;" and it is greatly to the credit of Jomini that, while freely criticizing the Napoleonic wars and their conduct on both sides, he never permitted himself subsequently to write a spiteful word against the greatest soldier that he had ever known.

In order to understand Napoleon aright, it is necessary to follow

the career of one of those coarse and reckless men—very different in nature from either Moreau or Jomini—whom the modern Alexander was specially sent into the world to fascinate and charm, and whom he himself designated as his corps of "âmes damnées." Among them it would be impossible to find a more strictly representative specimen than Dominique René Vandamme. Born in 1770, at Cassel, a little town in the north of France, situated between Lille and Dunkirk, Vandamme was the son of a surgeon, and was noted from his boyhood for a headstrong temper and an indomitable will. His natural bias was towards a soldier's life, and at sixteen he entered the military college of the Maréchal de Biron, one of many similar establishments which were at that time scattered over France, but which Napoleon, with his love of centralisation, absorbed into larger seminaries, such as those at Saumur and St. Cyr. Vandamme paid so little attention to his studies, and was so intolerant of restraint and of discipline, that his family, dreading his rebellious and insubordinate character, got him to enrol himself in a French colonial regiment, then serving at Martinique, and in 1788, when a boy of eighteen, he sailed from L'Orient for the West Indies. The experiment answered so well that he soon rose to the rank, first of corporal and then of sergeant; but, falling a prey to the passion for ardent republicanism, which was then beginning to diffuse itself through France, Vandamme obtained leave, in 1790, to return to the land of his birth, and was immediately chosen by his fellow-citizens at Cassel to command the company of grenadiers which constituted the contribution of his native town to the sedentary guard of the commune. Perceiving little chance in this capacity of being able to see active service, Vandamme entered the 24th regiment of the line as a common soldier in the summer of 1791, which regiment he left in the August of 1792 in order to raise at Cassel a fine company of *chasseurs francs*, of which he became captain. At the end of 1792 he was ordered with his company to Antwerp, as part of the garrison to which was confided the occupation of a town coveted at many stages of her aggressive history by France.

To follow Vandamme through the battles, skirmishes, campaigns, and sieges in which he took a prominent part is the task undertaken by his biographer, M. A. Du Casse, whose larger work, called the *Memoirs of King Joseph*, Napoleon's eldest brother, has gained credit with some as being a veracious chronicle, which is very far from being the case. But, audacious though the assertion be, no biographer ever yet attempted to whitewash his hero with less success than M. Du Casse, in the two volumes which he has devoted to the apotheosis of "the greatest blackguard in the French army," as Napoleon used to call Vandamme. That the said hero was per-

sonally intrepid and daring to the highest degree has never been denied; but M. Du Casse would fain persuade us that the son of the Cassel bone-setter was not remorselessly cruel, and also that, despite the reputation which he left behind him wherever he served, Vandamme was not so inveterate a pillager as Masséna, Victor, or Soult. But Vandamme, against whom as an unblushing marauder complaints were continually made throughout his career, was quick and ready with his pen, and never failed to send a plausible reply to his superior officer, exonerating himself from the acts laid to his charge. The French generals of the Napoleonic era were, almost without exception—Moreau and Marmont being honourably distinguished in this respect—"tarred with the same brush," and thus the exculpatory pleadings of Vandamme passed muster easily with his superiors. But, in addition, he was cunning enough to keep copies of his military correspondence, which M. Du Casse has "had the advantage of reading," and which the biographer returned to the great nephew of his hero with the singular commentary that "*Noblesse oblige!*" The *noblesse* of Napoleon's soldiers of all ranks may be inferred from a perusal of many thousands of volumes in which dispassionate observers of his wars have given their version of what passed under their eyes; but the *noblesse* of Vandamme was probably on a par with that of the thirty thousand *forçats* who constituted a third of Napoleon's army at the dreadful battle of Eylau. It is worthy of remark that most of M. Du Casse's attempts to vindicate Vandamme from the imputations of pillaging and plundering wherever he had a chance are made in a few brief foot-notes scattered here and there about a couple of volumes which together extend over more than a thousand pages.

The military life of Vandamme possesses little interest for the general reader until the September of 1797, when, as he himself put it, "he came into contact with his destiny." It was at the Congress of Rastadt, when the preliminaries of the Treaty of Campo Formio were under discussion, that Vandamme, aged twenty-seven, first encountered Napoleon, who was one year older, but who had already said, "On vieillit vite sur les champs de bataille." The ardent impressionable Frenchman fell in love at first sight with the sallow-faced, thoughtful, calculating Italian, who masked his selfishness under a fascinating and winning exterior, and who at this period of his career, when success had not intoxicated and brutalised him, was irresistible either to man or woman. "*Mon cher,*" said Vandamme a few years later to one of his comrades, "*ce diable d'homme, l'Empereur, exerce sur moi une fascination dont je ne puis me rendre compte; c'est au point que moi, qui ne crains ni Dieu ni diable, quand je l'approche, je suis prêt à trembler comme un enfant; il me ferait passer par le trou d'une aiguille pour aller me jeter au feu.*" On the other

hand, Napoleon remarked shortly after the battle of Austerlitz, "Vandamme is very precious to me, for if ever I have occasion to make war against the Infernal Regions, he is the only general I have who would be capable of tackling the devil."

The five most striking episodes in Vandamme's military career were (1) his passage in face of the Austrians of the Rhine at Kehl, at the head of the *avant garde* of the army of the Rhine and Moselle, commanded by Moreau, in 1797; (2) the brilliant part played by his division at Austerlitz; (3) his successful conduct of the sieges undertaken in the winter of 1806-7 by Napoleon against the Prussian fortresses of Glozau, Breslau, and Schweidnitz, all of which Vandamme terrified into capitulation by his effrontery rather than by the military resources at his disposal; (4) his disastrous defeat at Kulm; and (5) his characteristic proposal to march straight to Brussels, and to occupy it with the thirty-three thousand men under the command of Marshal Grouchy, when, upon June 19, 1815, the tidings of the utter defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo upon the preceding day were brought to the isolated body of Frenchmen who constituted the last army of *la grande nation* which served the mighty Emperor in the field.

Of these five episodes the most interesting to the student of Jomini's life is the fourth, which treats of Vandamme's defeat at Kulm, a defeat which led Napoleon to attribute incapacity, and even treachery, to his subordinate, when nothing is more certain than that by strictly obeying Napoleon's orders, and by not keeping touch of Marshal St. Cyr, Vandamme got into a scrape to which such temerity as his could alone have exposed him. The story is well and impartially told by M. Du Casse, and, unlike most of his military details, all of which err on the side of diffuseness, commends itself clearly to the reader's understanding. M. Du Casse shows us that, at the commencement of 1813, there were four hundred and thirty thousand men, consisting of Austrians, Russians, Prussians, Swedes, together with a sprinkling of English and Dutch troops, arrayed against Napoleon in the north of Europe, and that the French Emperor confronted his heterogeneous enemies with an *ensemble* of about three hundred and forty thousand men. The battle of Dresden, in which, as I have elsewhere said, Napoleon put forth his choicest powers, was fought upon the 26th of August, and it was the Emperor's aim to throw Vandamme, supported by St. Cyr, and with the Duc de Previse (Mortier) in attendance, across the retreating lines of the Russians and Prussians at Toplitz. With characteristic *élan*, Vandamme, who was striving to win the *bâton* of a marshal, which but for his evil reputation as an incorrigible plunderer would long ago have been his, pressed forward with the first division, thirty thousand strong, upon the Russians, who, trembling lest their retreat

should be cut off, turned round to face a pursuer insignificant in numbers, but overflowing with enthusiasm. Just as the Russians, upon August 29, were driving back the French, a Prussian force struck Vandamme upon the flank and rear; and, surrounded upon all sides, he was himself made prisoner, and lost about nine thousand men in killed, wounded, and captives. It was upon being brought face to face with the Emperor Alexander that Vandamme, bitterly reproached by him as a robber and murderer, calmly replied, "All this may be true, sire, but at least I have not to accuse myself of soiling my hands with the blood of a father." Upon the details of Vandamme's captivity in Russia, M. Du Casse is provokingly reticent, but the prisoner himself always maintained that he had received nothing but the kindest treatment. He got back to France in time to take part in the closing act of the Hundred Days, and, at least, it ought to be mentioned to his honour that when, driven out of Europe by the Bourbons in 1816, he betook himself to the United States, it was his good fortune, having more money than the rest of his fellow-exiles, to have the will and power of contributing to their necessities. He purchased, almost for its weight in gold, some furniture roughly constructed by French officers in exile, and upon his return to France he brought back this furniture as a souvenir to Cassel. There it may still be seen by those who are curious as to the history of a gallant but unscrupulous soldier; and a still more interesting treasure, upon the same spot, recalls the devotion of Vandamme to that "*diable d'homme*" by whom he was so subdued and bewitched. Upon the night before Austerlitz Napoleon had come for a few moments to Vandamme's bivouac, and the weather being very cold—it was on December 1—the Emperor rested his feet awhile upon a half-burnt log of wood in order to warm them. Vandamme ordered his servant to preserve the log as a relic, and when, upon the morrow, a great victory was won by the French, the precious trophy was carried back to Cassel, where it is still preserved. Nor is it unworthy of mention that although Vandamme was fighting for twenty years, and passed through a *feu d'enfer* of shot, shell, and bullets, he was never seriously wounded, while hundreds of comrades fell dead or disabled by his side. His health was always weak, exposing him constantly to nervous dyspepsia, but in a campaign he never spared himself, and had generally to withdraw for a few weeks to Cassel in the winter to recover from fatigue. He died there in 1830, the peaceful occupant of a house and property which he owed to the generosity of Napoleon.

Jomini, Moreau, and Vandamme, as representatives of the book soldier, the fighting tactician, and the intrepid military "rowdy," are still to be found in every great war; and will continue to exist so long as human nature is constituted as it has always been.

C. F. Cromie.

THE TRAGIC COMEDIANS:

A STUDY IN AN OLD STORY.

CHAPTER V.

CLOTILDE was of the order of the erring who should by rights have a short sermon to preface an exposure of them, administering the whip to her own sex and to ours, lest we scorn too much to take an interest in her. The exposure she has done for herself, and she has not had the art to frame her apology. The day after her meeting with her eagle, Alvan, she saw Prince Marko. She was gentle to him, in anticipation of his grief; she could hardly be ungentle on account of his obsequious beauty, and when her soft eyes and voice had thrilled him to an acute sensibility to the blow, honourably she inflicted it.

"Marko, my friend, you know that I cannot be false; then let me tell you I yesterday met the man who has but to lift his hand and I go to him, and he may lead me whither he will."

The burning eyes of her Indian Bacchus fixed on her till their brightness moistened and flashed.

Whatever was for her happiness he bowed his head to, he said. He knew the man.

Her duty was thus performed; she had plighted herself. For the first few days she was in dread of meeting, seeing, or hearing of Alvan. She feared the mention of a name that rolled the world so swiftly. Her parents had postponed their coming, she had no reason for instant alarm; it was his violent earnestness, his imperial self-confidence that she feared, as nervous people shrink from cannon: and neither meeting, seeing, nor hearing of him, she began to yearn, like the child whose curiosity is refreshed by a desire to try again the startling thing which frightened it. Her yearning grew, the illusion of her courage flooded back; she hoped he would present himself to claim her, marvelled that he did not, reproached him; she could almost have scorned him for listening to the hesitations of the despicable girl so little resembling what she really was—a poor untried girl, anxious only on behalf of her family to spare them a sudden shock. Remembering her generous considerations in their interests, she thought he should have known that the creature he called a child would have yielded upon supplication to fly with him. Her considerateness for him too, it struck her next, was the cause of her seeming cowardly, and the man ought to have perceived it and put it aside. He should have seen that she could be brave, and was

a mate for him. And if his shallow experience of her wrote her down nerveless, his love should be doing.

She was taught that her hero moved behind the screen concealing him by a common friend of Alvan and her family. He was an eminent professor, a middle-aged, grave and honourable man, not ignorant that her family entertained views opposed to the pretensions of such a man as the demagogue and Jew. Nevertheless Alvan could persuade him to abet the scheme for his meeting Clotilde; nay, to lead to it; ultimately to allow his own house to be their place of meeting. Alvan achieved the first of the steps unassisted. Whether or not his character stood well with a man of the world, his force of character, backed by solid attainments in addition to brilliant gifts, could win a reputable citizen and erudite to support him. Rhetoric in a worthy cause has good chances of carrying the gravest, and the cause might reasonably seem excellent to the professor when one promising fair to be the political genius of his time, but hitherto not the quietest of livers, could make him believe that marriage with this girl would be his clear salvation. The second step was undesignedly Clotilde's. She was on the professor's arm at one of the great winter balls of her conductor's brethren in the law, and he said: "Alvan is here." She answered: "No, he has not yet come." —How could she tell that he was not present in the crowd?

"Has he come now?" said the professor.

"No."

And no Alvan was discernible.

"Now?"

"Not yet."

The professor stared about. She waited.

"*Now* he has come; he is in the room now," said Clotilde.

Alvan was perceived. He stood a head above the throng surrounding him to buzz about some recent pamphlet.

She could well play at faith in his magnetization of her, for as by degrees she made herself more nervously apprehensive by thinking of him, it came to an overclouding and then a panic, and that she took for the physical sign of his presence, and by that time, the hour being late, Alvan happened to have arrived. The touch of his hand, the instant naturalness in their speaking together after a long separation, as if there had not been an interval, confirmed her notion of his influence on her, almost to the making it planetary. And a glance at the professor revealed how picturesque it was. Alvan and he murmured aside. They spoke of it. What wonder that Alvan, though he saw Prince Marko whirl her in the dance, and keep her to the measure—dancing like a song of the limbs in his desperate poor lover's little flitting eternity of the possession of her—should

say, after she had been led back to her friends: "That is he, then! one of the dragons guarding my apple of the Hesperides, whom I must brush away."

"He?" replied Clotilde, sincerely feeling Marko to be of as fractional a weight as her tone declared him. "Oh, he is my mute, harmless, he does not count among the dragons."

But there had been, notwithstanding the high presumption of his remark, a manful thickness of voice in Alvan's "That is he!" The rivals had fastened a look on one another, wary, strong, and summary as the wrestlers' first grapple. In fire of gaze, Marko was not outdone.

"He does not count? With those eyes of his?" Alvan exclaimed. He knew something of the sex, and spied from that point of knowledge into the character of Clotilde; not too venturesomely, with the assistance of rumour, hazarding the suspicion which he put forth as a certainty, and made sharply bitter to himself in proportion to the belief in it that his vehemence engendered: "I know all—without exception—all, everything; all! I repeat. But what of it, if I win you? as I shall—only aid me a little."

She slightly surprised the man by not striving to attenuate the import of the big and surcharged All: but her silence bore witness to his penetrative knowledge. Dozens of amorous gentlemen, lovers, of excellent substance, have before now prepared this peculiar dose for themselves—the dose of the lady silent under a sort of pardoning grand accusation; and they have had to drink it, and they have blinked over the tonic draught with such power of taking a bracing as their constitutions could summon. At no moment of their quaint mutual history are the sexes to be seen standing more acutely divided. Well may the lady be silent; her little sins are magnified to herself to the proportion of the greatness of heart forgiving her; and that, with his mysterious penetration and a throb of her conscience, holds her tongue-tied. She does not imagine the effect of her silence upon the magnanimous wretch. Some of these lovers, it has to be stated in sadness for the good name of man, have not preserved an attitude that said so nobly, "Child, thou art human—thou art woman!" They have undone it and gone to pieces with an injured lover's babble and brabble of persecuting inquiries for confessions. Some, on the contrary, retaining the attitude, have been unable to digest the tonic; they did not prepare their systems as they did their dose, possibly thinking the latter a supererogatory heavy thump on a trifle, the which was performed by them artfully for a means of swallowing and getting that obnoxious trifle well down. These are ever after love's dyspeptics. Very few indeed continue at heart in harmony with their opening note

to the silent fair, because in truth the general anticipation is of her proclaiming, if not angelical innocence, a softly reddened or blush-rose of it, where the little guiltiness lies pathetic on its bed of white.

Alvan's robustness of temper as a conqueror pleased with his capture could inspirit him to feel as he said it: "I know all; what matters that to me?" Even her silence—extending the 'all' beyond limits, as it did to the over-knowing man, who could number these indicative characteristics of the young woman: *impulsive, without will, readily able to lie*—her silence worked no discord in him. He would have remarked that he was not looking out for a saint, but rather for a sprightly comrade, perfectly feminine, thoroughly mastered, young, graceful, comely, and a lady of station. Once in his good keeping, her lord would answer for her. And this was a manfully generous view of the situation. It belongs to the robustness of the conqueror's mood. But how of his opinion of her character in the fret of a baffling, a repulse, a defeat? Supposing the circumstances not to have helped her to shine as a heroine, while he was reduced to appear no hero to himself! Wise are the mothers who keep vigilant personal watch over their girls, were it only to guard them at present from the gentleman's condescending generosity, until he has become something more than robust in his ideas of the sex—say, for lack of the ringing word, fraternal.

Clotilde never knew, and Alvan would have been unable to date, the origin of the black thing flung at her in time to come—when the man was frenzied, doubtless, but it was in his mind, and more than froth of madness.

After the night of the ball they meet beneath the sanctioning roof of the amiable professor; and on one occasion the latter, perhaps waxing anxious, and after bringing about the introduction of Clotilde to the sister of Alvan, pursued his prudent measures by passing the pair through a demi-ceremony of betrothal. It sprung Clotilde a stride nearer to reality, both actually and in feeling; and she began to show the change at home. A rebuff that came of the coupling of her name with Alvan's pushed her back as far below the surface as she had ever been. She waited for him to take the step she had again implored him not yet to take; she feared that he would, she marvelled at his abstaining; the old wheel revolved, as it ever does with creatures that wait for circumstances to bring the change they cannot work for themselves; and once more the two fell asunder. She had thoughts of the cloister. Her venerable relative died joining her hand to Prince Marko's; she was induced to think of marriage. An illness laid her prostrate; she contemplated the peace of death.

Shortly before she fell sick the prince was a guest of her father's, and had won the household by his perfect amiability as an associate. The grace and glow, and some of the imaginable accomplishments of an Indian Bacchus were native to him. In her convalescence she asked herself what more she could crave than the worship of a godlike youth, whom she in return might cherish, strengthening his frail health with happiness. For she had seen how suffering ate him up; he required no teaching in the Spartan virtue of suffering, wolf-gnawed, silently. But he was a flower in sunshine to happiness, and he looked to her for it. Why should she withhold from him a thing so easily given? The convalescent is receptive and undesiring, or but very faintly desiring: the new blood coming into the frame like first dawn of light has not stirred the old passions; it is infant nature, with a tinge of superadded knowledge that is not cloud across it and lends it only a tender wistfulness.

Her physician sentenced her to the Alps, whither a friend, a daughter of our island, whose acquaintance she had made in Italy, was going, and at an invitation Clotilde accompanied her, and she breathed Alpine air. Marko sank into the category of dreams during sickness. There came a letter from the professor mentioning that Alvan was on one of the kingly Alpine heights in view, and the new blood running through her veins became a torrent. He there! So near! Could he not be reached?

He had a saying: *Two wishes make a will.* The wishes of two lovers, he meant. A prettier sentence for lovers, and one more intoxicating to them, was never devised. It chirrups of the dear silly couple. Well, this was her wish. Was it his? Young health on the flow of her leaping blood cried out that it could not be other than Alvan's wish; she believed in his wishing it. Then as he wished and she wished, she had the will immediately, and it was all the more her own for being his as well. She hurried her friend and her friend's friends on horseback off to the heights where the wounded eagle lodged overlooking mountain and lake. The professor reported him outwearied with excess of work. Alvan lived the lives of three; the sins of thirty were laid to his charge. Do you judge of heroes as of lesser men? Her reckless defence of him, half spoken, half in her mind, helped her to comprehend his dealings with her, and how it was that he stormed her and consented to be beaten. He had a thousand occupations, an ambition out of the world of love, chains to break, temptations, leanings . . . . tut, tut! She had not lived in her circle of society, and listened to the tales of his friends and enemies, and been the correspondent of flattering and flattered men of learning, without understanding how a man

like Alvan found diversions when forbidden to act in a given direction: and now that her healthful new blood inspired the courage to turn two wishes to a will, she saw both herself and him very clearly, enough at least to pardon the man more than she did herself. She had perforce of her radiant new healthfulness arrived at an exact understanding of him. Where she was deluded was in supposing that she would no longer dread his impetuous disposition to turn rosy visions into facts. But she had the revived convalescent's ardour to embrace things positive while they were not knocking at the door; dreams were abhorrent to her, tasteless and innutritious; she cast herself on the flood, relying on his towering strength and mastery of men and events to bring her to some safe landing—the dream of hearts athirst for facts.

Chapter VI.

Alvan was at his writing-table doing stout gladiator's work on paper in a chamber of one of the gaunt hotels of the heights, which are Death's Heads there in winter and have the tongues in summer, when a Swiss lad entered with a round grin to tell him that a lady on horseback below had asked for him—for Dr. Alvan. Who could the lady be? He thought of too many. The thought of Clotilde was dismissed in its dimness. Issuing and beholding her, his face became illuminated as by a stroke of sunlight.

"Clotilde! by all the holiest!"

She smiled demurely, and they greeted.

She admired the look of rich pleasure shining through surprise in him. Her heart thanked him for appearing so handsome before her friends.

"I was writing," said he. "Guess to whom?—I had just finished my political stuff, and fell on a letter to the professor and another for an immediate introduction to your father."

"True?"

"The truth, as you shall see. So, you have come, you have found me! This time if I let you slip, may I be stamped slack-fingered!"

"'Two wishes make a will,' you say."

He answered her with one of his bursts of brightness.

Her having sought him he read for the frank surrender which he was ready to match with a loyal devotion to his captive. Her coming cleared everything.

Clotilde introduced him to her friends, and he was enrolled a

member of the party. His appearance was that of a man to whom the sphinx has whispered. They ascended to the topmost of the mountain stages, to another caravanserai of tourists, whence the singular people emerge in morning darkness nightcapped and blanketed, and behold the great orb of day at his birth—he them.

Walking slowly beside Clotilde on the mountain way, Alvan said: "Two wishes! Mine was in your breast. You wedded yours to it. At last!—and we are one. Not a word more of time lost. My wish is almost a will in itself—was it not?—and has been wooing yours all this while!—till the sleeper awakened, the well-spring leapt up from the earth; and our two wishes united dare the world to divide them. What can? My wish was your destiny, yours is mine. We are one." He poetized on his passion, and dramatized it: "Stood you at the altar, I would pluck you from the man holding your hand! There is no escape for you. Nay, into the vaults, were you to grow pale and need my vital warmth—down to the vaults! Speak—or no: look! That will do. You hold a Titan in your eyes, like metal in the furnace, to turn him to any shape you please, liquid or solid. You make him a god: he is the river Alvan or the rock Alvan: but fixed or flowing he is lord of you. That is the universal penalty: you must, if you have this creative soul, be the slave of your creature: if you raise him to heaven, you must be his! Ay, look! I know the eyes. They can melt granite, they can freeze fire. Pierce me, sweet eyes! And now flutter, for there is that in me to make them."

"Consider!" Clotilde flutteringly entreated him.

"The world? you dear heaven of me! Looking down on me does not compromise you, and I am not ashamed of my devotions. I sat in gloom: you came: I saw my goddess and worshipped. The world, Lutèce, the world is a variable monster; it rends the weak whether sincere or false; but those who weld strength with sincerity may practise their rites of religion publicly, and it fawns to them, and bellows to imitate. Nay, I say that strength in love is the sole sincerity, and the world knows it, snuffs it in the air about us, and so we two are privileged. Politically also we know that strength is the one reality: the rest is shadow. Behind the veil of our human conventions power is constant as ever, and to perceive the fact is to have the divining rod—to walk clear of shams. He is the teacher who shows where power exists: he is the leader who wakens and forms it. This higher and higher mountain air, with you beside me, sweeps me like a harp."

"Oh! talk on, talk on! talk ever! do not cease talking to me!" exclaimed Clotilde.

"You feel the mountain spirit?"

"I feel that you reveal it."

"Tell me the books you have been reading."

"Oh, light literature—poor stuff."

"When we two read together you will not say that. Light literature is the garden and the orchard, the fountain, the rainbow, the far view; the view within us as well as without. Our blood runs through it, our history in the quick. The Philistine detests it, because he has no view, out or in. The dry confess they are cut off from the living tree, peeled and sapless, when they condemn it. The vulgar demand to have their pleasures in their own likeness, and let them swamp their troughs: they shall not degrade the fame of noble fiction. We are the choice public, which will have good writing for light reading. Poet, novelist, essayist, dramatist, shall be ranked honourable in my Republic. I am neither, but a man of law, a student of the sciences, a politician, on the road to government and statecraft: and yet I say I have learned as much from light literature as from heavy—as much, that is, from the pictures of our human blood in motion as from the clever assortment of our forefatherly heaps of bones. Shun those who cry out against fiction, and have no taste for elegant writing. Not to have a sympathy with the playful mind is not to have a mind: it is a test. But name the books."

She named one or two.

"And when does Dr. Alvan date the first year of his Republic?"

"Clotilde!" He turned on her.

"My good sir?"

"These worthy good people who are with you: tell me—to-morrow we leave them!"

"Leave them?"

"You with me. No more partings. The first year, the first day shall be dated from to-morrow. You and I proclaim our Republic on these heights. All the ceremonies to follow. We will have a reaping of them, and make a sheaf to present to the world with compliments. To-morrow!"

"You do not speak seriously?"

"I jest as little as the Talmud. Decide at once, in the happy flush of this moment."

"I cannot listen to you, dear sir!"

"But your heart beats."

"I am not mistress of it."

"Call me master of it. I make ready for to-morrow."

"No! no! no! A thousand times no! You have been reading too much fiction and verse. Properly I should spurn you."

"Will you fail me, play feu follet, ward me off again?"

"I must be won by rules, brave knight!"

"Will you be won?"

"And are you he—the Alvan who would not be centaur?"

"I am he who chased a marsh-fire, and encountered a retiarius, and the meshes are on my head and arms. I fancied I dealt with a woman; a woman needing protection! She has me fast—I am netted, centaur or man. That is between us two. But think of us facing the world, and trust me; take my hand, take the leap; I am the best fighter in that fight. Trust it to me, and all your difficulties are at an end. To fly solves the problem."

"Indeed, indeed, I have more courage than I had," said Clotilde.

His eyes dilated, steadied, speculated, weighed her.

"Put it to proof while you can believe in it!"

"How is it that every one but you thinks me bold?" she complained.

"Because I carry a touchstone that brings out the truth. I am your reality: all others are phantoms. You can impose on them, not on me. Courage for one inspired plunge you may have, and it will be your salvation:—southward, over to Italy, that is the line of flight, and the subsequent struggle will be mine: you will not have to face it. But the courage for daily contention at home, standing alone, while I am distant and maligned—can you fancy your having that? No! be wise of what you really are; cast the die for love, and mount and away to-morrow."

"Then," said Clotilde, with elfish cunning, "do you doubt your ability to win me without a scandal?"

"Back me, and I win you!" he replied in a tone of unwonted humility: a sudden droop.

She let her hand fall. He grasped it.

"Gradations appear to be unknown to you," she said.

He cried out: "Count the years of life, span them, think of the work to be done, and ask yourself whether time and strength should run to waste in retarding the inevitable? Pottering up steps that can be taken at one bound is very well for peasant pilgrims whose shrine is their bourne, and their kneecaps the footing stumps. But for us two life begins up there. Onward, and everywhere around, when we two are together, is our shrine. I have worked, and wasted life; I have not lived, and I thirst to live."

She murmured, in a fervour, "You shall!" and slipped behind her defences. "To-morrow morning we shall wander about; I must have a little time; all to-morrow morning we can discuss plans."

"You know you command me," said he, and gazed at her.

She was really a child compared with him in years, and if it was

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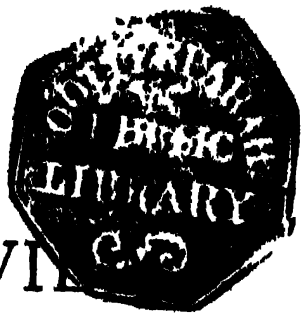

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POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN GENERAL.

THE mere gathering of individuals into a group does not constitute them a society. A society, in the sociological sense, is formed only when, besides juxtaposition there is co-operation. So long as members of the group do not combine their energies to achieve some common end or ends, there is little to keep them together. They are prevented from separating only when the wants of each are better satisfied by uniting his efforts with those of others, than they would be if he acted alone.

Co-operation, then, is at once that which cannot exist without a society, and that for which a society exists. It may be a joining of many strengths to effect something which the strength of no single man can effect; or it may be an apportioning of different activities to different persons, who severally participate in the benefits of one another's activities. The motive for acting together, originally the dominant one, may be defence against enemies; or it may be the easier obtainment of food, by the chase or otherwise; or it may be, and commonly is, both of these. In any case, however, the units pass from the state of perfect independence to the state of mutual dependence; and as fast as they do this they become united into a society rightly so called.

But co-operation implies organization. If acts are to be effectually combined, there must be arrangements under which they are adjusted in their times, amounts, and characters.

This social organization, necessary as a means to concerted action, is of two kinds. Though these two kinds generally co-exist, and are more or less interfused, yet they are distinct in their origins and natures. There is a spontaneous co-operation which grows up without thought during the pursuit of private ends; and there is a co-operation which, consciously devised, implies distinct recognition of public ends. The ways in which the two are respectively established and carried on, present marked contrasts.

Whenever, in a primitive group, there begins that co-operation which is effected by exchange of services—whenever individuals find their wants better satisfied by giving certain products which they can make best, in return for other products they are less skilled in making, or not so well circumstanced for making, there is initiated a kind of organization which then, and throughout its higher stages, results from endeavours to meet personal needs. The division of labour, to the last as at first, grows by experience of mutual facilitations in living. Each new specialization of industry arises from the effort of one who commences it to get profit, and establishes itself by conducing in some way to the profit of others. So that there is a kind of concerted action, with the elaborate social organization developed by it, which does not originate in deliberate concert. Though it is true that within the small sub-divisions of this organization, we find everywhere repeated the relation of employer and employed, of whom the one directs the actions of the other; yet this relation, spontaneously formed in the pursuit of private ends and continued only at will, is not made with conscious reference to achievement of public ends: ordinarily these are not thought of. And though, for the regulating of trading activities, there eventually arise agencies serving to adjust the supplies of commodities to the demands; yet such agencies do this not by direct stimulations or restraints, but simply by communicating information which serves to stimulate or restrain; and, further, these agencies themselves grow up not for the intended purpose of thus regulating, but in the pursuit of gain by individuals. So unintentionally has there arisen the elaborate division of labour by which production and distribution are now carried on, that only in modern days has there come a recognition of the fact that it has all along been arising.

On the other hand, that co-operation which unites the actions of individuals for a purpose immediately concerning the whole society, is a conscious co-operation, and is carried on by an organization of another kind, arising in a different way. When the primitive group has to defend itself against other groups, its members act together under further stimuli than those constituted by purely personal desires. Even at the outset, before any control by a chief exists, there is the control exercised by the group over its members; each of whom is obliged, by the *consensus* of opinion, to join in the general defence. Very soon the warrior of recognized superiority begins to exercise over each, during war, an influence additional to that exercised by the opinion of the group; and when his authority becomes established, it greatly furthers combined action. From the beginning, therefore, this kind of social co-operation is a conscious co-operation, and a co-operation which is not wholly a matter of choice —is often much at variance with private wishes. As the organization initiated by it develops, we see that, in the first place, the fighting

division of the society displays in a more marked degree these same traits: the grades and divisions constituting an army, co-operate more and more under the regulation, consciously established, of agencies which over-ride individual volitions—or, to speak strictly, control individuals by motives which prevent them from acting as they would spontaneously act. In the second place, we see that throughout the society as a whole, there spreads a kindred form of organization—kindred in so far that, for the purpose of maintaining the militant organization and the government which directs it, there are similarly established over citizens, agencies which force them to labour more or less largely for public ends instead of private ends. And, simultaneously, there develops a further organization, still akin in its fundamental principle, which restrains individual activities in such wise that social safety shall not be endangered by the disorder consequent on unchecked pursuit of personal ends. So that this kind of social organization is distinguished from the other, as arising through conscious pursuit of public ends, in furtherance of which individual wills are constrained, first of all by the joint wills of the entire group, and afterwards more definitely by the will of a regulative agency which the group evolves.

Most clearly shall we perceive the contrast between these two kinds of organization on observing that, while they are both instrumental to social welfare, they are instrumental in converse ways. That organization shown us by the division of labour for industrial purposes, exhibits combined action; but it is a combined action which directly seeks and subserves the welfares of individuals, and indirectly subserves the welfare of society as a whole by preserving individuals. Conversely, that organization evolved for governmental and defensive purposes, exhibits combined action; but it is a combined action which directly seeks and subserves the welfare of the society as a whole, and indirectly subserves the welfares of individuals by preserving the society. Efforts for self-preservation by the units originate the one form of organization; while efforts for self-preservation by the aggregate originate the other form of organization. In the one case there is conscious pursuit of private ends only; and the correlative organization resulting from this pursuit of private ends, growing up unconsciously, is without coercive power. In the other case there is conscious pursuit of public ends; and the correlative organization, consciously established, exercises coercion.

Of these two kinds of co-operation and the structures effecting them, we are here concerned only with one. Political organization is to be understood as that part of social organization which consciously carries on directive and restraining functions for public ends. It is true, as already hinted, and as we shall see presently, that the two kinds are mingled in various ways—that each ramifies

through the other more or less according to their respective degrees of predominance. But the two are essentially different in origin and nature; and for the present we must, so far as may be, limit our attention to the last.

That the co-operation into which men have gradually risen secures to them benefits which could not be secured while, in their primitive state, they acted singly; and that, as an indispensable means to this co-operation, political organization has been, and is, advantageous, we shall see on contrasting the states of men who are not politically organized with the states of men who are politically organized in less or greater degrees.

There are, indeed, conditions under which as good an individual life is possible without political organization as with it. Where, as in the habitat of the Esquimaux, there are but few persons and these very widely scattered; where there is no war, probably because the physical impediments to it are great and the motives to it feeble; and where circumstances make the occupations so uniform that there is little scope for the division of labour; mutual dependence can have no place, and the arrangements which effect it are not needed. Recognizing this exceptional case, let us consider the cases which are not exceptional.

The Digger Indians, "very few degrees removed from the ourang-outang," who, scattered among the mountains of the Sierra Nevada, sheltering in holes and living on roots and vermin, "drag out a miserable existence in a state of nature, amid the most loathsome and disgusting squalor," differ from the other divisions of the Shoshones by their entire lack of social organization. The river-haunting and plain-haunting divisions of the race, under some, though but slight, governmental control, lead more satisfactory lives. In South America the Chaco Indians, low in type as are the Diggers, and like them degraded and wretched in their lives, are similarly contrasted with the superior and more comfortable savages around them in being dissociated. Among the Bedouin tribes, the Sherarat are unlike the rest in being divided and sub-divided into countless bands which have no common chief; and they are described as being the most miserable of the Bedouins. More decided still is the contrast noted by Baker between certain adjacent African peoples. Passing suddenly, he says, from the unclothed, ungoverned tribes—from the "wildest savagedom to semi-civilisation"—we come in Unyoro to a country governed by "an unflinching despot," inflicting "death or torture" for "the most trivial offences;" but where they have developed administration, sub-governors, taxes, good clothing, arts, agriculture, architecture. So, too, concerning New Zealand when first discovered, Cook remarks that there seemed to be greater prosperity and populousness in the regions subject to a king.

These last cases introduce us to a further truth. Not only does that first step in political organization which places individuals under the control of a tribal chief, bring the advantages gained by better co-operation; but such advantages are increased when minor political heads become subject to a major political head. As typifying the evils which are thereby avoided, I may name the fact that among the Beloochees, whose tribes, unsubordinated to a general ruler, are constantly at war with one another, it is the habit to erect a small mud tower in each field, where the possessor and his retainers guard his produce—a state of things allied to, but worse than, that of the Highland clans, with their strongholds for sheltering women and cattle from the inroads of their neighbours, in days when they were not under the control of a central power. The benefits derived from such wider control, whether of a simple head or of a compound head, were felt by the early Greeks when the Amphictyonic council established the laws that "no Hellenic tribe is to lay the habitations of another level with the ground; and from no Hellenic city is the water to be cut off during a siege." The good which results from that advance of political structure which unites smaller communities into larger ones, was shown in our own country when, by the Roman conquest, the incessant fights between tribes were stopped; and again, in later days, when feudal nobles, becoming subject to a monarch, were debarred from private wars. Under its converse aspect we see the same truth when, amidst the anarchy which followed the collapse of the Carlovingian empire, princes and barons, resuming their independence, became active enemies to one another: their state being such that "when they were not at war they lived by open plunder." And the history of Europe has repeatedly, in many places and times, furnished kindred illustrations.

While political organization as it extends itself throughout masses of increasing size, directly furthers welfare by removing that impediment to co-operation which the antagonisms of individuals and of tribes cause, it indirectly furthers it in another way. Nothing beyond a rudimentary division of labour can arise in a small social group. Before commodities can be multiplied in their kinds, there must be multiplied kinds of producers; and before each commodity can be produced in the most economical way, the different stages in the production of it must be apportioned out among special hands. Nor is this all. Neither the required complex combinations of individuals, nor the elaborate mechanical appliances which facilitate manufacture, can arise in the absence of a large community, generating a great demand.

But though the advantages gained by co-operation pre-suppose political organization, this political organization necessitates

disadvantages; and it is quite possible for these disadvantages to outweigh the advantages. The controlling structures have to be maintained, and the restraints they impose have to be borne; and the evils inflicted by taxation and by tyranny may become greater than the evils prevented.

Where, as in the East, the rapacity of monarchs has sometimes gone to the extent of taking from cultivators so much of their produce as to have afterwards to return part for seed, we see exemplified the truth that the agency which maintains order may cause miseries greater than the miseries caused by disorder. The state of Egypt under the Romans, who, on the native set of officials, superposed their own set, and who made drafts on the country's resources not for local administration only but also for imperial administration, furnishes an instance. Beyond the regular taxes there were demands for feeding and clothing the military, wherever quartered; extra calls were continually made on the people for maintaining public works and subaltern agents; men in office were themselves so impoverished by exactions that they "assumed dishonourable employments or became the slaves of persons in power;" gifts made to the government were soon converted into forced contributions; and those who purchased immunities from extortions found them disregarded as soon as the sums asked had been received. More marked still were the curses following excessive development of political organization in Gaul during the decline of the Roman empire:—

> "So numerous were the receivers in comparison with the payers, and so enormous the weight of taxation, that the labourer broke down, the plains became deserts, and woods grew where the plough had been. . . . . It were impossible to number the officials who were rained upon every province and town. . . . . The crack of the lash and the cry of the tortured filled the air. The faithful slave was tortured for evidence against his master, the wife to depose against her husband, the son against his sire. . . . . Not satisfied with the returns of the first enumerators, they sent a succession of others, who each swelled the valuation—as a proof of service done; and so the imposts went on increasing. Yet the number of cattle fell off, and the people died. Nevertheless, the survivors had to pay the taxes of the dead."

And how literally in this case the benefits were exceeded by the mischiefs, is shown by the remark that "They fear the enemy less than the tax-gatherer: the truth is, that they fly to the first to avoid the last. Hence, the one unanimous wish of the Roman populace, that it was their lot to live with the barbarian."

In the same regions during later times the lesson was repeated. While internal peace and its blessings were achieved in mediæval France as fast as feudal nobles became subordinate to the king—while the central power, as it grew stronger, put an end to that primitive practice of a blood-revenge which wreaked itself on any relative of an offender, and made the "truce of God" a needful

mitigation of the universal savagery; yet from this extension of political organization there presently grew up evils as great or greater—multiplication of taxes, forced loans, groundless confiscations, arbitrary fines, progressive debasements of coinage, and a universal corruption of justice consequent on the sale of offices: the results being that many people died by famine, some committed suicide, while others, deserting their homes, led a wandering life. And then, afterwards, when the supreme ruler, becoming absolute, controlled social life in all its details, through an administrative system vast in extent and ramifications, with the general result that in less than two centuries the indirect taxation alone "crossed the enormous interval between 11 millions and 311," there came the national impoverishment and misery which resulted in the great revolution.

Even the present time supplies kindred evidence, in sundry places. A voyage up the Nile shows every observer that the people are better off where they are remote from the centre of government —where administrative agencies cannot so easily reach them. Nor is it only under the barbaric Turk that this happens. Notwithstanding the boasted beneficence of our rule in India, the extra burdens and the complication of restraints it involves, have the effect that the people find some of the adjacent countries preferable: the ryots in sundry places are leaving their homes and settling in the territory of the Nizam and in Gwalior.

Not only do those who are controlled suffer from political organization, evils which greatly deduct from, and sometimes exceed, the benefits. Numerous and rigid governmental restraints indirectly shackle those who impose them as well as those on whom they are imposed. The successive grades of ruling agents, severally coercing grades below, are themselves coerced by grades above; and even the very highest ruling agent is enslaved by the system created for the preservation of his supremacy. In ancient Egypt the daily life of the king was minutely regulated alike as to its hours, its occupations, its ceremonies; so that, nominally all powerful, he was really less free than a subject. It has been, and is, the same with other despotic monarchs. Till lately in Japan, where the form of organization had become fixed, and where, from the highest to the lowest, the actions of life were prescribed in detail, the exercise of authority was so burdensome that voluntary resignation of it was frequent. Adams writes—"The custom of abdication is common among all classes, from the Emperor down to his meanest subject." European states have exemplified this re-acting tyranny. "In the Byzantine palace," says Gibbon, "the Emperor was the first slave of the ceremonies he imposed." Concerning the tedious court life of Louis Le Grand, Madame de Maintenon remarks—"Save those only who fill the highest stations, I know of none more unfortunate

than those who envy them. If you could only form an idea of what it is!"

So that while the satisfaction of men's personal wants is furthered both by the maintenance of order and by the formation of aggregates large enough to permit extensive division of labour, it is hindered both by deductions, often very great, from the products of their actions, and by the restraints imposed on their actions, usually in excess of the needs. And political control indirectly entails evils on those who exercise it as well as on those over whom it is exercised.

The stones composing a house cannot be otherwise used until the house has been pulled down. If the stones are united by mortar, there must be extra trouble in destroying their present combination before they can be recombined. And if the mortar has had centuries in which to consolidate, the breaking up of the masses formed is a matter of such difficulty that building with new materials becomes more economical than rebuilding with the old.

I name these facts to illustrate the truth that any kind of arrangement stands in the way of re-arrangement; and that this must be true of organization, which is one kind of arrangement. When, during the evolution of a living body, its component substance, at first relatively homogeneous, has been transformed into a combination of heterogeneous parts, there results an obstacle, always great and often insuperable, to any considerable change of structure: the more elaborate and definite the structure the greater is the resistance it opposes to alteration. And this, which is conspicuously true of an individual organism, is true, if less conspicuously, of a social organism. Though a society, composed of discrete units, and not having had its type fixed by inheritance from countless like societies, is much more plastic; yet the same principle holds. As fast as its parts are differentiated—as fast as there arise classes, bodies of functionaries, established institutions, these, becoming coherent within themselves and with one another, resist such forces as tend to modify them. The conservatism of every long-settled institution daily exemplifies this law. Be it in the antagonism of a Church to legislation interfering with its arrangements; be it in the opposition of an army to abolition of the purchase system; be it in the disfavour with which the legal profession at large has regarded law-reform; we see that neither in their structures nor in their modes of action, are parts that have once been specialized easily changed.

As it is true of a living body that its various acts have as their common end self-preservation, so is it true of its component organs that they severally tend to maintain themselves in their integrity. And, similarly, as it is true of a society that maintenance of its existence

is the aim of its combined actions, so it is true of its separate classes and systems of officials, or other specialized parts, that the dominant aim of each is to preserve itself. Not the function to be performed, but the sustentation of those who perform the function, becomes the object in view: the result being that when the function is needless, or even detrimental, the structure still preserves itself as long as it can. In early days the history of the Knights Templars furnished an illustration of this tendency. Down to the present time we have before us the familiar instance of trade guilds in London, which having ceased to perform their original functions, nevertheless jealously maintain themselves for no purpose but the gratification of their members. And the accounts given in "The Black Book" of the sinecures which survived up to recent times, yield multitudinous illustrations.

The extent to which an organization resists re-organization, we shall not fully appreciate until we observe that its resistance increases in a compound progression. For while each new part is an additional obstacle to change, the formation of it implies a deduction from the forces causing change. If, other things remaining the same, the political structures of a society are further developed—if the existing institutions are extended or fresh ones set up—if for directing social activities in greater detail, extra staffs of officials are appointed; the simultaneous results are—an increase in the aggregate of those who form the regulating part, and a corresponding decrease in the aggregate of those who form the part regulated. In various ways all who compose the controlling and administrative organization, become united with one another and separated from the rest. Whatever be their particular duties, they are similarly related to the minor and major governing centres of their departments, and, through them, to the supreme governing centre; and are habituated to like sentiments and ideas respecting the set of institutions in which they are incorporated. Receiving their subsistence through the national revenue, they tend towards kindred views and feelings respecting the raising of such revenue. Whatever jealousies there may be between their divisions, are over-ridden by sympathy when any one division has its existence or privileges endangered; since the interference with one division may spread to others. Moreover, they all stand in like relations to the rest of the community, whose actions are in one way or other superintended by them; and hence are led into kindred views respecting the need for such superintendence and the propriety of submitting to it. No matter what their previous political opinions may have been, they cannot become public agents of any kind without being biassed towards opinions congruous with their functions. So that, inevitably, each further growth of the instrumentalities which control, or administer, or

inspect, or in any way direct social forces, increases the impediment to future modifications, both positively, by strengthening that which has to be modified, and negatively, by weakening the remainder; until at length the rigidity becomes so great that change is impossible and the type becomes fixed.

Nor does each further development of the regulative organization increase the obstacles to change, only by relatively increasing the power of those who, as regulators, maintain the established order, and decreasing the power of those who, as the regulated, have not the same direct interests in maintaining it. For the ideas and sentiments of a community as a whole, progressively adapt themselves to the *régime* familiar from childhood, in such wise that it comes to be looked upon as natural, and as the only thing possible. In proportion as public agencies occupy a larger space in daily experience, leaving but a smaller space for other agencies, there comes a greater tendency to think of public control as everywhere needful, and a less ability to conceive of activities as otherwise controlled. At the same time the sentiments, adjusted by habit to the regulative machinery, become enlisted on its behalf, and adverse to the thought of a vacancy to be made by its absence. In brief, the general law that the social organism and its units act and re-act in such ways as to become congruous, implies that every further extension of political organization increases the obstacle to re-organization; not only by increasing the strength of the regulative part and decreasing the strength of the part regulated, but also by producing in citizens thoughts and feelings in harmony with the resulting structure, and out of harmony with anything substantially different. Both France and Germany furnish examples of this truth. M. Comte, while looking forward to an industrial state, was so swayed by the ideas and sentiments appropriate to the French form of society, that his scheme of organization for the industrial state, prescribes its arrangements with a definiteness and detail characteristic of the militant type, and utterly at variance with the industrial type. Indeed, he had a profound aversion to that individualism which is a product of industrial life and gives the character to industrial institutions. So, too, in Germany, we see that the socialist party, who are regarded and who regard themselves as wishing to entirely reorganize society, are so incapable of really thinking away from the social type under which they have been born and nurtured, that their proposed social system is in essence nothing else than a new form of the system they would destroy. It is a system under which life and labour are to be arranged and superintended by public instrumentalities, omnipresent like those which already exist and no less coercive: the individual having his life even more regulated for him than now.

While then, on the one hand, in the absence of settled arrangements, there cannot be co-operation, yet co-operation of a higher kind is hindered by the arrangements which facilitate co-operation of a lower kind. Though without some established relations among parts, there can be no combined actions; yet the more extensive and elaborate such relations grow, the more difficult does it become to make an improved combination of actions. There is an increase of the forces which tend to fix, and a decrease of the forces which tend to unfix; until the fully-structured social organism, like fully-structured individual organism, becomes no longer adaptable.

In a living animal, formed as it is of aggregated units originally like in kind, the progress of organization implies, not only that the units composing each differentiated part severally maintain their positions, but also that their progeny succeed to those positions. Bile-cells which, while performing their functions, grow and give origin to new bile-cells, are, when they decay and disappear, replaced by these: the cells descending from them do not migrate to the kidneys, or the muscles, or the nervous centres, to join in the performance of their duties. And, evidently, unless the specialized units each organ is made of, gave origin to units similarly specialized, which remained in the same place, there could be none of those settled relations among parts which characterize the organism, and fit it for its particular mode of life.

In a society also, fixity of structure is favoured by the transmission of positions and functions through successive generations. The maintenance of those class-divisions which arise as political organization advances, implies the inheritance of a rank and a place in each class. Obviously in proportion as the difficulty of rising from one grade into another is great, the social grades become settled in their relations. The like happens with those sub-divisions of classes which, in some societies, constitute castes, and in other societies are partially exemplified by guilds. Where custom or law compels the sons of each trader to follow his father's occupation, there result among the structures carrying on production and distribution, obstacles to change analogous to those which result in the regulative structures from impassable divisions of ranks. India shows this in an extreme degree; and in a less degree it was shown by the craft-guilds of early days in England, which facilitated adoption of a craft by the children of those engaged in it, and hindered adoption of it by others. Thus we may call inheritance of position and function, the principle of fixity in social organization.

There is another way in which succession by inheritance, whether to class-position or to occupation, conduces to stability. It secures supremacy of the elder; and supremacy of the elder tends towards

maintenance of the established order. A system under which a chief-ruler, sub-ruler, head of a clan or house, official, or any person having the power given by rank or property, has his place filled up at death by a descendant, in conformity with some accepted rule of succession, is a system under which, by implication, the young, and even the middle-aged, are excluded from the conduct of affairs. So, too, where an industrial system is such that the son, habitually brought up to his father's business, succeeds to his position when he dies, it follows in like manner that the regulative power of the elder over the processes of production and distribution, is scarcely at all qualified by the power of the younger. Now, it is a truth daily exemplified that increasing rigidity of organization, necessitated by the process of evolution, produces in age an increasing strength of habit and aversion to change. Hence it results that succession to place and function by inheritance, having as its necessary concomitant the monopoly of power by the eldest, involves a prevailing conservatism; and this further insures maintenance of things as they are.

Conversely, social change is facile in proportion as men's positions and functions are determinable by personal qualities. If, not being prevented by law or custom, members of one rank establish themselves in another rank, they in so far directly break the division between the ranks; and they indirectly weaken the division by preserving their family relations with the first, and forming new ones with the second; while, further, the ideas and sentiments prevailing in the two ranks, previously more or less different, are made to qualify one another and to modify the characters of their members. Similarly if, between sub-divisions of the producing and distributing classes, there are no barriers to migration, then, in proportion as migrations are numerous, influences physical and mental, following inter-fusion, tend to alter the natures of their units; at the same time that they perpetually check the establishment of differences of nature, caused by differences of function. Such transpositions of individuals between class and class, or group and group, must, on the average, however, be determined by the fitnesses of the individuals for their new places and duties. Intrusions will ordinarily succeed only where the intruding citizens have more than usual aptitudes for the businesses they undertake. Those who desert their original social positions and occupations, are at a disadvantage in the competition with those whose positions and occupations they assume; and they can overcome this disadvantage only by force of some superiority in respect of the occupations in which they compete. This leaving of men to have their careers determined by their efficiencies, we may therefore call the principle of change in social organization.

As we saw that succession by inheritance conduces in a secondary way to stability, by keeping the places of authority in the hands of

those who by age are made most averse to new practices, so here, conversely, we may see that succession by efficiency conduces in a secondary way to change. Both positively and negatively the possession of power by the young facilitates innovation. While the energies are overflowing, little fear is felt of those obstacles to improvement and evils it may bring, which, to those of flagging energies, look formidable; and at the same time the greater imaginativeness that goes along with higher vitality, joined with a smaller strength of habit, facilitates acceptance of fresh ideas and adoption of untried methods. Since, then, where the various social positions come to be respectively filled by those who are experimentally proved to be the fittest, the relatively young are permitted to exercise authority, it results that succession by efficiency furthers change in social organization, indirectly as well as directly.

Contrasting the two, we thus see that while the acquirement of function by inheritance conduces to rigidity of structure, the acquirement of function by efficiency conduces to plasticity of structure. Succession by descent favours the maintenance of that which exists. Succession by fitness favours transformation, and makes possible something better.

As I have pointed out elsewhere, "complication of structure accompanies increase of mass," in social organisms as in individual organisms. When small societies are compounded into a larger society, the controlling agencies needed in the several component societies must be subordinated to a central controlling agency: new structures are required. Re-compounding necessitates a kindred further complexity in the governmental arrangements; and at each of such stages of increase, all other arrangements must become more complicated. As Duruy remarks—"By becoming a world in place of a town, Rome could not conserve institutions established for a single city and a small territory. . . . How was it possible for sixty millions of provincials to enter the narrow and rigid circle of provincial institutions?" The like holds where, instead of extension of territory, there is only increase of population. The contrast between the simple administrative system which sufficed in old English times for a million people, with the complex administrative system at present needed for many millions, sufficiently indicates this general truth.

But now, mark a corollary. If, on the one hand, further growth implies more complex structure, on the other hand changeableness of structure is a condition to further growth; and, conversely, unchangeableness of structure is a concomitant of arrested growth. Like the correlative law just noted, this law is clearly seen in individual organisms. On the one hand, the transition from the small immature form to the large mature form in a living creature, implies that not

the whole only, but all the parts have to be changed in their sizes and connexions: every detail of every organ has to be modified; and this implies the retention of plasticity. On the other hand, when, on approaching maturity, the structures are assuming their final arrangement, their increasing definiteness and firmness constitute an increasing impediment to growth: the unbuilding and rebuilding required before there can be the needful re-adjustment, become more and more difficult. So is it with a society. Augmentation of its mass necessitates change of the pre-existing structures, either by incorporation of the increment with them, or by their extension through it. Every elaboration and further settlement of the structures, presents an additional obstacle to this; and when rigidity is reached, such modifications of them as increase of mass would involve, are impossible, and increase is prevented.

Nor is this all. Controlling and administrative instrumentalities antagonize growth by absorbing the materials for growth. Already when pointing out the evils which accompany the benefits gained by political organization, this effect has been indirectly implied. Governmental expenditure, there represented as deducting from the lives of producers by taking away their produce, has for its ulterior result deducting from the life of the community: depletion of the units entails depletion of the aggregate. Where the abstraction of private means for public purposes is excessive, as in one of the cases named, the impoverishment leads to decrease of population; and where it is less excessive, to arrest of population. Clearly those members of a society who form the regulative parts, together with all their dependents, have to be supplied with the means of living by the parts which carry on the processes of production and distribution; and if the regulative parts go on increasing relatively to the other parts, there must eventually be reached a point at which they absorb the entire surplus, and multiplication is stopped by innutrition.

Hence, then, we may say that, in the first place, though each increment of growth is aided by an appropriate organization, yet this organization, being inappropriate to a greater mass, becomes thereafter an impediment to growth; and that, in the second place, growth is further impeded by the abstraction of materials to sustain organization which would otherwise have been available for growth.

To aid our interpretations of the special facts presently to be dealt with, we must keep in mind the foregoing general facts. They may be summed up as follows:—

Co-operation is made possible by society, and makes society possible. It pre-supposes associated men, and men remain associated because of the benefits association yields them.

But there cannot be concerted actions without agencies by which

actions are in some way adjusted in their times, amounts, and kinds; and the actions cannot be of various kinds without the co-operators undertaking different duties. That is to say, the co-operators must fall into some kind of organization, either voluntarily or involuntarily.

The organization which co-operation implies, is of two kinds, distinct in origin and nature. The one, arising directly from the pursuit of individual ends, and indirectly conducing to social welfare, develops unconsciously and is non-coercive. The other, arising directly from the pursuit of social ends, and indirectly conducing to individual welfare, develops consciously and is coercive.

While, by making co-operation possible, political organization achieves benefits, deductions from these benefits are entailed by such organization. Maintenance of it is costly; and the cost may become a greater evil than the evils escaped. It necessarily imposes restraints; and these restraints may become so extreme that anarchy, with all its miseries, is preferable.

Organization as it becomes established is an obstacle to re-organization. Both by the inertia of position, and by the cohesion gradually established among them, the units of the structures formed oppose change. Self-sustentation is the primary aim of each part as of the whole; and hence parts once formed tend to continue, whether they are or are not useful. Moreover, each addition to the regulative structures, implying, other things equal, a simultaneous deduction from the remainder of the society which is regulated, it results that while the obstacles to change are increased, the forces causing change are decreased.

Maintenance of a society's organization implies that the units forming its component structures shall severally be replaced as they die. Stability is favoured if the vacancies they leave are filled without dispute by descendants; while change is favoured if the vacancies are filled by those who are experimentally proved to be best fitted for them. Succession by inheritance is thus the principle of social rigidity; while succession by efficiency is the principle of social plasticity.

Though, to make co-operation possible, and therefore to facilitate social growth, there must be organization, yet the organization formed impedes further growth; since further growth implies re-organization, which the existing organization resists, and since the existing organization absorbs part of the material for growth.

So that while, at each stage, better immediate results may be achieved by completing organization, they must be at the expense of better ultimate results. These are to be achieved by carrying organization at each stage no further than is needful for the orderly carrying on of social actions. * HERBERT SPENCER.

YOUNG IRELAND.[1]

THE brief but not unfruitful summer of Young Ireland closed in gloom and disaster in 1848. Duffy was a prisoner awaiting his trials, while, of his friends and comrades, some were being borne in war vessels of "the enemy" to distant penal settlements, and more were being cast as brands from the burning on the hospitable shores of the New World. Released at last from imprisonment, Duffy, after an unsuccessful Parliamentary experiment, which was totally unconnected with the events recorded in this volume, resolved to begin life anew in a strange land. Arrived in Australia, he found there in actual operation a Constitution practically identical with that which he had sought to regain for his native country. His experience, his ability, and his character enabled him to confront successfully the prejudices not unnaturally existing against a man of his antecedents among a British community. Taunted with being "a rebel," he replied, "Yes, to the backbone and spinal marrow—a rebel to the system that enslaves my country." He rose successively to the highest official positions, and towards the close of last year resigned the office of Speaker of the Victorian Parliament for the purpose of superintending in London the publication of this work, "because," as he states in a modest preface, "he believed it was the best and last service he could render to Ireland." Rarely, indeed, has garland more rich and more fadeless been woven by the hands of sympathy and affection for the tomb of a defeated party. The charms of a style singularly lucid, the manifest truthfulness of the narrative, the transparent sincerity of the writer, fascinate the reader, whatever his preconceived notions may have been, and arrived at the end, he will exclaim involuntarily, "Had I lived in those days, and been acquainted with these young men, I, too, might have been a Young Irelander."

O'Connell was sincerely, and from conviction, above all things a Repealer. When agitating for what he termed "Justice to Ireland," he avowed that he was an agitator with ulterior motives. His objective point ever and always was the restoration of the Irish Legislature. On the 15th of April, 1840, he founded the Repeal Association, and opening the proceedings of that first meeting, he said:—

"I rise with the deep sense of the awful importance of the step I am about to propose to the Irish people, and a full knowledge of the difficulties by which we are surrounded, and the obstacles we have to contend with. I trust that my heart is pure, and my judgment, on the present occasion, unclouded; and I declare, in the presence of that God who is to judge me for an eternity of

(1) *Young Ireland: A Fragment of Irish History.* By Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, & Co. 1880.

weal or woe, that I have no object in view but the good of my native land, and that I feel, in the deepest sense, the responsibility I am about to incur. We have assembled to take part in proceedings that will be yet memorable in the history of our country. Yes, this 15th of April will be yet memorable in the annals of Ireland. It shall be referred to as the day on which the Flag of Repeal was unfurled; and I shall fearlessly, legally, and constitutionally keep it unfurled until the day of success shall have arrived, or the grave close over me, and on my tomb shall be inscribed—He died a Repealer."

Thus was launched his second Repeal movement, he being at the time sixty-five years of age. Although the weekly attendance at the meetings of the Association continued for a year or more to be scanty, still the constant repetition of facts of great weight and moment—and above all men O'Connell had the power of using them with greatest effect—impressed the public mind, and Repeal became a subject of discussion in every household. His appeals "to the young blood of Ireland" fired the enthusiasm of the ardent and unselfish, and they yearned to go forth from the class rooms and the lecture halls to take part in the struggle for nationhood. He had emancipated the Catholics and reformed the Corporations; and now in his old age he was creating a Young Ireland, which was destined to supersede the Old, which was animated by a higher purpose, and which was filled with the ambition not of the agitator and the reformer, but the martyr and the confessor. Charles Gavan Duffy, Thomas Osborne Davis, John Blake Dillon, and a few students and young professional men had been for some time members of the Repeal Association; but the event from which the movement for National Independence might be dated was the establishment in October, 1842, of the *Nation* newspaper. Duffy was appointed editor, and the new paper became almost at a bound the greatest political power, next to that of O'Connell, then in Ireland. The tone and character of its teachings are no less truthfully than eloquently described in the following passages:—

"Week after week the names and services of the spiritual warriors who carried the cross into Pagan lands were made familiar to the people. . . . . Nor did the Middle Ages or modern times want their notable men. The chiefs who had made alliances, on behalf of Ireland, with France and Spain, the soldiers who had fought in later times against foreign rule, and the patriots who had conspired against it, were rescued from under mounds of misrepresentation, and the people taught, in ballad and essay, that those were not men to be ashamed of, but the flower of their race. To forget her martyrs and confessors would be folly as well as baseness; laborious and unprofitable days awaited all who turned from the pleasant paths of corruption to the service of Ireland; they must not be further disheartened by feeling that the labourers who went before them had *not* had their reward. The services of Irishmen in the armies of France and Austria, in the diplomacy of Spain and Italy, in the wars of liberation in North and South America were described. Irishmen had won conspicuous places in every country where a career was open to them; even in England, where an Irishman was treated as a foreigner and an inferior, how many of the successes in arts, arms, statesmanship, literature, recorded as British successes were won by Irishmen? The English books most familiar to

France and Germany were the books of Irishmen, the 'Vicar of Wakefield' and the 'Sentimental Journey.' The insular names best known between the Straits of Gibraltar and the Gulf of Bothnia were Wellington and O'Connell.

"Their own history was a chart of perils to be avoided, of [illegible] that might safely be pursued, of which they knew nothing; for [illegible] the past is a region as blank as the future; but from the past [illegible] must be lifted by knowledge. Irishmen had learned the history [illegible] from a source where it was deliberately falsified. Their enemies [illegible] described their bravery as turbulence, their resistance to oppression as [illegible], their native civilisation as barbarity. When regions were [illegible] desolated and handed over to the murderers of the Celtic population they were said to be civilised. Irishmen had used their national annals as a cemetery from which to dig up the skeletons of mouldering crimes for mutual assault; but the truer lesson they taught was that Irishmen were enslaved because they were d[illegible]. Their Protestant forefathers were often pampered and protected by England as her garrison, and their Catholic forefathers reduced to slaves because they were dangerous to English ascendancy. If they forgot hereditary feuds they might create a noble future for their common country. Ireland must aim to be Irish, not Anglo-Irish; because vigour, and health, and great achievements belong to men and nations which follow their nature, not to those broken to a foreign mould. But Irish must no longer mean Celtic; from whatever stock they sprung, Celtic, Norman, or Saxon, if men loved and served the country they were Irish. Hereditary party spirit was an *ignis fatuus* in a country where the lineal descendants of the O'Neills, O'Briens, and O'Connors were Unionists, and where Philpot Curran, Wolfe Tone, and Theobald Matthew sprang from Cromwellian soldiers.

"The pursuit of knowledge was incited not with the zeal of a schoolmaster, but with the fervour of a lover. . . . Educate that you may be free. It is education which will enable you to take advantage of opportunities. The highest training, however, is that of the character. The practice of speaking and acting only the truth, more than military or commercial or intellectual eminence, makes a country great and happy; while contempt for obligations and authority does not make citizens but banditti. The slave's vice of paltering with the truth clings to our people like the rust of their chains. They must unlearn the practice of boasting and exaggeration; they must learn—hard task to a demonstrative, imaginative people—to be direct and literal. To be prompt in saying 'This is not true: I will not believe it.' 'This is not true: I will not say it.' 'This is not true: I will not do it.'

"Among the knowledge most needed was the knowledge of other nations and races. Ireland ought to have a FOREIGN POLICY, but not necessarily the foreign policy of England, which often originated in feelings or interests in which Ireland had no share. Irishmen wanted the sympathy and good will of other nations, and to obtain their sympathy and good will must learn to be just to them. Why should they not? England insulted them, but from France and America they got good wishes and respect. States hostile to England had educated their youth in the penal times, and were their allies against her in war and diplomacy. The Catholic asked in vain for the slightest mitigation of his slavery, till Dumourier at Gemappe scared away the royal conspirators against liberty. Even to-day what interest had the merchants of Dublin or the farmers of Down in the oppression of the Afghan or the Kaffir? They owed allegiance to Victoria, Queen of England and Ireland; they owed no allegiance either in law or conscience to the success of English crime. Among her recent achievements in foreign policy, England obtained modifications in the tariffs of France and Portugal, and when one scrutinised the result it was found that English manufactures were relieved, while Irish products continued subject to their former burden. But what other result could come of nations trusting their foreign policy to strange hands? The sympathy of friendly nations was not a light thing. The alliance of Prussia

carried England through the wars of the eighteenth century; the good will of France rescued the wavering fortunes of America."

The spirit that animated its columns was that of a pure and intense nationality. It demanded Repeal not as an alternative, but as a right, and totally irrespective of Imperial legislation for Ireland, whatever its character might be—good, bad, or indifferent. To assert this right was a matter not merely of expediency but of duty:—

"When a people have the boundaries and history, the separate character and physical resources, and still more, when they have the virtue and genius of a nation, they are bound in conscience, in prudence, and in wisdom, to assert their individuality, no matter how conciliation may lure or armies threaten. Nationality would create a race of men full of a more intensely Irish character and knowledge, and to that race it would give Ireland. It would give them the seas of Ireland to sweep with their nets and their navy; the harbours of Ireland to receive a great commerce; the soil of Ireland to live on, by more millions than starve there now; the fame of Ireland to enhance by their genius and valour; the independence of Ireland to guard by their wisdom and arms."

The leading article, strong and direct as a bolt, was supplemented by the historical ballad, so dramatic in power, so vivid in description, that it photographed on the brain and heart of the nation some great hero, or some great achievement of the Irish race. The passion of the race had found an articulate voice; a soul had come into Erin. Never before in the history of Ireland had popular leader such moral and intellectual support as the *Nation* rallied to the side of O'Connell in this his second great struggle for National Independence.

At the opening of the year 1843 Alderman O'Connell moved in the Dublin Corporation, "That a petition should be presented to Parliament from the Corporation of Dublin for the Repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland." The debate lasted three days, and O'Connell's speech was a miracle of power. He began by setting forth, formally and logically, nine distinct propositions on which he relied to establish his case:—

1st. The capability and capacity of the Irish nation for an Independent Legislature.

2nd. The perfect right of Ireland to have a domestic Parliament.

3rd. That this right was fully established by the transactions of 1782.

4th. That the most beneficial effects accrued to Ireland from her Parliamentary Independence.

5th. That the Irish Parliament was utterly incompetent to annihilate the Irish Constitution by uniting with England.

6th. That as the Union was carried by fraud, force, terror, and the grossest corruption, it was not a bargain or contract.

7th. That the most disastrous consequences resulted to Ireland from the Union.

8th. That the Union can be abolished by peaceable and constitu-

tional means, without the violation of law, and without the destruction of property or life.

9th. That none but the most satisfactory results can spring from a Repeal of the Union.

These propositions he proceeded to illustrate successively in detail. "No great orator ever depended so much on matter and so little on style. Had his case for an Irish Parliament been subjected to the careful pruning to which a literary artist submits his work, there would have remained a masterpiece of persuasive oratory, almost worthy to take its place with the orations against Philip and Catiline." The burden of the reply was thrown upon Alderman Butt, then a leader of the young Conservatives. His speech was not an oratorical success, and was quite inadequate as an answer to a statement so large and comprehensive as that which O'Connell had made. The petition was adopted by a vote of 41 to 15.

The Corporation debate created a profound impression. Men eminent in social position, among them Lord Ffrench and his sons, and The O'Conor Don, joined the Association. Some Ulster Protestants also gave in their adhesion, amongst them John Mitchel, a man destined to leave his mark indelibly on the history of his country. It soon became evident also that the great body of the Catholic prelates were prepared to co-operate with the Association. Monster meetings, enormous in their dimensions, and intense in their enthusiasm, were held throughout the spring and summer on the sites of great historical transactions. The Government were seriously alarmed, and on the 9th of May Lord Roden, Grand Master of the Orangemen, in one House of Parliament, and his eldest son in the other, demanded of Ministers whether they intended to take any measures to suppress Repeal meetings and to maintain the Legislative Union. The Duke of Wellington in reply said, "It would be the duty of her Majesty's servants to take every measure in their power that would tend to maintain the Union, and prevent any disturbance of the public peace." Sir Robert Peel was more specific. He said, "I am prepared to make the declaration which was made, and nobly made, by Lord Althorp, that deprecating as I do all war, but above all, civil war, yet there is no alternative which I do not think preferable to the dismemberment of this great Empire." These Ministerial declarations reached Dublin while O'Connell was in the act of addressing one of his weekly audiences. He paused a moment, and then in thrilling tones exclaimed, "I belong to a nation of eight millions, and there is besides a million of Irishmen in England. If Sir Robert Peel has the audacity to cause a contest to take place between the two countries, we will put him in the wrong, for we will begin no rebellion; but I tell him from this place that he dare not begin that strife against Ireland." From that day forth the tone of the monster meetings became fiercer and more

defiant. The effect produced on the young men by the Ministerial menace may be inferred from the following extract:—

"To Davis and his associates it was a moral necessity that they should see their way clearly, and select it deliberately. They accepted O'Connell's programme to press on the organization, and, if it were interrupted by any arbitrary stroke of authority, to resist the aggression. But they were persuaded that it was a waste of time to array masses of men and utter defiant language in order to overcome the opposition of England, if the will of the Irish people in the last resource proved to be not a sheathed sword, but an empty scabbard. The peaceful processes of the Constitution by which changes are accomplished in England, without any exhibition of force, rest on the understanding that the will of the people, whenever it is clearly ascertained, will prevail, but in Ireland this principle was far from being acknowledged; in Ireland it was necessary to forecast the next stage. The young men, who relied much more confidently than O'Connell did on winning over the Protestant middle class, believed that a united nation could accomplish their wishes surely and peacefully. They knew that the Protestant middle class would be estranged by any apprehension of a physical conflict with England, and such a conflict was therefore a contingency they would gladly have averted—provided it could be averted with honour. But whatever they threatened or promised they meant, to the best of their ability, to accomplish when the need came. They desired to raise a nation of eight millions and upwards, inhabiting an island rich in the elements of public wealth, to its natural and rightful place among nations, and they aimed to do so as Grattan had done by negotiation, supported by the ascertained will of the people. But if negotiation so supported failed, they were prepared, and resolved to fight and die rather than that their native land should continue to be impoverished and humiliated for the profit of strangers. It was at this price liberty had been bought by other nations, and it was not, they thought, too high a price. Tested by the strict maxims of municipal law, or the obligations of allegiance, such an intention was doubtless an offence which carries the heaviest penalty; but if it be tested by the law to which Englishmen appeal when they have to judge the aspirations of Hungarians or Italians, the natural law founded on the obligations of conscience and the inherent rights of a people, a different verdict will probably be pronounced."

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Sir Edward Sugden, seeing that a considerable number of magistrates attended Repeal meetings, determined to remove such gentlemen, by *supersedeas*, from the commission of the peace. Lord Ffrench and his two sons, O'Connell and his eldest son, Sir Michael Dillon Bellew, Colonel Butler, M.P., Caleb Powell, M.P., Count Nugent, Edmund Burke Roche, M.P., Sir Valentine Blake, M.P., Sir Benjamin Morris, Mayor of Waterford, and other gentlemen, twenty-four in all, were immediately removed from the roll of magistrates. This unconstitutional proceeding excited indignation among all classes in Ireland, and evoked a spirit of resistance worthy of Irish gentlemen. As an emphatic protest against it about twenty members of the junior bar, among them Sir Colman O'Loghlen, late member for Clare, and Thomas O'Hagan, the present illustrious Lord Chancellor of Ireland, joined the Association in one day. The movement of the bar extended to the country gentlemen, who considered their office degraded by the system established by the Chancellor.

"Mr. Smith O'Brien became the spokesman of this sentiment. William Smith O'Brien was a younger son of one of the great historic Irish houses. His descent from Brian Borhoime—the Alfred of Irish history—was as well established as the descent of William the Fourth from William the Conqueror. At an early period after the Reformation this branch of the O'Briens had become Protestants, and in the time of the Commonwealth had allied themselves with Cromwell and become odious to the nation. In the Irish Parliament his father resisted the Union along with the best of his order, but from the pride of class rather than the pride of race. Smith O'Brien had made his first plunge into Irish politics at the Clare election of 1828, in opposition to O'Connell, and had since stood coldly aloof from the Irish tribune in the House of Commons. But he was a man keenly sensitive to injustice, and more easily moved to wrath by a public than by a personal wrong. With a genuine sympathy for the industrious people he was an aristocrat in feeling and sentiment, and was proud and jealous of the character of an Irish gentleman. He probably felt outraged that the son of an English barber should have presumed to menace an Irish peer, and might even esteem himself entitled to issue orders to the descendant of an Ardrigh, who had ruled Ireland before the House of Hanover emerged into history. Mr. O'Brien inquired in Parliament whether the law as interpreted by the Chancellor extended to England? And he desired, for his own guidance, to be informed, if he presented a petition for Repeal of the Union from either of the counties of which he was a magistrate, whether he would not be superseded? Sir James Graham, who was then Home Secretary, made a petulant and evasive reply; and Mr. O'Brien resigned the commission of the peace. Henry Grattan, member for Meath, the bearer of another historic name, followed his example. John Power of Gurteen, Kean Mahony, John Hyacinth Talbot, and other Whig country gentlemen of note, took the same course, and after a little time Sir Richard Musgrave and Lord Cloncurry.

"The thanks of the Association were voted to Mr. O'Brien for the example he had set. In acknowledging it he declared that he was not a Repealer. He was still disposed to believe that justice and good government might be obtained without a dissolution of the Union, but he could not blame those who thought differently for organizing to give their opinion effect."

The dismissal of the magistrates was accompanied by the introduction in the House of Commons by Lord Elliot of a new Arms Bill of the most stringent character. It was in vain that some Irish members, notably Lord Clements, Sharman Crawford, and Mr. Sheil, resisted; in vain that Mr. Smith O'Brien moved that instead of meeting the discontent of Ireland with a new Arms Bill, the House should resolve itself into a committee "to consider the cause of the discontent with a view to the redress of grievances;" the Bill was passed into law by large majorities. "While the Bill for disarming Ireland was pending," writes John Mitchel in his *History of Ireland*, "far off on the banks of the Indus Napier went into action with 3,000 troops against 25,000, only 400 of his men being British soldiers; but those 400 were a Tipperary regiment—the 22nd—and they did their work in such style as made the grey old warrior shout aloud, 'Magnificent Tipperary!'" The greatest of the monster meetings were those of Tara and Mullaghmast, both in the province of Leinster; but that of Mallow is memorable for the remarkable speech there delivered by O'Connell. It was known afterwards as the "Mallow Defiance." He said:—

"They spent Thursday in consulting whether they would deprive us of our rights, and I know not what the result of that council may be; but this I know, there was not an Irishman in the council. I may be told that the Duke of Wellington was there. Who calls him an Irishman? If a tiger's cub was dropped in a fold, would it be a lamb? But perhaps I am wrong in anticipating; perhaps I am mistaken in warning you. But is there reason to caution you? The council sat for an entire day, and even then did not conclude its deliberations, but adjourned to the next day, while the business of the country was allowed to stand still. What had they to deliberate about? The Repealers were peaceable, loyal, and attached—affectionately attached—to the Queen, and determined to stand between her and her enemies. If they assailed us to-morrow, and that we conquered them—as conquer them we will one day—the first use of that victory which we would make would be, to place the sceptre in the hands of her who has ever shown us favour, and whose conduct has ever been full of sympathy and emotion for our sufferings. Suppose, then, for a moment, that England found the Act of Union to operate not for her benefit—if, instead of decreasing her debt, it added to her taxation and liabilities, and made her burden more onerous—and if she felt herself entitled to call for a repeal of that Act, I ask Peel and Wellington, and let them deny it if they dare, and if they did they would be the scorn and by-word of the world, would she not have the right to call for a repeal of that Act? And what are Irishmen that they should be denied the same privilege? Have we not the ordinary courage of Englishmen? Are we to be trampled under foot? Oh, they shall never trample me, at least. I was wrong—they may trample me under foot—I say, they may trample me, but it will be my dead body they will trample on, not the living man."

Can it be a matter of surprise that, weighing these solemn declarations, and contemplating the attitude of the Government, Davis and his friends arrived at the conclusion that an armed struggle between the countries was a possible contingency? They were averse to war, if it could be honourably avoided; but if it were forced upon them they would wage it to the last. They were averse even to agitation if it could be avoided, for they held that it was a waste of the life of the nation, of the divine energy which in other channels might make her prosperous and renowned. They hoped to effect a union of Irishmen of all creeds and classes, and then to negotiate; but if negotiation should fail they were determined to take the next inevitable step. Davis was in the habit of opening his mind fully in private correspondence with his friend Daniel Owen Maddyn. In one of those letters he makes remarks which seem not quite inapplicable to the present state of things in Ireland.

"The machinery at present working for Repeal could never, under circumstances like the present, achieve it; but circumstances *must* change. Within ten or fifteen years England must be in peril. Assuming this much, I argue thus. Modern Anglicanism, *i.e.* Utilitarianism, the creed of Russell and Peel as well as of the Radicals, this thing, call it Yankeeism or Englishism, which measures prosperity by exchangeable value, measures duty by gain, and limits desire to clothes, food, and respectability; this damned thing has come into Ireland under the Whigs, and is equally the favourite of the *Peel* Tories. It is believed in the political assemblies in our cities, preached from our pulpits (always Utilitarian or persecuting); it is the very apostles' creed of the professions, and threatens to corrupt the lower classes, who are still faithful and

romantic. To use every literary and political engine against this seems to me the first duty of an Irish patriot who can foresee consequences. Believe me, this is a greater though not so obvious a danger as Papal supremacy. So much worse do I think it, that, sooner than suffer the iron gates of that filthy dungeon to close on us, I would submit to the certainty of a Papal supremacy; knowing that the latter should end in some twenty years—leaving the people mad it might be, but not sensual and mean. Much more willingly would I take the *chance* of a Papal supremacy, which even a few of us laymen could check, shake, and prepare (if not effect) the ruin of. Still more willingly would I (if Anglicanism, *i.e.* Sensualism, were the alternative) take the hazard of open war, sure that if we succeeded the military leaders would compel the bigots down, establish a thoroughly national Government, and one whose policy, somewhat arbitrary, would be anti-Anglican and anti-sensual; and if we failed it would be in our own power before dying to throw up huge barriers against English vices, and dying to leave example and a religion to the next age."

There has always been a land question in Ireland, and it must not be inferred that the young men were regardless of it, or undervalued its importance. A settlement of it on the basis of justice to landlords and tenants was a prominent feature of their policy. Their views on the subject were thus plainly set forth in an authoritative manifesto in the *Nation* :—

"On the Tenure Question our course has been an open and decided one.

"We seek to secure to the peasant land at a just rent.

"A just rent would leave him comfort and some leisure.

"We seek for him the value of all the labour or money he spends in improvements.

"And we seek prospective laws, which shall tend, by a natural and easy change, to reduce the great estates and create a body of small proprietors in fee throughout every part of Ireland.

"But we are not ready to jump into a servile war for this purpose.

"On the contrary, we shall do our best to make the landlords recognise that the postponement of the tenure settlement, or the decline of the political agitation, would lead to an anti-rent movement, which might end in a disastrous rebellion, but would begin by reducing them to beggary, and could not be quelled by the defeat of insurgent armies."

Read by the light of passing events the last paragraph is prophetic. The disaster predicted in 1843 has well nigh come to pass in 1880. Seven and thirty years of unspeakable calamity to Ireland, and of ineffaceable reproach to Government. Seven and thirty years, and yet the programme of 1843 is the only one that meets the requirements of justice and of Ireland to-day. Security of tenure, fair rents, right of the tenant to sell his interest in his holding—these, with reasonable facilities for the natural and gradual growth of a peasant proprietary, must form the basis of any wise scheme of land reform. Expropriation, if it could be realised, would be simply disastrous.

The last of the monster meetings for 1843 was fixed for Sunday, the 8th of October, at Clontarf, a suburb of Dublin. No riot, tumult, or disorder had occurred at any of the previous meetings; their

object—to petition Parliament for the repeal of an Act of Parliament—was confessedly legal, and there was no reason to apprehend that this particular meeting would be interfered with. Late on Saturday afternoon a proclamation appeared prohibiting the meeting. Why had not that proclamation appeared on an earlier day? Why was it held back till late in the afternoon when already thousands of people were on the road to Clontarf? There is good authority for the belief, which still exists, that no proclamation at all would have been issued if it were not for Sir Edward Blakeney, Commander of the Forces, who declared before the Privy Council that if notice were not given to the people he would not take the command of the troops upon that day. Was a surprise then really meditated, and was Lord Cloncurry justified in stigmatising the Clontarf arrangements as a "projected massacre?" The situation was one of extreme embarrassment for O'Connell. The proclamation was not legal, but if, in defiance of it, the people were allowed to assemble there would be a collision, and the collision would result only in a massacre. The people were totally unprepared, and never was force so well prepared as that which, without notice, they would be called upon to encounter. O'Connell decided to obey the proclamation, and forthwith trusty messengers were sent into the country to warn the people and turn them back. On Sunday the place of meeting and all the roads leading from the city were occupied by the military; the Lord Lieutenant and the Commander of the Forces rode out to inspect the field of battle; but there was no enemy. At this time an army of 50,000 men, including police, was in full military occupation of the island. Within a week O'Connell and eight others, including Duffy, were held to bail to take their trial for "conspiracy and other misdemeanors."

The chapters descriptive of the trials in the Court of Queen's Bench, Dublin, and of the proceedings before the House of Lords on the Writ of Error, have at the present moment a peculiar interest, and will repay an attentive perusal. According to the Special Jury Act, at that time in force, merchants and traders worth £5,000 and their eldest sons were entitled to be on the special jury list of the city of Dublin. Thus, my own name (I was then a law student and in college) found its way into the special list. In striking the jury, forty-eight names were taken by ballot out of the jurors' book in the Crown office. Then each party, the Crown and the traverser, had the privilege of striking off twelve, leaving twenty-four names. Of the forty-eight names eleven only (my own included) were of Catholics, and we were one by one struck off by the Crown. It was this proceeding mainly which caused the reversal of the verdict by the law lords, and called forth the memorable expression, "A mockery, a delusion, and a snare." Had I been admitted on O'Connell's jury, as unquestionably I should have been, a verdict

of guilty would not have been found, and subsequent events would have taken a different course.

The prosecution was followed by a large accession to the national ranks. Many Protestants and several of the landed gentry joined the Repeal Association, among them William Smith O'Brien. The character of O'Brien is admirably portrayed in the following passage:—

"It is scarcely possible now, when his name has been soiled by failure and by persistent disparagement, to estimate justly the effect of Mr. Smith O'Brien's conversion on the public mind. His family were by rank and possessions among the most distinguished of the Protestant gentry; they had formerly, and have since, been ennobled by the Crown; he had lived and been educated among Englishmen of his own rank, and after twenty years of parliamentary experience he had won a prominent place among the small body of Irish Whigs whom it was the policy of English ministers to court. Had he desired office it is certain that office was within his reach. His abilities, which were carefully cultivated, have been pronounced by no prejudiced critic to be 'far from inconsiderable,'[1] and they rested on the foundation of a moral nature as solid as has not often been given to man. To the Celtic imagination the new recruit was an historical personage, the representative of a house which for twenty generations had ruled territories, conducted negotiations, and marshalled armies, and the lineal heir of a king still familiar to the memory of the nation after eight hundred years. But in truth he was something of far higher value to them than this. He was the incarnation of public duty. At forty years of age, with tastes, opinions, and friendships unchangeably formed, he separated himself from the associates of a lifetime, to join a party in their day of humiliation, many of whom offended his taste, and some of whom alarmed his judgment, because he believed that in joining them he followed the path of duty. From his English education, he derived manners which his countrymen regarded as cold, but they covered a kindness of purpose, and a fidelity in friendship not always found in men of more genial and expansive nature. He never attained to popular eloquence, but it was an impressive and hopeful spectacle in later times to see an Irish audience listening with eager interest to his measured, and sometimes stilted, language on the public platform, because they had come to understand that it represented his opinions and intentions with rigid accuracy. Of the gifts which he brought to the national cause, the most important was his example; an example of statements always corresponding accurately with the facts, and promises strictly performed."

During the imprisonment the national movement daily grew in dignity, in character, and in strength. The young men worked with redoubled zeal, not only in the committee of the Association, but through the Repeal Reading Rooms in the country, and the literary and archæological societies in the metropolis. "We must do more," wrote Davis, "to educate the people. That is the only moral force in which I have any faith. Mere agitation is either bullying or preparation for war. I condemn the former, others of the party condemn the latter. But we all agree in the policy of education." The *Library of Ireland*, a series of monthly volumes of history, biography, and criticism, at one shilling, was established, and had an extraordinary success. Another series of publications entered

(1) Mr. Disraeli's *Life of Lord George Bentinck*.

upon was the *Orators of Ireland*. National art was stimulated by the offer of prizes for paintings, drawings, and architectural designs. National music was encouraged, and the songs of the *Nation* were introduced into ball-rooms, which up to that time had been strangers even to the melodies of Moore. "In fact," says the learned author of the *O'Connell Centenary Record*, "at no period of the modern history of Ireland was there ever such intellectual activity and energy; never did journalism attain such popular influence; and never did there emanate from the Irish press such a profusion of able and remarkable works in every field of national literature as within this brief period." One of the most zealous of the literary workers was the Rev. C. P. Mechan, and I mention his name because, happily, he is still spared to illustrate by his learning and researches eventful eras in his country's history. He has produced within the last few years two works of immense value, "The Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell," and "The Franciscan Monasteries and the Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century." The latter, which has reached a fifth edition, contains many important documents transcribed from manuscripts in St. Isidore's, at Rome, and in the library of the Franciscans at Dublin. Of the other survivors, Mr. D. F. M'Carthy has translated *Calderon*, and Mr. John O'Hagan the *Song of Roland*.

It is not true, as sometimes alleged, that Young Ireland was animated by a ferocious hatred of the Saxon. These young men loved their country, and wished that she should be independent even as England is. But one of them thus wrote:—

"We are not animated by any malignant hatred of England and the English. No such thing. We saw revived in the glory of that great country more than the power of Imperial Rome. We recognised in her institutions the most formidable social system the world ever saw—great in arms, illustrious in arts, in science, and in literature; unlimited in empire, unbounded in the range of its power—but we saw in her, too, the malignant influences under which *our* national honour, *our* national glory, *our* national prosperity withered, drooped, and died."

Young Ireland was not a party in the ordinary or political acceptation of the word. It consisted of a number of young men, some of whom had grown up together in our Catholic colleges, or studied together in our university, and more of whom had met accidentally in society. Kindred tastes, impulses, and aspirations drew them towards each other, and their bond of union was their attachment to Thomas Davis. His death, on the 5th September, 1845, was an irreparable loss. They were not all of them soldiers, or statesmen, or men of genius. They were a band of simple gallant gentlemen who loved their country, and were ready to devote to her service their lives and fortunes. Through good report and ill, at home and abroad, in freedom and in chains, they maintained their own and their country's honour.

P. J. SMYTH.

SHORT NOTES ON ENGLISH POETS:

CHAUCER; SPENSER; THE SONNETS OF SHAKESPEARE; MILTON.

It was no unmemorable day in the history of English letters when Thomas Campbell, the Callistratus of Great Britain, undertook to select and comment on his Specimens of the British Poets with the hand which had given to England her only two great national songs. No hand, it must have been thought, could be fitter for this only less glorious task; and with all its grave and many shortcomings his collection remains as yet unrivalled and unapproached, as the very flower of our too manifold anthologies. A yet greater and heavier undertaking has in our own day been attempted and accomplished by a more thoughtful and sometimes a more trustworthy critic than Campbell. Having before this had occasion to remark in terms of somewhat strong deprecation on the principle adopted by Mr. William Rossetti in his revision and rearrangement of the text of our greatest lyric poet, I am the more desirous to bear witness to the elevation and the excellence of his critical workmanship in this wider and more general field. On some points I differ gravely from his estimate; once or twice I differ from it on all points; but on the whole I find it not acceptable merely but admirable as the very best and most sufficient ever yet given of some at least among the leading names of our poets.

Four of these are by him selected as composing the supreme quadrilateral of English song. It is through no lack of love and reverence for the name of Chaucer that I must question his right, though the first narrative poet of England, to stand on that account beside her first dramatic, her first epic, or her first lyric poet. But, being certainly unprepared to admit his equality with Shakespeare, with Milton, and with Shelley, I would reduce Mr. Rossetti's mystic four to the old sacred number of three. Pure or mere narrative is a form essentially and avowedly inferior to the lyrical or the dramatic form of poetry; and the finer line of distinction which marks it off from the epic marks it also thereby as inferior.

Of all whose names may claim anything like equality of rank on the roll of national poets—not even excepting Virgil—we may say that Chaucer borrowed most from abroad, and did most to improve whatever he borrowed. I believe it would be but accurate to admit that in all his poems of serious or tragic narrative we hear a French or Italian tongue speaking with a Teutonic accent through English lips. It has utterly unlearnt the native tone and cadence of its natural inflections; it has perfectly put on the native tone and

cadence of a stranger's; yet is it always what it was at first—*lingua romana in bocca tedesca.* It speaks not only with more vigour but actually with more sweetness than the tongues of its teachers; but it speaks after its own fashion no other than the lesson they have taught. Chaucer was in the main a French or Italian poet, lined thoroughly and warmly throughout with the substance of an English humourist. And with this great gift of specially English humour he combined, naturally as it were and inevitably, the inseparable twin-born gift of peculiarly English pathos. In the figures of Arcite and Grisilde, he has actually outdone Boccaccio's very self for pathos: as far almost as Keats was afterwards to fall short of the same great model in the same great quality. And but for the instinctive distaste and congenital repugnance of his composed and comfortable genius from its accompanying horror, he might haply have come nearer than he has cared or dared to come even to the unapproachable pathos of Dante. But it was only in the world of one who stands far higher above Dante than even Dante can on the whole be justly held to stand above Chaucer, that figures as heavenly as the figures of Beatrice and Matilda could move unspotted and undegraded among figures as earthly as those of the Reve, the Miller, and the Wife of Bath: that a wider if not keener pathos than Ugolino's or Francesca's could alternate with a deeper if not richer humour than that of Absolon and Nicholas.

It is a notable dispensation of chance—one which a writer who might happen to be almost a theist might designate in the deliciously comical phrase of certain ambiguous pietists as "almost providential"—that the three great typical poets of the three great representative nations of Europe during the dark and lurid lapse of the Middle Ages should each afford as complete and profound a type of a different and alien class as of a different and alien people. Vast as are the diversities of their national and personal characters, these are yet less radical than the divergences between class and class which mark off each from either of his fellows in nothing but in fame. Dante represents, at its best and highest, the upper class of the dark ages not less than he represents their Italy; Chaucer represents their middle class at its best and wisest, not less than he represents their England; Villon represents their lower class at its worst and its best alike, even more than he represents their France. And of these three the English middle class, being incomparably the happiest and the wisest, is indisputably, considering the common circumstances of their successive times, the least likely to have left us the highest example of all poetry then possible to men. And of their three legacies, precious and wonderful as it is, the Englishman's is accordingly the least wonderful and the least precious. The poet of the sensible and prosperous middle class in England had

less to suffer and to sing than the theosophic aristocrat of Italy, or the hunted and hungry vagabond who first found articulate voice for the dumb longing and the blind love as well as for the reckless appetites and riotous agonies of the miserable and terrible multitude in whose darkness lay dormant, as in a corecloth which was also a chrysalid, the debased and disfigured godhead which was one day to exchange the degradation of the lowest populace for the revelation of the highest people—for the world-wide apocalypse of France. The golden-tongued gallows-bird of Paris is distinguished from his two more dignified compeers by a deeper difference yet—a difference, we might say, of office and of mission no less than of genius and of gift. Dante and Chaucer are wholly and solely poets of the past or present—singers indeed for all time, but only singers of their own: Villon, in an equivocal and unconscious fashion, was a singer also of the future; he was the first modern and the last mediæval poet. He is of us, in a sense in which it cannot be said that either Chaucer or Dante is of us, or even could have been; a man of a changing and self-transforming time, not utterly held fast, though still sorely struggling, in the jaws of hell and the ages of faith.

But in happy perfection of manhood the great and fortunate Englishman almost more exceeds his great and unfortunate follow-singers than he is exceeded by them in depth of passion and height of rapture, in ardour and intensity of vision or of sense. With the single and sublimer exception of Sophocles, he seems to me the happiest of all great poets on record; their standing type and sovereign example of noble and manly happiness. As prosperous indeed in their several ages and lines of life were Petrarch and Ariosto, Horace and Virgil; but one only of these impresses us in every lineament of his work with the same masculine power of enjoyment. And when Ariosto threw across the windy sea of glittering legend and fluctuant romance the broad summer lightnings of his large and jocund genius, the dark ages had already returned into the outer darkness where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth—the tears of Dante Alighieri and the laughter of François Villon. But the wide warm harvest-field of Chaucer's husbandry was all glorious with gold of ripening sunshine while all the world beside lay in blackness and bonds, throughout all those ages of death called ages of faith by men who can believe in nothing beyond a building or a book, outside the codified creeds of a Bible or the œcumenical structures of a Church.

Before I take my reverent leave of Chaucer, I will express in passing a slight sense of regret that Mr. Rossetti should not have added to his notice of the *Troilus and Cryseide*—a choice passage of exquisite analysis and panegyric, with every word of which I most cordially concur—some little note of applause for the Scottish poet

Henryson's equally adventurous and admirable sequel to that poem. For truth and power of pathetic imagination, the last meeting of Troilus with the wayside leper who once had all his heart, and played it all away at the May-game of light love, may be matched against the very best work of Chaucer: nor do I remember anything in it all so deeply and truly tragic as the doom of the transformed and disfigured traitress, who, meeting no recognition in the eyes of her old lover as he looks on her and sighs and passes, with an alms thrown sadly as to a stranger, falls back and dies in silence.

The earnest search or labour after righteousness of judgment and absolute accuracy of estimate which always, whether it may finally succeed or fail, distinguishes the critical talent of Mr. Rossetti is very happily exemplified in his analysis and summary of the aims and the claims of Spenser. His judgment or his sentiment on this matter may be said to strike a balance between the enthusiastic devotion of Scott and Southey, Ruskin and Leigh Hunt, and the wearied indifference or positive distaste of Landor. As a descendant of the great Latin race, he has naturally by way of birthright the gift which he is bound to have, an inborn sense of rule and outline which makes him instinctively aware of Spenser's shortcoming on that side, and logically averse from the luminous and fluid nebulosity of Spenser's cloudy and flowery fairyland. The lack of tangible form and line, of human flesh and breath and blood on the limbs and at the lips and in the veins of Spenser's active or passive and militant or triumphant congregation of impersonated virtues and vices, is inevitably perceptible to a scholar and evangelist of Dante, who must perforce be unconsciously inclined to measure all poets more or less after the standard of the mighty master whose missionary he was born by right at once of inheritance and of intelligence. Dante was beyond all other poets a materialist;—and this, I have heard it remarked, is of course what Blake meant to convey by the quaint apparent paradox of his essentially accurate objection to the "atheism" (as he called it) of Dante; with whom the finest forms of abstract qualities that the scholastic ingenuity of mediæval metaphysicians could devise and define became hard and sharp and rigid as tempered steel. Give Dante a moral image, he will make of it a living man: show Spenser a living man, he will make of him a moral image. It is not to the existence of allegory in Spenser that all save his fanatical admirers object; it is to the fact that this allegory, like Mrs. Malaprop's "on the banks of the Nile," is a rapacious and insatiable impostor who attracts and devours all living likenesses of men and women within reach. There is allegory also in Homer and in Dante: but prayers in Homer and qualities in Dante become vital and actual forms of living and breathing crea-

tures. In Spenser the figure of a just man melts away into the quality of justice, the likeness of a chaste woman is dissolved into the abstraction of chastity. Nothing can be more alien from the Latin genius, with its love of clearness and definite limitation, than this indefinite and inevitable cloudiness of depiction rather than conception, which reduces the most tangible things to impalpable properties, resolves the solidest realities into smoke of perfumed metaphor from the crucible of symbolic fancy, and suffuses with Cimmerian mist the hard Italian sunlight. Add to this the cloying sweetness of the Spenserian metre, with all "its treasures of fluidity and sweet ease" (as Mr. Arnold, with his usual studious felicity of exquisite phrase, has so perfectly described it), which leaves at least some readers, after a dose of a few pages, overgorged with a sense that they have been eating a whole hive's harvest of thick pressed honey by great spoonfuls, without one halfpennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of sweet-stuff; and it is easy to determine why the attraction of this noble poet, for all his luminous colour and lovely melody, the raiment of high thinking and fine feeling, is perhaps less potent than it should be over minds first nurtured on the stronger fare of Greek or Latin or Italian song. The Tarpeian Muse of Spenser is not indeed crushed—there is too much vigorous and supple vitality in her lovely limbs for that—but she is heavily burdened if not sorely bruised by the ponderous and brilliant weight of allegoric shields, emblazoned with emblematic heraldry of all typic and chivalric virtues, which her poet has heaped upon her by way of signs and bucklers of her high and holy enterprise in "fairy lands forlorn," through twilight woodlands and flowery wastes of mythical and moral song. With almost equal truth he might be said to have founded and to have followed the fashion of allegorical poetry which in the next generation ran riot through the voluminous verse of his disciples till it reached its head, not even in the works of the two lesser Fletchers, but—as if the names of our dramatic Dioscuri were foredoomed to poetical conjunction and unconscious fellowship on far other ways than theirs—in the limitless and lampless labyrinth of Joseph Beaumont's *Psyche*. Allegory was no doubt a powerful factor to be reckoned with in casting up the account of English poetry before Spenser; but in the allegories of his most notable precursors down to Sackville there is surely as much more of body, of tangible and palpable outline, than in his, as there is less of it in any of his followers. I cannot, therefore, but think that the great influence of Spenser on succeeding poets whose lines of work lay outside the fields of lyric and dramatic verse was far from being good as well as great. Outside those fields there was no man—unless a not very significant exception be claimed for Drayton and

for Daniel as narrative chroniclers of some small and partial note—there was no man till the sundawn of Milton who could make head for a moment against that influence. The one great poet who might have done this also as well as the work he did—the yet worthier and surely far mightier work of founding the tragic stage of England—had only time to leave us a broken sample of nobler narrative and purer power than Spenser's, in the unimitated if not inimitable model of his *Hero and Leander*. And all who came after them found it easier to follow the discursive and decorative style of Spenser than the more "simple, sensuous, and passionate" manner of Marlowe.

Mr. Rossetti's critical memoir of Shakespeare is in its kind a most absolute and masterly model of simple and sufficient workmanship. The little all we know concerning the master of us all who know aught of English song is here arranged and explained with blameless care and fine lucidity of brief yet full remark. I observe only one seeming slip of memory or passing lapse of attention; his oversight of the generally noticed and obviously noticeable fact that the very first line of the anti-Lucian doggrel affixed by tradition to the gate of Charlecote Park with the apocryphal hand of Shakespeare bears the stamp on it of forgery, in the linguistic anachronism of the title or titles therein bestowed on Sir Thomas.

But the central jewel of this excellent essay, and the crowning glory of this admirable book, is the commentator's summary of opinion as to the subject and significance of the sonnets. What Coleridge, under the kindly influence of a far too indulgent mood, said "in his haste" of Weber's Beaumont and Fletcher, may with simple justice be said of Mr. Rossetti's brief and perfect bit of work upon this difficult matter. We owe to him, "I will not say the best—for that would be saying little—but a good" commentary on the sonnets of Shakespeare. I speak here especially of "the second and shorter," but (as Mr. Rossetti does not perhaps sufficiently observe or emphasize) incomparably the more important and altogether precious "division of the sonnets." Upon this question it seems to me that he, and he alone among all commentators of whom I know anything, has seen and spoken, as far as is now or perhaps ever was possible to see and speak, "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." I do not care—be it said with all genuine and cordial respect—to follow him any more than others into the fruitless and thorny ground of word-splitting debate as to the discernible personality of one Will or two Wills on whose name the greatest man who ever bore it has once and again rung fantastic changes of quibbling and smiling rhyme; what I recognise and what I would indicate as worthy of all praise is the writer's own recognition of the plainly probable truth, expressed in a terse and

luminous exposition of the apparent evidence: to the surely quite simple and natural effect, that the younger friend whom Shakespeare loved with such a tender and passionate admiration of his noble and attractive qualities—his inward and outward, casual and essential endowments of mind and person—as could only be possible to a man of radically noble and high-minded nature, and could only express itself after the ardent fashion of the sonnets in the single age and generation of Shakespeare, did wilfully or involuntarily seduce from him the not invaluable affections of a paramour who had for some time obtained a hold upon the mind as well as the senses of Shakespeare which he felt to be injurious and unworthy of his better instincts, knowing that the ill-requited affection which he bore to the friend who had won from him her heart or her fancy was yet a wiser and worthier feeling than the perverse and reluctant passion which still attracted him towards the malign and dangerous beauty of their common mistress: in a word, that the man's friendship, however far he might have been led astray by the temptress from its honest and straightforward course, was better worth his keeping or regretting than such love as could be given to either by such a woman. So chaotic and comfortless a result of Shakespeare's ultimate relations towards a mistress and a friend may be deplorable enough for sympathetic worshippers of his genius to contemplate, but is surely neither unprecedented nor unparalleled nor improbable in itself. And we have the combined evidence of all tradition and of all his later works to show that Shakespeare, however hard he may have had to swim for a time against this sea of personal troubles, did long before his latter days succeed in taking better arms against them than those of suicide, and did, after some fashion worthier of himself, in time by opposing end them.

A name so illustrious has recently been added to the list of theirs who dispute or deny the supposition that even in his sonnets the most inscrutably impersonal of poets did actually "unlock his heart," that it might seem negligent if not insolent to take no account of such antagonism to the opinion which to me seems so clearly just and right. Mr. Browning, perhaps in all points the furthest removed from Wordsworth of all poets in this century, cites with something of a sneer the well-known expression of Wordsworth which gives us his opinion to that effect; and, as if scornfully rejecting a supposed suggestion that he also should do likewise, retorts in a tone of assured defiance—

> "Did Shakespeare? If so, the less Shakespeare he!"

No, I must venture to reply; no whit the less like Shakespeare, but undoubtedly the less like Browning. In the dedication of *Luria* and *A Soul's Tragedy*, the exact distinctive quality of the immortal

man to whom those noble plays are dedicated was defined with admirable accuracy: Landor is "a great dramatic poet," as opposed to a great dramatist: and they are not the least ardent and studious admirers of Mr. Browning himself, who think that the same distinctive definition is not less accurately applicable to his own genius also. Now, even in default of his personal and articulate evidence to that effect, we should have guessed that Mr. Browning was in no wise wont to unlock his heart with any metrical key to any direct purpose—except, as it might be, "for once," when exchanging, to such noble purpose, a "bronze" for a "silver" instrument. But Shakespeare, not being simply "a great dramatic poet" like Browning or like Landor, but a great dramatist in the most absolute and differential sense of the phrase, might on that very account (it seems to me) be the likelier and the more desirous, under certain circumstances which for us must be all uncertain, to relieve and disburden his mind—to unload his heart rather than to unlock it—in short personal poems of a kind as alien from the special genius or spiritual instinct of Mr. Browning as the utterly impersonal gift of impersonations, not in one form at a time but in many forms at once, by dint of more than dramatic renunciation or annihilation of himself, which makes him the greatest of all dramatists as surely as he is not the greatest of all dramatic poets.

Of Milton Mr. Rossetti speaks with less ardent reverence than might be expected from a republican, though not, it must be owned, than might have been expected from a disciple of Dante. For it is a notable and even deplorable fact that there is one great poet—though happily there is but one—whose disciples would seem to be disqualified by the fact of their discipleship from equal or due appreciation of almost any other. A Shakespearean adept may be a Miltonic believer; a worshipper of Homer or Æschylus, of Sophocles or Lucretius, may be a devout and loyal student of both our supreme Englishmen; but Dante would seem to be as jealous a God as he of the Jews in his most exacting and exclusive mood of monarchy. All his disciples "continually do cry," in direct or indirect fashion,

οὐκ ἀγαθόν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,
εἷς βασιλεύς·

and his name is Alighieri. For these Unitarians or Mohammedans of Parnassus there is but one Muse, and Dante is her prophet. If we would not be reprobate in their eyes we must accept and worship as they do the idol, the whole idol, and nothing but the idol; we must not stop our noses in hell with loathing, nor distend our jaws with yawning in heaven; neither may we worship any other God. Most especially may we not offer sacrifice to any other great Christian or cosmogonic poet; for in him is the whole and sole theogony

revealed by spiritual song. This is a hard saying, and I for one cannot hear it.

If indeed the inevitable question of spiritual value and intellectual insight were to be followed out to such length and depth as alone would suffice for discussion of the relations or adjustment of the balance between these two great Christian poets, and for examination of their respective worth and weight as readers and interpreters of "the sovereign scheme and divine riddle," it would be necessary to go further; to pass out of the atmosphere of their Catholic or Calvinistic theologies and theogonies, and confront the supreme results of poetic wisdom under the influence of Christian doctrine, and within the precincts of Christian discipline, with those of the same spiritual power when working under far other conditions in the native sphere of free contemplation and solemn inquisition into natural mystery more sacred and more strange than all supernatural miracle. Immeasurably beyond contemplation of any Christian poet's capacity is the awfulness of Evil and Expiation as symbolised in the Sophoclean grove of the Furies. But at the ovens and the cesspools of Dante's hell, the soul, if the soul had fingers, would snap them. The perpetuation of the infinitely little for a perpetuity of infinitely mean suffering, the degradation of eternity by the eternity of degradation, in brutal and obscene horror of abject wickedness and abject anguish, is a conception below the serious acceptance of the ancient or the modern mind—fit only for the dead and malodorous level of mediæval faith.

A single sentence of Mr. Rossetti's essay sums up in fourteen emphatic and expressive words the whole side or aspect of his opinion or feeling on the subject of Milton to which I cannot choose but take exception. "Honour," he says, "is the predominant emotion naturally felt towards Milton—hardly enthusiasm—certainly not sympathy." In that case I am simply unable by any stretch of conjecture to imagine what name among all names of patriots or of poets may be found worthy to enkindle this enthusiasm which the mention of Milton's has left cold. Sympathy, indeed, we may well feel that we are hardly worthy to offer: for the very word implies some assumption of moral or spiritual equality; and he must indeed be confident of having always acted up to Milton's own ideal, and ever "made of his own life a heroic poem," who remembering this could think himself worthy to feel sympathy with the action and the passion of such lives as Milton's or Mazzini's. More reasonably may we feel as it were a righteous and a reverent delight in the sense of an inferiority which does not disable or deprive us of the capacity for adoration: a rapture of lowliness which exalts humility itself into something like the gladness of pride —of pride that we can feel and exultation that we may acknowledge

how high above us are men who yet are not too high for the loyal thank-offering, not only of our worship, but surely also of our love.

Again, I must object that "to appraise Milton" is not merely "to appraise *Paradise Lost*;" nor, "conversely," can I admit that "to appraise *Paradise Lost* is in the main," by any manner of means, "to appraise Milton." His own preference, actual or traditional, relative or positive, for *Paradise Regained* is not properly to be dismissed with the conventional expression of astonishment at the unaccountable "perversity" of its author's opinion. Much might be advanced in support or vindication of a judgment which should assign to it the higher place as a poem or complete work of art, while of course reserving for *Paradise Lost* the claim of priority in episodical excellence—in splendour of separate points and exaltation of separate passages. In the central and crowning quality of harmonious and blameless perfection, the Iliad is not more excelled by the Odyssey than is *Paradise Lost* by *Paradise Regained*. In either case the name of the elder poem first of all reminds us of its noblest episodes: the mention of the younger brings back upon us before anything else the serene and supreme impression of the final whole. If this, as we may well believe, was all that Milton ever said or implied in his avowal of preference for the second child of his old age, he said no more than seems to my poor judgment absolutely just and right: as right as might reasonably be expected by men reasonable enough to perceive, and modest enough to acknowledge, the flagrant falsity and the impudent absurdity of the favourite opinion that a great man is probably not the best judge—if, indeed, he be not naturally the worst judge—as to the respective worth of his several great works.

Of all the leading poems which glorify our language none has ever been subjected to such perverse persistency of misjudgment as that which to some students may, from its proper point of view, not unworthily present itself as the master-work of Milton. From Dr. Johnson or from Lord Macaulay we are not surprised to hear the note of condemnation uttered in the key peculiar to either critic: but it is something more than singular to find this most majestic and pathetic of all Milton's works passed over without a word of comment attached to the naked mention of its name. And we cannot turn without keen disappointment from the admirable definition given by Mr. Mark Pattison of *Samson Agonistes* as "the intensest utterance of the most intense of English poets," to the stupefying incongruity of his subsequent admission that "as a composition the drama is languid, nerveless, occasionally halting, never brilliant;" nay, that the "intense action of the presentative faculty is no longer at the disposal of the writer of *Samson*" (a hardly happy expression of a most unhappy judgment). "The simplicity of *Samson Agonistes* is" anything but "a flagging of the

forces, a drying up of the rich sources," and so forth. Of all other illustrious Englishmen the worthiest to applaud and the fittest to judge of Milton has borne heavily enough on some few sufficiently apparent shortcomings in the executive details of this heroic tragedy: but no other of all the most glorious among our countrymen could have paid to the crowning work of Milton such a tribute as this of Landor's.

"Reminiscences of many sad afflictions have already burst upon the poet, but instead of overwhelming him they have endued him with redoubled might and majesty. Verses worthier of a sovran poet, sentiments worthier of a pure, indomitable, inflexible republican, never issued from the human heart than these" (v. 265—277) "referring to the army, in the last effort made to rescue the English nation from disgrace and servitude."

It is the fashion of our day to look for the typical man or representative figure of the English Commonwealth not so much in the poet who glorified as in the Dictator who destroyed it. This is but natural and consistent in such historians as see nothing in the record of our short-lived republic worth admiration or regret but the triumph of a more harsh and earnest form of superstition over one somewhat less hellish in its cast of creed and greatly more graceful in its tone of life, accompanied by the substitution of a stern and steady system of dictatorial rule for the lax and trustless impulse of a treacherous and shifting tyranny; but those whose faith or feeling in the matter of historic patriotism lies deeper than a mere preference for competent over incompetent autocracy must perceive, or at least will believe, that the Restoration which they admire as little as any military-minded Neo-Calvinist or Muscovitic imperialist of their time was not so much the doing of James Monk as the work of Oliver Cromwell: a consummation of catastrophe directly rather than indirectly due to the weakness and selfishness of the nominal and temporary Protector, the actual and final destroyer, of the Commonwealth of England. For surely the dying hand which put into Richard Cromwell's the sceptre of its sway put by that act the crown of England into Monk's for delivery into Charles the Second's. And this, if we never have learnt it from the evidence of Milton himself, we may learn with equal confidence from Landor's that Milton surely saw. "He had grown calmer at the close of life, and saw in Cromwell as a fault what he had seen before as a necessity or a virtue." And therefore is it rather in the loftier, purer, more loyal and more liberal virtue of its poet, than in the dubious and double-faced majesty of its august and imperious Dictator, that we should salute the highest and most perfect type of the English republic; dragged down into his own grave by the fatal dead hand of Cromwell, yet surviving after a sort in the figure

of the blind man "left upright"[1]—in the phrase of a poet as glorious and a republican as faithful as himself—on the verge and in the shadow of her sepulchre.

In private matters, or such as belong to the range of ethics rather than of politics, the instinct of Milton seems to me as much truer and finer than the instinct of Dante as his judgment and his conscience were juster, sounder, purer than the conscience or the judgment of Cromwell. Only those disciples in whom congenital idolatry has passed into the stage of acute monomania can maintain that the quality of Dante's great work is never in any considerable degree impaired by the incessant invasion of merely personal polemics; that the reader is never, or but rarely, fatigued and nauseated by the obtrusion and obsession of "verminous fellows," whom the higher Muses at least should be content to leave in the native and natural shelter of that obscene obscurity which alone is proper to such autocoprophagous animalcules as make the filth they feed on. There are others beside the "brothel lackeys" of a bastard empire, who, as Victor Hugo said once, would desire us to shut our eyes, but compel us to stop our noses.

No matter what manner of offence may naturally be given by creatures whose very nature is offensive, a man who is duly and soberly conscious of any reason for self-respect will ultimately—as Milton did and Dante did not—determine that personal insolence, whether masked as Caliban or manifest as Thersites, shall draw down no further notice from his hand or foot. There are things unmentionable save by a too faithful pupil or too literal imitator of Swift, which, only for our own sake, we are careful not to spurn as we step over them. Upon such Milton did not hesitate to set his heel, when duly guarded by the thick-soled boot of prose; but, unlike Dante, he never permitted the too fetid contact of their stercorous feculence to befoul the sandal of his Muse. The reddening knots of his controversial scourge fell only in cadences of prose, or at least but very rarely in brief reverberation of rhythmic numbers, on the noisome nudity exposed as in provocation of its lash by Saumaise or du Moulin, the literary lackey of a princeling or the cryptonymous railer for his bread.

This high-souled and haughty respect for the dignity of his natural art should be duly borne in mind whenever we are tempted to dwell somewhat disapprovingly on Milton's indefatigable and fierce delight in "double-thonging" such equivocal sons of a dubious kennel; though it will not be denied that he spent more strength of

(1) La République anglaise expire, se dissout,
Tombe, et laisse Milton derrière elle debout:
La foule a disparu, mais le penseur demeure;
C'est assez pour que tout germe, et que rien ne meure.
Victor Hugo: *L'Année Terrible*, Prologue.

arm than he need have wasted on the resonant reiteration of stripes from a deserved but superfluous dog-whip, too constantly sent curling about their currish flanks.

It is certainly no very dignified amusement, no very profitable expenditure of energy or time, to indulge in the easy diversion of [illegible]ing such curs yelp, and watching them writhe under the chastisement which an insulted superior may condescend to inflict, till their foul mouths foam over in futile and furious response, reeking and rabid with virulent froth and exhalations of raging ribaldry. Yet when, like those that swarmed at the heels of Milton, the vermin venture on all possible extremes of personal insult and imputation to which dulness may give ear or malice may give tongue, a man cannot reasonably be held to derogate from the duty and the dignity of self-respect if he spurns or scourges them out of his way. To give these rascals rope is a needless waste of hemp; a spider's thread, spun from the inner impurity of his own venomous vitals, will suffice for such a creature to hang himself.

A ground more plausible may seem to exist for a graver charge against Milton than that of a ferocious condescension to take unmerciful notice of such leprous little malignants as these: for the charge of relentless and unmitigable savagery towards the dead, whose misdoings might seem—or to us may seem at this distance—to have been amply expiated by discomfiture and death. Cheap and not over-nice chivalry—the false Florimel who assumes and degrades the appearance of true knightliness of mind and sound nobility of spirit—is ever ready, when tyrants are fallen or when traitors are degraded, to remind us in the shrillest note of reproachful impertinence that "it is ill boasting over dead men." Ill indeed, and worse than ill, it is, when those who could see nothing to blame in Nero, nothing to loathe in Judas, till the moment of ruin which reduced them to suicide, begin to cast stones at the carrion which had been found worthy of their adoration when a pontiff, of their adulation when an emperor. But ill it would also be, abominable and absurd, if the "piteous and unpitied end" of either were to be held as expiation sufficient to reverse the branding judgment or silence the damning voice of history or of poetry: to bid those now be silent out of pitiable pity and hypocritical high-mindedness, who did not hesitate, while some among the posthumous revilers as well as the posthumous champions of these wretches were prone before the vilest of all idols on their knees like the courtier or on their bellies like the serpent, to call Judas by his name of Iscariot and Nero by his name of Bonaparte.

The self-confident and self-conscious majesty of Milton's devotion and dedication to their natural work of all the faculties assigned to him by nature has foolishly enough been objected against him as evidence

of his poetic inferiority to Shakespeare. With that unapproachable name no rational man will assert the equality of Milton's: but if Shakespeare's claim to superiority rested only on the evidence of his intellectual self-effacement, his modest unconsciousness and humble-minded abnegation or ignorance of his right to put forward any claim whatever, it would be but too easy a task to convict him out of his own mouth, and prove by the avowal of his own pretensions that he can pretend to the credit of no such imbecility. No sandier foundation was ever discovered for a fallacy more futile than this. No man ever lived who had less title than Shakespeare to whatever blessing may be reserved for the poor in spirit. Not even Milton, not even Dante, had less right to say in appeal to God or man, "I am not high-minded." No man's writings bear witness more unquestionable that he worked and waited with the haughty patience of self-assured expectation for the inevitable homage of mankind in centuries to come.

Had we no evidence to this effect—as happily we have much—beyond the affirmation and proclamation in sonnet after sonnet of his own intellectual rank and spiritual prospect, it would be vain to advance against their evidence alone the doubtless irrefragable proposition "that somewhat similar expressions were used by other sonnetteers, and [that] they formed almost a commonplace of sonnet-literature." Not less on this than on every other point the peculiar note of personal earnestness which pervades the leading sonnets of Shakespeare is unmistakable by the eye and ear of all "save bats and owls." That the eye and the ear of Mr. Rossetti belong to neither of these far too extensive literary classes, the following excerpt from his own text bears eloquent and triumphant witness.

"The trumpet-tone of all these lines is wondrously inspiriting; they express a perfect and splendid confidence. That Shakespeare, who led an inconspicuous life, and took no heed for the preservation of any of his writings later than the *Venus and Adonis* and the *Lucrece*,[1] should yet have known with such entire certainty that they would outlive the perishing body of men and things till the Resurrection of the Dead—this is the most moving fact in his extant history: the one which informs with grandeur of being, and reconciles into a potent unity, the residual elements of his career, sparse and disparate at best, sometimes insignificant or incongruous-looking."

These words themselves deserve to put on immortality: there are none truer or nobler, wiser or more memorable, in the whole historic range of highest criticism.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

(1) This, I must object, is a much more than dubitable assumption.

THE RELATIONS OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

THE extension of political privileges by the Reform Act of 1867 appears to be exercising an important influence on the relations of the Houses of Parliament. Although it is probably too soon yet to estimate the full results of the extension of the franchise, its working has already borne fruit which cannot be ignored. The House of Commons has become more at the mercy of public opinion than it was before; while public opinion still remains the ultimate arbiter of our political destinies. Whatever be the actual ascendancy of owners of property, employers of labour, and those who wield such influences, we have the evidence of the late general election that they must bow to a popular cry more promptly and decisively than under a more restricted representation. The effect of this is naturally shown in the quality of the members returned to the House of Commons, and in a hardly less degree by a closer surveillance over the doings of Parliament than has previously existed.

It would be beside the present point to discuss the effect of this change on the temper of the House of Commons. It is, however, evident that a Government backed by more independent Liberals, more working-men's candidates, and more Home Rulers than have sat in any previous House, will, so far as they are united, command more sympathy in the country than if it merely represented a mechanical majority. Thus far the *personnel* of the House of Commons affects the concentration of public interest in its proceedings. But even under less popular Governments than the present, there has been a steady progress of late years in the diffusion of political knowledge, and—putting aside the question whether the public weal may have been served by the change—public education has undoubtedly proceeded. This expansion of the popular mind has not, however, been accomplished without some corresponding drawbacks. The tendency to take a broad view of political matters, to associate with the one party a monopoly of regard for the poor man, or with the other of warlike tendencies, is at the best only valid to determine a vote. It hardly suffices to decide on the rival interests of home or foreign policy, and fails altogether when applied to such a delicate matter as the working of the parliamentary machine.

To this very point, however, the public mind has been called by the events of the late session. Those who were responsible for the fall of the Beaconsfield Government have felt their victory to be of

small account if it did not usher in a new era of legislation. A natural jealousy was shown of any opposition. Meetings have consequently been held to consider the position of the House of Lords, and loud denunciations of its resistance to the popular voice have been heard. Even within the walls of the House of Commons expression was given to like sentiments in the expiring hours of the session. A sentence from a speech by Mr. Forster was made the subject of much angry comment, and explanations were offered by Lord Granville in the House of Lords; the net result being that the antagonism of the two Houses assumed a grossly exaggerated aspect in the public mind. Had not public opinion been confirmed by this impetus in its rough and ready tendency to generalise on a great question from a single incident, the situation would never have appeared critical.

The difficulty is in fact a natural consequence of the general election. A House of Commons newly elected and thirsting for work under an ardent leader passes three or four measures of importance in a short session. The House of Lords, unswayed by the new turn of public opinion, and indeed somewhat liberally recruited under the late administration by men of an opposite bias, shows little relish for the change. Were such legislation altogether frustrated the constituencies would reasonably complain. The Upper House, therefore, rejects one measure, refuses to consider one Bill of secondary importance in consequence of the late period of the year, and passes the others with amendments. So far no great harm would appear to have been done. The sting lies in the incidental circumstances. It must be strange to outsiders that, at a time of great destitution in Ireland, the House of Lords should reject three Irish measures, one of which occupied the chief part of the session in the House of Commons. But if this were all, the different standpoint from which Irish questions are viewed by the Peers might account for it. Their treatment of other Bills provokes graver criticism of their legislative capacity. If the important amendments in the Burials Bill, and the clause limiting the Employers' Liability Bill to two years were worth inserting, why did the majority in the Upper House refrain from pressing its evident conviction on the House of Commons? Still more may it be asked, Was it dignified for the Lords, after inserting a "close time" in the Ground Game Bill, which would have nullified its action, to submit within two days, and without the shadow of a protest, to the exclusion of this important amendment from the Bill? The general impression must have been left on many minds that the Lords, disagreeing *in toto* with the Commons, carried their powers of rejection as far as they dared, and casually amended the remaining measures so as to mar their efficiency.

This is precisely the worst complexion which the relations of the two Houses can assume in the public mind. The matter, however, admits of a different interpretation. The Lords may fairly allege the time of year to extenuate the abandonment of their amendments in the Employers' Liability and Burials Bills. Any continued opposition in the first week of September would have obliged the Ministry to drop both measures. As to the Ground Game Bill, it is more probable that the Peers were loath to remain in town, than that they were wanting in the courage of their opinions. It is at least a sufficient answer to their detractors that they withdrew their amendments rather than imperil the passing of measures which appeared to reflect the spirit of the electors.

The question of Irish legislation presents in reality a more serious aspect, yet even in this case the grievance is capable of exaggeration. The Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which was rejected by a majority unprecedented in the annals of the Upper House, was at the best an after-thought of the Government, and only passed the Lower House by one-third of the ordinary Ministerial majority. It would be an insult to Mr. Forster's common sense to suppose that had the Bill been originally credited with the importance which it afterwards assumed, it would have been included as a clause in the Irish Relief Bill. Nor would it be in reason to expect a body of men to accept a measure diametrically opposed to their views, on the plea of responsibility raised by a Minister of a month's experience. The Peers were clearly within their constitutional right in rejecting the Bill, and fulfilled a traditional function in stopping a measure which they held to belong to the class of "hasty and ill-considered" legislation. Of the other two Irish measures, the Limitation of Costs Bill was of secondary importance. Its rejection may be regretted, but it represented no party feeling. The Registration of Voters Bill stood on a somewhat different footing. Not being originally a Government Bill, it was only pressed by Mr. Forster at the instance of Mr. Parnell. It was hurried through the House of Commons at the tail-end of the session. It was an attempt to deal partially with a wide question; and as no general election was impending, no material loss could be incurred by awaiting a more complete measure. Under such circumstances the rejection of the Bill by the House of Lords represented something more than the pettish folly to which it was attributed by its promoters.

It would, however, be absurd to deny that the close of last session left the relations of the two Houses in an unsatisfactory condition. Much excuse must be made under the circumstances for the exhaustion of a prolonged session. The Ministers just released from over six years of office were naturally taking holiday as far as

they could, and were not constantly on the spot to regulate the action of their followers. Disjointed opposition in both Houses tends to produce the result of obscuring the natural party standpoints. Had all the amendments made in Government Bills by the House of Lords been defended on recognised lines of principle, it is probable that some would have survived. Such an issue would have been satisfactory to all parties as a guarantee against haphazard legislation. We may confidently assume that this will not escape the notice of those on whom it depends to see that Opposition is conducted to the best advantage, and future sessions of the present Parliament may differ widely from the first in this respect.

Much, however, will continue to exist in our parliamentary system to make the course of business very difficult. Year by year it is becoming more impossible to meet the increasing calls upon the House of Commons. In each successive Parliament the House scrutinises more closely matters which were formerly submitted to Ministers alone. The estimates are subject to ten times the discussion which they evoked a few years back. The smallest details of internal administration are remorselessly brought before the House by private members. Hours are spent in discussing trifles of Irish Government which might be settled in five minutes by the Chief Secretary. In the meantime, by a succession of measures, work has been concentrated in the Home Office, and the supervision of the House has been extended to matters of local concern. In fact, constant inroads have been made on the time of the Lower House, while the responsibility which it shares with the Upper House has not been reduced by a single item.

Let us see how the case stands with the other House of Parliament. While these gigantic and excessive duties have been imposed on the House of Commons, little or no change has been made in the functions of the House of Lords. Whatever the design of Pitt may have been in popularising the Upper House, his action and that of his successors has certainly rendered it an assembly much more competent for legislative purposes than it was a century back. And yet every movement during the last hundred years has been directed rather to decrease the activity of the Upper House than to make it available for public service. Although the aggregate of Government measures introduced each session is greatly in excess of what it was, the number of those first committed to the House of Lords has not been proportionately increased. It is notorious that under a Liberal administration the sense of the Upper House is seldom taken on an important measure until it has passed the House of Commons. Nor is this all. The Lower House, besides monopolising the first share of forming public opinion on these points, is yearly inclined to curtail the already inadequate space which

accrues to the Lords in the closing hours of the session for debating them. This practice is becoming very serious. One assembly has no more right to limit the usefulness of the other in our Constitution than it has to monopolise legislation, nor can the House of Commons justify it on the score of convenience or utility.

A great deal might be gained by giving the House of Lords, like the German Bundesrath, some degree of responsibility for the measures introduced. If it be urged that Bills thus framed would not suit the temper of a Liberal House of Commons, it may be shown that even the purposes of the present Ministry would have been served by the change. Many of the Bills brought before Parliament have been hastily drawn and contain provisions needing readjustment. In the Lower House a Bill of this character is opposed on the second reading, and being carried by a Government majority goes into committee. Probably in the interval a few of the leading opponents of the Bill interview the Minister in charge of it, and get him to modify, or at least to reconsider, some of the disputed points. Yet by far the greater number of these are left for discussion in committee, some being vital to the success of the measure, and many more being put forward by members in favour of their constituents. When sixty or seventy pages of amendments, altogether inconsistent with each other, are thus set down for discussion, what wonder if they attract attention according to the force with which they are urged rather than by their relative importance? The result of this is manifest. When evening after evening has been spent by the House of Commons in bitter fights which involve the principle of the measure, really pertinent amendments are often slurred over. Debates of this character preclude all possibility of compromise. Parties become arrayed in two hostile camps, and legislation suffers to a very serious degree. The sense of injustice to the minority not unfrequently provokes members, as in the Ground Game Bill of last session, to attempt avowedly to make the Bill a farce. It will be admitted by all that such a declaration is opposed to the whole spirit of parliamentary government In this respect the House of Lords has a great advantage over the House of Commons. The Peers show much less unwillingness to send an ill-drawn Bill to a select committee, since work is done there with an efficiency and dispatch which the Commons might well imitate. It may be said that in the House of Lords the work done by select committees is the very best, and that done in committees of the whole House the very worst achieved by the British Parliament. This may be due to the large amount of committee work which is done behind the scenes between Ministers and private members whose suggestions are not dictated by the demands of their constituents, and with whom no

desire of publicity militates against a private compromise. Even the practice of moving amendments on the third reading has its advantages. For, however much the discipline of the House of Lords may suffer by it, a more complete result is achieved than is the case with nine out of ten Bills which come from the House of Commons. And yet with all these facilities at hand for reviewing weak points and lubricating strong ones, the late Government allowed the Army Bill to go before the House of Commons last year bristling with antiquated and ill-balanced enactments, although in its general tenure so consonant to traditional usage, that a few judicious changes would have prevented the public mind from being disturbed by it. A well-chosen select committee of the Upper House could have put such a Bill into shape in the first month of the session.

The reason against the course here suggested lies, not in the want of discernment by the existing Government, but in the general apathy which, despite brilliant exceptions, is allowed to surround the proceedings of the House of Lords. Some of the older Peers do not desire to see it removed; some who, like Lord Salisbury, entered it fresh from the House of Commons, after a vain attempt at invigorating the whole, content themselves with example; many more are reduced to bemoaning their inactivity, although continuing to do sturdily whatever work falls to their share. It is little wonder, therefore, if the Peers become blind to the efficiency of their own assembly, still less that those who have spoken or written on the subject decry any increase of their powers. The general estimate of the House of Lords as a working assembly has consequently become lower than it should be. It is usually assumed that Peers value their privileges only as a means of asserting their opinions on great questions, that the ordinary attendance is scanty, and that on the occasion of party divisions the number, small as it is in proportion to the sum total, is composed of members who rarely or never set foot in the House, and are only then assembled by an energetic whip. It has been stated time after time without contradiction that the business of the House is carried on by some thirty or forty Peers, and that the same men, with occasional exceptions, are responsible for maintaining the debates of the session. So long as this idea goes unchallenged it would be absurd to propose any addition to the responsibilities of the Upper House. We must rather regard our second chamber as being in the hands of a working committee, liable at any moment to be swamped by a body of irresponsible coadjutors.

A more minute investigation, however, seems to place the House of Lords in a more favourable light. There is no assembly whose merits are less easily discernible from isolated facts. Statistics

drawn from a single division, or a single session, are wholly unreliable. A member of the House of Commons may be absent for a month, and yet claim a share of every important measure of the session, while a similar period in the Upper House often produces more legislation than the remainder of the year. The waste of these months might well furnish ground for attack, were it not that by the present system the Lords are forced to choose between scrambling hastily through measures at the end of July, or rendering the session a fruitless one. Yet, even under existing circumstances, it is interesting to note results as an earnest of what might be achieved under a more equal system.

The House of Lords consists at present of some five hundred members, about three-fourths of whom on the average either speak or vote in the House during each session. Of those who attend the Upper House, it should be noted that *one-fifth* have passed the age of threescore-and-ten. Fifty-seven Peers, indeed, are upwards of seventy-five years of age, twenty-three of these being octogenarians; and as the average age is as high as fifty-eight, it is obvious that, making deductions for those who cannot attend at all, the remainder must work harder than is supposed to produce the result quoted above. To those who are physically incapacitated must be added others whose names are absent from the division lists and debates by no fault of their own. Ten or twelve Peers are employed in the public service abroad, and four out of five royal personages who constantly attend the debates, take part on the rarest possible occasions. One or two more are debarred from sitting by appointments in the civil service; and thus, in all, at least twenty out of the five hundred are non-combatants. Taking this into consideration, the following statistics may be interesting. We find the number who have spoken or voted in the last five years to be as follows:—In 1875, 333; in 1876, 330; in 1877, 369; in 1878, 303; in 1879, 394. These numbers vary according to the amount and interest of the business brought forward. Thus, the low figures in 1878 are accounted for by the fact that only eight divisions, nearly all on questions of minor importance, took place; while the better result in 1879 attests increased attention at a critical time. Nor is it to be assumed that such an increase is due simply to trials of strength between the two parties, for whereas the House divided twice only in 1879 on the Foreign Policy of the Government, about half the whole body of Peers attended four divisions.

Although the names of some thirty-five Peers are altogether absent during the five years, several of these are proved by the records of attendance to have been constantly present at debates. That Peers fail to speak more frequently is not from want of an audience may be gathered from the session of 1877, when at the

dullest time of the year, with only a single division, and that of minor importance, the average attendance of Peers amounted to close on one hundred during the fifty-two sittings before Easter. It may be fairly argued, that if adequate work could be found for those who attend, interest would be much more generally diffused. At present about one hundred and thirty Peers address the House each session, though this number is much increased when such a measure as the Irish Church Bill comes under discussion. So long, however, as all the most interesting work is reserved as a sort of "bonne bouche" for the end of the session, it is impossible that free play should be given to the debating talent of the House of Lords. After all, much of the business of Parliament is non-political, and of equal interest to both Houses. Of such an even distribution would advantageously be made. It would be obviously one-sided to represent the House of Lords as an assembly of the most highly developed legislative capacity. But it is not necessary to go so far as this to prove our point. The functions of the Legislature, like those of the human frame, may be expanded and strengthened by use; and the Upper House has been hitherto debarred from such development. The public cannot be more conscious of this than the Peers themselves. Even the most zealous members treat the apathetic temper of the House as a matter of course; and yet, if more work were to be provided, remedies for this might be found without going far afield. The proposal for meeting an hour earlier, made in 1878, and renewed last year, met with very strong support in influential quarters, and may, not improbably, before long become a standing order of the House. A great deal of useful debate may be compassed in three hours and a half, and the extra hour would often prevent the curtailment of the remarks of private members, which is involved in the necessity of hearing the voice of a Minister before 7.30. At present half the debates of the session go on till close upon the dinner hour, and Peers, who could otherwise add to the discussion, are naturally unwilling to occupy a few minutes before empty benches. There is little doubt that but for the opposition of Lord Beaconsfield the change would have been effected before now. It would seem, then, that by this rearrangement of hours, the time of the Upper House might be made fully available for an increase of labour. Some stimulus should also be devised for better attendance. It is obvious from the figures quoted above that a little improvement in this respect would make the House a thoroughly working body.

This might also be obtained by a slight change in the existing rules. If, for instance, a Peer, after absenting himself for two years without moving for leave of absence, had to obtain the leave of the House to sit and vote, such a provision would give a practical effect to the almost forgotten form by which leave of absence was moved. There

are some who would be deterred from thus publicly avowing their neglect of their duties, and many would become energetic if energy became the order of the day. Much might also be done by the leaders of the House, for it would give a great stimulus to attendance if fewer compromises were made, and more frequent divisions were taken. The House was worse attended during the conciliatory leadership of the Duke of Richmond than under Lord Beaconsfield and the late Lord Derby. Still more even might be effected, if the front benches on either side did not discourage private members from putting motions which have been discussed to the test of a division. Thus a more general activity would be promoted, and young Peers who desire to air their sentiments would not have to choose between doing so to empty benches, and thrusting themselves into the one important debate of the session.

It has been shown, then, that capacity for work beyond what is actually imposed upon it exists in the Upper House; it remains to consider how this surplus energy might be applied to the relief of the House of Commons.

1. It seems desirable that the Government of the day should, at the beginning of each session, divide its measures much more evenly between the two Houses. Under a Liberal Administration nearly twice as many great measures are usually introduced as can by any possibility be passed into law; and from the insufficiency of Government nights it is often a month before two-thirds of them have obtained a first reading. A similar period would suffice, if a due proportion were committed to the Upper House, to take them past the second reading, or to terminate their existence for the session. In the former case the Government would always have the alternative of sending the Bill to a select committee, if it were feared that it would be mutilated by a committee of the whole House; in the latter, it would be competent to introduce the Bill into the House of Commons early the next session, with some improvements, and with a full knowledge of the objections to it. Such action would, at all events, avoid the loss of the best hours of the session by the House of Commons, while by the medium of a select committee many compromises might be effected which are at present impracticable. Under a Conservative Government it would be possible to go much further. With a majority in both Houses there is clearly no reason why each should not be taxed according to its ability, and as the tendency is all in the opposite direction, Ministers cannot be too much on their guard. It is necessary that all money Bills should originate in the House of Commons. It is, moreover, desirable that matters of commercial interest should do the same; and it is natural that Bills relating to certain departments should be introduced in the assembly where the heads of those departments sit. But this

constituted no reason for relegating the Upper House to the consideration of their Bills and the like for the two best months of the session. It would be a step in the right direction if Liberal Governments could follow the example of the late Ministers in submitting matters relating to the land first to the Upper House. We have reached a pass when such legislation would meet with the fairest discussion, even in an assembly of landowners, particularly if it were founded on the investigations of a Royal Commission.

A further change which might commend itself to all should not be overlooked. It is next door to impossible, in the present condition of the Irish party, to pass Irish measures at all through the House of Commons. Such Bills often reach the House of Lords in a condition very open to amendment, while the question of Irish Government is one on which there are at least as many men well versed in the Upper as in the Lower House. And yet the Peers have to sanction such measures almost without criticism, from the knowledge that if amended they will return to the boundless arena of talk in the Lower House. This is surely a case where a change might be effected most beneficially to all parties, it being admitted that as matters stand the Upper House is left idle at the beginning of the session, and its operations are clogged at the end. It is no wonder that Peers decline to come up to London early with no greater incentive. A more equal distribution might also be arrived at if either House were first charged with the subjects to which it has given special attention. Thus, for instance, in 1874, the late Government undertook the notoriously difficult task of amending the liquor legislation of their predecessors. The question involved was one on which the experience of Petty Sessions and Quarter Sessions gave practical knowledge to almost every member of the Upper House. It was obvious that any proposal on the subject would provoke opposition in one quarter or another of the House of Commons. And yet Mr. Cross preferred to spend many nights contending over definitions and details with those who objected to the principle of the Bill, to clearing the ground before an impartial tribunal. In the House of Lords, if a Minister admits a mistake, his opponents will assist him to a change of front; it is not so in the House of Commons. Even in the most trying moments of the committee on the Irish Church Bill, Lord Granville never suffered at the hands of the Opposition in the way that the Ministers did in the House of Commons during the progress of the Army Regulation Bill in 1879. In the one case the lines between the two parties were very clearly drawn, and with the House of Commons behind them the Liberal Peers were in a position to exact a compromise from their antagonists; in the other, such a course was taken as a sign that the Ministers were yielding, and each concession was made the stepping-stone to further demands. Long and angry discussions make men forget the

positions from which they started, and obscure the original desire to improve legislation. As the House of Lords is, comparatively, exempt from these drawbacks, it is an additional reason for ventilating vexed questions first in that assembly. It may no doubt be argued that the House of Commons has the prior right to consider subjects on which the constituencies have pronounced a decisive opinion; but the number of these is by no means commensurate with that of the important measures introduced each session.

2. The suggestions which Mr. Raikes has made [1] for improving the passage of Bills introduced by private members in the House of Commons might be very beneficially expanded. Twenty-five afternoons in each session are, as he points out, devoted to different Bills which so press upon each other as to leave all equally far from reaching a third reading. If precedence were given to these, as to strictly private Bills, according to the stages which they have reached, some would be perfected, and an adequate return would be made for the large space of time expended. Here crops out what should be the true spirit of our parliamentary procedure. That which is worth discussing is usually worth dividing upon; that which is worth carrying through one stage is worth considering in the next. It is the best security against waste of time in Parliament that a premium should be set upon progress. If it be necessary to choose measures for discussion by the ballot, it is the more desirable that no uncertainty should attend their passage through the House. The acceptance of a Bill on its second reading is, *ipso facto*, a guarantee of its merit, and represents a certain amount of work bestowed upon it. It is unquestionable that in the public interest the House of Commons should in all cases complete work which it has begun, and not begin more work with the certainty of completing nothing.

If this is desirable in the internal arrangements of the House of Commons, it is even more so in its relations with the House of Lords. At present the fact that any measure has been accepted by the Upper House and has passed through one stage of the parliamentary course, gives it no precedence over any scheme, however fanatical, put forward by an enthusiast of the Lower House. No one would argue that measures which the Legislature has partly approved and those which it has not considered stand upon an equal basis. If Bills which come down from the Lords be given precedence over other Bills in the same stage in the Commons a great stimulus will be given to private members, in addition to the vast saving of public time. The Government would then be forced to push a Bill from the Upper House to a conclusion if they meant to proceed with it at all. We should hear much less of law Bills coming

(1) *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1879.

down year after year, and waiting in vain for committee after being read a second time. The new Criminal Code would be in force at this time; the Burials Bill of this year would not have been hurried through at the end of the session; some degree of system would be introduced into the "massacre of the innocents" in July, and Bills initiated in the Lords would not be the first to go.

While, however, there would be a gain on the part of Ministers, that of private members would be infinitely greater. As matters stand, a Peer who introduces a Bill, after encountering a good deal of cold water from Ministers, and being probably forced to accept whatever amendments they consider necessary, has to hand over his charge to a member of the Lower House. The recipient is seldom as much interested in it as the originator; it is not his own bantling, and he sees many troubles ahead. It is later in the field than others, and his chances at the ballot are small. If by luck he pushes it through the second reading, he has to put it down night after night for committee, with the scant satisfaction of knowing that until 12.30 his opponents cannot move from their posts. He receives not the slightest encouragement or support from anybody, and has the disadvantage of knowing that if amendments be introduced into the Bill it must go up to the House of Lords again, and Peers being by nature tenacious, the originator of the Bill will probably move their rejection. Hence it is that the Bills introduced by private members in the Upper House are ludicrously few in number.

Here the change of system would be of immense service. Every man who desired to do something more than take the sense of the House of Commons on his Bill would see the advantage of first passing it through the Upper House. It is true that many measures now introduced by private members, being notoriously antagonistic to the spirit of the Lords, would not come under this head, and there are some with which the Commons have the first concern. But sufficient would remain to create a brisk demand upon the Upper House, and to relieve in some degree the crowded order-book of the House of Commons. It is hardly necessary to add that the chances thus given to private members would make the percentage of their Bills passed into law very different from what it is now. Indirectly this would ease the labours of Government, since there are many questions which are now pressed into the hands of Ministers from the certainty of annihilation which otherwise awaits them.

This new departure, then, would facilitate in the most natural manner the more equal distribution of parliamentary labour. Every class of our legislators would be a gainer, and that without any startling change. A little would perhaps be detracted from the

responsibility of Government for the results of the session, and that would be in the right direction. The control of the House of Commons by the Executive would be curtailed by a little more, and few would be found to object to it. If it be true that much of the opposition of the last few years has been fostered by a feeling of helplessness in the face of a compact majority, every move towards the increase of private energy should make the wheels of the House of Commons run more smoothly. If private members could make something of the time allotted to them, they would feel less keenly the usurpation of their rights by the Government at the close of the session. With this practical goal before them, members of the Lower House would bestow their time even more ungrudgingly than now, while Peers would have a stimulus of which Parliament has hitherto done its utmost to deprive them.

3. Another great saving of public time and money might be effected by the abolition of the existing double system of private Bill legislation. At present every gas or water company, and every body of shareholders for railroads or tramways, has to argue its case before committees of both Houses previously to obtaining the royal assent to an opposed scheme. It is obvious that these committees are a severe tax on members of the House of Commons. The actual work of Parliament is sufficiently onerous to interfere with the ordinary avocations of most men, and if the demands for service on Private Bill Committees could be reduced the gain would be immense. It would, indeed, be well if, by such a change, more committees on measures of public importance could be appointed. This is not the place to decide the question how far the committees of laymen are the most competent to decide matters relating to private Bills. On this point there will probably be wide divergence of opinion. But it is improbable that those who object to the system as it now stands would be less content with the decision of a committee of one House after its formal reception by the other. As either House can at present reverse the decision of its committee, it would, of course, be open to the other to reject the Bill, which, if the promoters desired to reintroduce it in the next session, might then be considered by a committee of the latter. Provided that all due security for the public interest be taken, it is obvious that this, the most thoroughly practical department of parliamentary business, ought to be carried on with the minimum of labour to the judges and of expense to the suitors. The division of work thus secured would enable the House of Commons to release its members from committees on private Bills soon after Easter, and would immensely facilitate the morning sittings, which appear to become inevitable. The only losers by the change would be the solicitors and counsel, who now reap double fees, and would naturally incline to the side of a more tedious investigation. But the two Houses may well

co-operate to secure an advantage for themselves while setting a much-needed precedent for less costly litigation.

The changes advocated above are not put forward with any view of altering the present parliamentary balance. It is desirable from the nature of our Constitution that the Lower House should exercise itself more actively than the Upper House in public affairs. But as the difficulties of legislation in the House of Commons seem in a certain sense to have reached a climax, the time has come to review our system of parliamentary procedure. In such a review the great danger is that the exigencies of the moment only should be met. The difficulty, such as it is, is too deep-seated to be met by ordinary expedients. The House of Lords may well call on the House of Commons to reorganize its rules so as to enable business to proceed with due expedition. At present the cry is raised solely on one side. The Upper House undergoes objurgation for refusing to adapt itself to the lumbering method of legislation which has grown up. The time has come for each House to face its internal defects and reform them. If the Lower House will undertake this task, the labours of both will be greatly facilitated. The forms of Parliament should be made consistent throughout. It is little use to provide for the passage of Bills through committee if obstruction is to be reserved for the estimates. It is, moreover, undesirable to impose such checks on private members as will barely suffice to keep the machine in motion. The real aim should be to supplement these restrictions by measures which will make the well-disposed assist heartily in carrying on business. It will be much easier to deal with malcontents if other members besides the Government can turn the session to some account. At present the Government is obliged sometimes to appeal for aid on purely selfish grounds. It becomes necessary for an administration ambitious in the introduction of Bills to depend on the forbearance of the recognised opposition to enable it to carry anything at all. So long as Ministers must address their plea to those who as a body can initiate nothing, and individually have no chance of carrying any measure, they may well fail of their object.

It is manifest that the House of Commons would reap substantial benefit in this respect. It would share also with the House of Lords the saving of time on private Bill legislation, and the credit of realising a more considerable result from the programme of each session. While the country would participate in every one of these advantages, it would profit also by the increased vigour of the House of Lords, which being intrusted with a larger share of work at the beginning of each session would extend its working season over a longer period. With the certainty before them of their Bills being considered in the Lower House, Peers would be encouraged to initiate legislation. More measures would thus be

brought into their House in the first instance, and the process of revision, which should facilitate their passage through the Commons, would become more acute and responsible. Thus the select committees—the strongest point of the Upper House—would be brought more generally into play, and contribute to the activity of the earlier months of the session. Not the least gainers by the system would be the young Peers, many of whom obtain their first experience of parliamentary business by such service.

It is not to be supposed that any scheme, however promising, will altogether meet the requirements of the case. Probably the experience of Lord Redesdale, or Sir Erskine May, would supply many reasons for the continuance of the existing system. But no argument can remove the fact that we are proceeding on a false principle. While hard work is becoming the test of merit in every institution, we are shutting out the House of Lords from participation in it. While each Minister has administrative as well as legislative functions to perform, we contrive to lay on those who are most severely taxed in one capacity the heaviest burdens in the other. If it be necessary that the Ministers of the great spending departments should sit in the House of Commons, it is the more desirable that those whose offices are lighter should undertake Bills in their earlier stages, when they are most open to criticism. The custom which debars members of the Government in the Upper House from this is almost as unreasonable as that which supposes them unable to conclude the labour of their offices before five o'clock which their colleagues in the Lower House complete an hour earlier.

It is not too much to ask that in readjusting the relations of the two Houses some consideration should be paid to the increased ability of the House of Lords. The strain of the House of Commons, which has driven from it men like Lord Cranbrook and Lord Aberdare, when they have still many years of political life before them, has heightened the standard of attendance in the House of Lords; and this, operating with the training which eldest sons now receive before they become Peers, has given a tone to the whole assembly. If it be possible to combine the use of material now running to waste in the House of Lords with the necessary changes in the House of Commons, much will have been done to facilitate business in the present. Probably, however, the benefit will be even more apparent in a few years. Parliament is no stronger than its weakest point, and if the House of Commons be now most open to attack, it may not be long before the positions are reversed. The object is that the possibilities of the case should be fairly understood, that it should not be assumed that the only way out of our present dead-lock is by patching up the holes which the etiquette of the House of Commons has left open to the unscrupulous.

W. St. John Brodrick.

INDUSTRIAL SHORTCOMINGS: AN ADDRESS.[1]

I do not too well understand what the functions of your annual President are, or what kind of thing it is that you look for to be said by him. Perhaps the office is of too recent creation to have a binding precedent. One thing I beg you to believe I shall not attempt to do, *i.e.* to give you advice. I don't come down here, having read up a shilling primer of political economy, to teach the manufacturers of Bradford and Shipley how to manage their business. I shall avoid the folly of offering advice, and if I say anything that looks like it be sure it is not meant for it. What I feel most fit for is to tell you the impression your fine institutions here in Saltaire in particular, and the style of Yorkshire generally, make upon a stranger, and the thoughts they suggest when seen from my point of view.

The thing, then, that first and most strikes one who comes among you from living in the country parts of the south of England, is the stir and fermentation of intelligence which is going on here. I say "the country parts"—the towns or villages of the southern counties—because London is an exceptional place, and can never be placed in contrast or comparison with other parts of the country. London, the most populous, the richest, and the dirtiest capital in the world, is a concentrated exhibition of almost all forms of English life. Dives and Lazarus at his gate, the peer and the pauper, industry and idleness, commerce, manufactures, and pleasure, are there so mingled, that London alone of all our cities has no physiognomy of its own. Everything may be procured in London except a cup of pure milk, and that cannot be procured either for love or money. I said "almost" all forms of English activity are there found in operation, because I must except agriculture. I have not heard of farming being carried on in any of the streets or squares, though I suspect that a great deal of butter is manufactured on the banks of the Thames.

I say, then, that, leaving London out of the question, what strikes a resident in the south of England, when he comes so far north as this, is the busy and fertile intelligence which is about in the air here. I do not mean merely the traffic in the streets, or the energy of business in the counting-houses; these are things which may be found elsewhere. You will see streets as lively and as thronged in

(1) The substance of this article was delivered as an address at the opening of the Salt Schools, Shipley, in October last.

Naples, among whose half-million of inhabitants everything like self-moving mind seems to be extinct. You won't misunderstand me, or suppose I am asserting that every one I meet in the streets of Bradford is a genius; I mean only that, speaking generally, mind acts here as it does not work in the southern parts of the country. The expression "action of mind" is a little vague; one can hardly be very distinct in speaking of a thing which can neither be seen nor touched, neither weighed nor measured. But to try to be a little clearer, suffer me for a moment to go a little way back.

The thoughts and judgments and actions of human beings are regulated by two sets of forces: the force of custom, and the force of the reason of the thing. Great part of what we all do and think, we do and think because we have always done so—instinctively, it is sometimes called. We judge of right and wrong by traditional rules, which we have received, and which we never question. Another and smaller part of our thoughts and actions is due to the voluntary exercise of our own reason, or common sense, upon the matter from time to time presented to it. Now the eminence and progress of a people depend upon the possession of these two forces in a due and happy proportion. There are nations, *e.g.* the Hindu, among whom every thought and act is regulated by tradition. A Hindu seems to have no practical reason, or power of looking things in the face and seeing them as they are. Caste and superstition there dominate society. On the other side, the Nihilist "wouldn't give two sous for Raffaelle;" all that the world has thought or made hitherto is to him cobwebs; he would burn and destroy all that is, and begin again from the bottom of the cavern. Neither Hindu caste nor Nihilist pessimism can ever constitute a thriving and developed human society. The Hindu is immovably wedged in a cast-iron framework of habit; the Nihilist is for ever puzzling over the A B C of human association, and is ignorant of those lessons of experience, which the thousands of years that are behind the human race have laid up in store in our manners and customs. We must not suppose that custom is a dead weight, a useless burden, from which it is a gain in the race of life to be able to free ourselves. Tradition, whether in trade or in life, only becomes an evil when it begins to be held as something sacred, which may not be questioned or set aside. Custom should never be allowed to check the current of fresh thoughts and better methods. Consider what custom and tradition are in themselves. They are not necessarily the best mode of doing things, but the best mode as yet discovered of doing them. It does not at all follow that a better method of doing the same thing cannot be discovered; but if the custom of the trade stands in the way of this better mode being adopted, then the custom has begun to do mischief. Tradition is the wisdom of our ancestors, the

form in which the world-experience has been preserved for us. We cannot afford to throw our inheritance away, and to begin the world anew with each generation as it is born. We begin with the tradition, but conscious that it is ours to add to it, to improve it where it is defective, to amend it where it is erroneous. Custom must work *with* life and not *against* it.

If I were asked to give an illustration of the beneficial working of custom, I would mention "manners." It is under the sheltering wing of usage and custom that manners are transmitted in a nation. Manners are a national possession, not a mere conventional code agreed upon by the upper classes for use among themselves. Manners have a deeper root in human character than morals. They are the ultimate expression of the refining process of education carried on through many generations. A young nation can hardly have fine manners. As Mr. Ruskin somewhere says, "A polite nation differs from a savage nation by the delicacy of its customs, a certain fineness in the method of doing or being, a trained perception of nobleness, fitness, gentleness, loveliness. The refinement of life adds much more to the joyousness of being than comforts and conveniences do, and refinement comes down to us under the safeguard of habit and usage."

But custom must never be allowed to become a tyrant, and to strangle invention. I have said that the highest welfare of a nation can only be realised by a due combination of the two motive powers, traditional usage and free thought. To be ever trying experiments, to be applying his reason to the new circumstances of each day, not rejecting the old merely because it is old, not seeking the new merely as novelty till it is shown to be better, this is the spirit of progress, and this is the spirit I find active in these regions. Yorkshire and Lancashire have been called the brain of England, not because they are near the top of the map, but because they exhibit, in comparison with the counties lower down, this self-energy of thought. I say in comparison, for everything is comparative; and there may be other countries which surpass Yorkshire in fertility of inventive power. I suspect we all think of one such, and that is the United States.

The efficiency of English manufacturing production, as compared with that of other countries, is a topic of the greatest interest to us all, and accordingly has been the subject of much discussion. It is a comparison which does not admit of being made out to any degree of exactness, and in which we must be content with quite general conclusions. I do not conceal from myself the danger which lies in attempting to reach even such conclusions, but there seems to me to be a use even in making the attempt.

Efficiency of production depends on many things taken together.

But three things may be put in the first place as its essential conditions. 1. Facilities for the use of capital. 2. Moral and physical qualities of the artisan. 3. Intelligence of employer and employed.

As to the first of these elements of production, it is beyond question that no country at the present time has anything like the resources of Great Britain. The amount of accumulated and disposable cash, its cheapness, the ease with which by our discount system it passes from hand to hand, give us a vast superiority in the world market. Other nations invented the bank, but it is in England that the banking system has been brought to its present perfection—the system by which money passes from the hands of those who have but cannot use it, into the hands of those who would use it but do not possess it.

Here I cannot but pause for a moment to contrast our English arrangements for money transfer with those for land transfer. While it would appear to have been the aim of those concerned in making the arrangements, to render the conveyance of real estate as difficult and as costly as possible, it has been the aim of the legitimate money-lender to make the process of borrowing and of transferring capital as easy and as cheap as it can be made. The factitious mode of conveyancing practised in this country makes, in the words of Lord Brougham, "the possession of land in small parcels a luxury which a rich man may indulge in, but a ruinous extravagance to a man of small means." In transferring an acre of ground the cost of the process of transfer is a very ruinous addition to the price paid for the article. The transfer of money securities, stocks, or shares, from one owner to another, is an affair of a few minutes and a small percentage. Here, indeed, the same instinct of craft, which has built up the huge mystery of conveyancing, has been at work in the London Stock Exchange. The rules of that money market betray too plainly that they have been framed by brokers and dealers in the interest of brokers and dealers, whom they aim to protect against the public, while the public are left without any corresponding protection against the dealer. It is not so in our dealings with the banker. It is the study of the banker to make that temporary transfer of ownership, which is lending and borrowing, as swift and easy as possible. And cheaper it cannot be, inasmuch as it is gratuitous. In borrowing £1,000, when I have paid the price of the article, *i.e.* the discount, I have no more to pay, the process of transfer being performed for me by the professional money-lender. To such perfection has the system of banking been brought in our time, that it is no paradox to say, that it is now easier to trade with borrowed capital than it once was to get at your own capital.

In this, then, the first of the three principal conditions of industrial efficiency, viz. cheap capital, the position of Great Britain in the money market of the world gives us a vast superiority over any foreign competitor. Coming to the second condition, the moral and physical qualities of the artisan, I think it is abundantly evident that in strength of thew, muscular power, capacity of sustaining attention, the English artisan is superior to the Frenchman, the Belgian, or the German. The evidence I can find as to the American (native) workman is insufficient, their mills appearing to be largely worked by emigrants from Europe.

Passing from physical to moral qualities, the one virtue of temperance restores the balance in favour of the continental artisan. The habit of consuming ardent spirits interferes, in more than one way, with the Englishman's efficiency, besides being an extravagant deduction from his earnings. The better discipline, the more orderly and cleanly lives, and more tidy dwellings of the French and Swiss mechanic, make up for his inferiority in strength, physical endurance, and perseverance. In the United States, Mr. Edward Atkinson of Boston tells us, the operative who gains the largest earnings never has any "blue Monday;" one who habitually becomes intoxicated is discharged, and his place filled by one who respects himself too much to risk his position in dissipation.

In the supply of capital, then, physical stamina, and sustaining power the advantage, in the comparison I am now instituting, is clear on the side of England. In respect of the moral qualities which enhance production, the balance is more doubtful. Now we come to institute the comparison in respect of those forces which are derived from the intelligence. The value of such conclusions depends on the width of the induction, on the mass of the evidence; and I must repeat that the amount of evidence attainable by me as to the foreign workman is too partial and incomplete to warrant any very confident assertion. I venture to offer you the best that I know, only in the hope that some one may come forward, either now or afterwards, who can contribute more or better information.

First, then, I suppose it may be considered established that in all manufactured goods into which taste enters, the French artisan is far ahead of all others. In those products which demand subtlety of feeling and delicacy of hand, for all goods whose value depends on fancy and style, we cannot compete with France. You must observe here, again, the value of custom. Custom, as I have said, is stored-up experience, and in the elegance of French designs we have an evidence of the value of an old civilisation. The civilisation of England is comparatively modern, and the introduction of art among us quite recent. On the other hand, art and civilisation in Gaul go back through a never-broken tradition to their antecedents in Italy.

Though our island was Roman for more than three hundred years, yet its distance from the seat of empire left it less Romanised than any other province of the West. And what there was here of Roman tradition was wholly stamped out by the exterminating and barbarian conqueror in the sixth century after Christ. Our lives have only begun to be humane, and our senses to be alive to the gratifications of form and colour, in the later centuries. And you cannot have in the handicrafts what you have not got in the commerce of daily life. You cannot be an artist in the workshop if you do not carry the artist's eye and hand about with you at all times. The tasteful designs of the French pre-exist in the manners of the French; their polite usages, and their elegant patterns, are only different manifestations of the intense life of a sensitive and highly trained race in possession of an old tradition. Loveliness of gesture, graciousness of deed, and daintiness of hand and eye spring from one and the same fount of character. You cannot be a ruffian in the streets and an artist in the workshop.

How is it with that other kind of invention, which, by contrast with artistic design, we may call mechanical skill? I said just now that what strikes a stranger in coming into these northern counties is greater detachment of the reasoning power from the groove of routine in which minds in the South seem frost-bound. A carpenter in the house of a friend of mine fixed a lock on a door the wrong side. The mistress of the house remonstrated, "Why, if you had only thought a moment, you would have seen that the door opens the other way!" "I'm not paid for thinking, mam," was the rejoinder. That is the workman of the South all over! Now among you the operative can think over his work. Mr. Kennedy, who went to Belgium in 1873 to examine their flax and cotton mills, reported that the Englishman, having more intelligence and mechanical knowledge than the Fleming, comprehends the machinery he works, and can point out to the foreman in case of obstruction the cause of the accident; whereas in Ghent half an hour is constantly lost in seeking for the cause of a stoppage in the machinery.

I said just now that there was one country in which, if anywhere, we were to look for an activity of industrial intelligence rivalling that of our older northern counties. The comparison of our own productive power with that of the United States is a question of the highest interest to us all, as it is not France, or Belgium, or even Germany, whose competition is likely to urge us close, but America. If, indeed, we had to take a Yankee at his own valuation, we should have to set him down as the smartest human out, as he is always telling us he is. The truth is that if the other side of the Atlantic beats our side in ingenuity of device, it is as often as not one of ourselves who has done it—some English workman who has been

tempted over there by the higher wages and better conditions of life which he can have out there. Anyhow, I think there is evidence of an inventive genius at work in the new world more alive and more keen than in the old country. It is chiefly manifested in the invention of tools or labour-saving machines. Time was when all the new discoveries in practical science, and improvements in machinery and engineering, were first made in this country. This is not so now. It is from America that all the new inventions, as all the new jokes, come to us. This is not a question of quantity. Our exports of machinery are shown by the returns to be eight or ten times greater than those of the United States. It is a question of originating power. Quick adaptation to new conditions, the devising of new methods, versatility of application, quickness to perceive the advantages of new processes, the spirit of discovery, and enterprise—all these things are rife in the Northern States, as they are not even in Yorkshire.

We make more and better finished machines than they make in America, but they invent the new ones, while we are content very much to copy the old models. Our aim is to turn out as many as we can in the time, and we cannot stop to think the process over. Mr. David Walker, in his excellent report on machine tools at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, compares the French exhibit with the American, and says—

"In many of the French productions the animation and versatility of the national character find scope for display; but in the manufacture of machine tools they do not appear to have grasped the leading principles, to such an extent as to have become capable of originating new forms and combinations. It is very different with the American section, where novel arrangements of motion give rise to new forms of framing, and where the designs have all the freshness of being struck from first principles. New World notions here override conventional form."

The sewing machine and the washing machine, now installed in every house as indispensable friends, came to us from America. If the Scotchman, Bell, invented the reaping machine, we did not know how to fit it for use till the way was shown us by the American, Maccormick. We have not yet been able to adopt the binding machine. Mr. Bellairs writes to the *Times* this last September, "I have travelled over England much this harvest season, and have not seen one single self-binder. Almost everybody *West* owns at least a share in such a machine. A boy to drive, with two men to pick up bundles, can easily manage twelve to fifteen acres per day, or more if night-shifts with a lantern be used."

Nor is it merely, as we sometimes hear it said, in machines by which labour is economised that American fertility of invention

shows itself. Watchmaking has been hereditary in some of the Swiss cantons. The Americans only took it up, so to say, yesterday. They had hardly done so before they saw their way to improvements in the works which, if not new in principle, were new in their application. What a length of time we went on quite content with the old smooth-bore muzzle-loading musket! The Americans took the matter in hand, and in a few years the weapon was totally transformed. From American brains issued the revolver and the Winchester repeating-rifle, while Birmingham workshops were vying with each other as to which could turn out the greatest number of guns exactly to pattern.

Again, compare the two countries in respect of the number of patents taken out in each In the year 1879 the number of patents taken out in Great Britain was about 3,000; the number granted in the United States during the same period was about 12,000, or four times as many. We should, indeed, take into consideration the fact that the process of securing a patent-right is vastly more expensive in this country than in the United States. The oppressive stamp duty, and the costs of agency, deter the English inventor from applying for a patent, except in cases where the profits promise to be on a large scale. In the States patenting is cheap and easy, and every invention is consequently secured to its inventor as soon as he has made it. The spirit of invention is directly encouraged by their patent office, which may justly be reckoned among the factors of their industrial efficiency; while with us the object principally aimed at seems to be securing a revenue, the net produce of the stamp duty on patents for 1879 being more than £173,000.

It is no part of my present purpose to inquire into the causes of this difference in the degree of mental activity between one people and another—to ask why the northern Englishman is more intelligent than the southern; why the southern are the stationary counties and the northern the progressive; or why there is more versatility of power and inventive genius astir in the United States than among ourselves. The readiest method of accounting for such differences in the level of intelligence is by difference of race. The late Mr. Mill, indeed, would not hear of any such doctrine. He called the doctrine of inherent natural differences "a vulgar mode of escaping from the consideration of social and moral influences on the mind." I yield to no one in reverence for Mr. Mill, but I must say that on this point he was wrong. Not only is his opinion contradicted by physiology, but it is contrary to common observation. I cannot pass from Dorsetshire to Yorkshire without seeing that the human breed is different in the two counties. The historian or ethnologist must say how this came to be so; but the fact is patent that you begin with a different physiological basis, and that

the native store of protoplasmic energy is larger in the Yorkshireman than in the native of the southern counties.

As for the superior inventiveness of the American, we can hardly say that race is to be credited with producing that. The population of the Northern States is a motley and heterogeneous one, in which Saxon, Celt, and Teuton are crossed with each other, and mixed with Asiatic, African, and aboriginal blood. And, again, where the stream of annual immigration is so large, it is not impossible that among the inventions which come to us from America, some may be due to native British workmen whom the higher wages and more eligible conditions of life have tempted over the Atlantic.

Is it quite fanciful to remember that the early colonists of New England were Puritan English, that the Puritans of the time of James and Charles I. were, by contrast with the Cavaliers, the progressive and innovating element of English life? Is it possible that this emigration of Nonconformists from the South of England drained those counties of their originating nerve-power, in the same way, though on a smaller scale, in which the enterprising and energetic element was exiled from France by the expatriation of the Protestants on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685?

But if heredity and natural differences are to count for anything in the mental activity displayed in the United States, it is not for much. We cannot doubt that the main factor in this vigorous development is a social factor—liberation from the despotism which routine has established in all the Old World, and which in the oldest world of all—India or China—has extinguished the power of inventive thought altogether.

In the New World everything is new, life itself and its conditions are new. Look at the difficulty which anything new has to establish itself in this country. Nothing new can be introduced without an agitation and a clamour out of all proportion to the object to be gained. Nothing that *is* binds down the American if he sees a better way to the same end. Every American-born American is animated by what is not exactly patriotism, but is a full belief in the future destinies of his country. Self-interest, no doubt, is the first motive, but there is also in the background the stimulus of a sense of national greatness, not yet achieved but to be achieved. Versatility and readiness to adopt every new and ingenious device are stimulated when (I quote Mr. Edward Atkinson again) even the dullest boy is brought up in the belief that he also is to be one of those who is to build up his country to the full measure of its high calling. The school itself, apart from the instruction given in it—instruction often very defective when tried by the standard of the school inspector—the school itself is the great educator of the

children who attend it. "The school is, first of all, no respecter of persons. The stupid son of a rich man, led in every class by the son of a mechanic, cannot in after life look down on him as an inferior, whatever the conventional position of the two may be. Or, if the rich man's son have brains as well as fortune, the poor man's son can never attribute to fortune the lead that he may take in after life. The school is thoroughly democratic, and each pupil learns in it that it depends on himself what place he may take in after life; and that, although society may be divided into planes, there is no barrier in the way of social success except the want of character and ability to attain it. The common school is the solvent of race, creed, nationality, and condition."

That institutions and social conditions are much more than heredity in the production of this vigorous action of mind, appears from another fact vouched by Mr. Atkinson, viz. that the French Canadians, who, on their little strips of land on the St. Lawrence, are the very type of the stolid and unprogressive, lose this character after they have migrated to the mills of New England, and develop an unsuspected energy in their new surroundings.

It is, then, a negative rather than a positive condition which favours this liberation of energy in the United States. It is certainly not the goodness of their common schools considered as teaching-places, but the removal of the weight of authoritative dogma and custom, a liberty of spirit which pervades the school as well as society. Not, indeed, that the more special training of the mechanic for his work is neglected in the United States. They are as much alive as we are to the necessity of technical schools. A pattern institution of this description exists in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, established in 1865, and which, therefore, has been at work for fifteen years. It unites a society of arts with a school of industrial art. In the school division this institute endeavours to combine a liberal with a technical education. It has ten distinct courses, each extending over four years. Its instruction is sufficiently technical, *e.g.* in the department of mechanical engineering, it has established a set of workshops for actual instruction in the use of tools.

Technical schools abound in Germany for all the centres of population, and there are some in France.

In each of the districts (20 arrondissements) into which Paris is mapped out, there is a science school maintained by the Government, in which geometry, machine drawing, applied mechanics, mathematics, and other subjects are taught. Attendance on these science classes is obligatory on apprentices, and they leave work at five to enable them to go. Account is kept at the school of their attendances, and is sent in regularly to the employer. A bad attender is

liable to discharge from the shop, for an apprentice in France is not bound by indenture, but by agreement only. A special school, belonging, I believe, to the city of Paris, in La Villette, called the *école municipale d'apprentis*, is highly spoken of. It is gratuitous. The produce of the labour of the pupils, who are not boarded, nearly pays the expenses of management and the supply of all requisites for study and work.

Turning to our own country, we find that for some years past there has been a growing demand for "technical education." The phrase itself has become stereotyped, and is, if not a general cry, at least a watchword which passes from mouth to mouth. When any phrase has thus become current, we may be sure that the idea expressed by it has a substantial existence. The words in which the feeling or thought is embodied may be improper or inadequate, but they could not have made their way into general use if the thought or feeling were not generally and urgently felt. Now what lies underneath this new demand for "technical schools"? The call implies two things, quite separable from each other. First, a want which is felt; and then a suggestion for meeting that want. About the want that is felt there is no doubt. It is a want of skill. I am not now speaking of the mill hands and the factory employer, but of the ordinary trades by which our domestic necessities of every day are ministered to. Every one who has a house knows how rare it is to light upon a carpenter, a mason, a bricklayer, a plumber, a gasfitter, a smith, an upholsterer who is a man of skill and knowledge in his own trade. There is the pinch. It is not that the workman is ill-educated, but that he is ignorant of that which he professes.

Well, the want is urgent. It is brought home to every man who wants something doing for him which he does not know how to do himself. The call for technical schools is, besides being an expression of this want, a suggestion for supplying it.

There can be no doubt of the advantage of setting up, wherever you are, a school like the *école d'apprentis* in Paris, where the pupil can have every requisite for study and work provided for him. But such schools can only exist in a capital city or a few populous centres, and therefore can only reach a small proportion of the artisan class. To the rural population, from which the trades are largely recruited, a technical school could not be very accessible, partly by reason of distance, partly on account of the ignorance and stupidity of those classes. No one but the country schoolmaster can gauge the density of the bucolical boy, his ignorance of the world into which he has been born, his inaptitude with his hands, his want of the organ of language. He can neither hear what is said to him, nor see what is before him. Much has to be done for

such a boy before he can be set down to learn a trade. Even the town boy, whose wits have been sharpened by collision, and whose senses are more alert, is too ignorant to be able to conceive *how* instruction in a technical school is superior to the rule of thumb learnt in the workshop.

Of the system of the engineering workshop in England, and of the training to be got in it, Mr. James Hopps speaks in condemnatory terms:—

"In England, at the present time, as soon as a boy is set to learn a trade all mental instruction is discontinued. He conceives he has only to learn to work, and in this belief he is encouraged, both at home and in the factory—at home by the indifference of his parents, in the factory by the indifference of master and foreman. For the first year or two he is looked upon as a nuisance and in the way; he is set to do the most trifling jobs, and discipline is often so loose that he becomes a confirmed skulking sloven. The reason for work being done in a particular way is rarely put before him. The foreman, perhaps, notices what branch he shows most aptitude for, vice, bench, or lathe, and to this he is put and kept for the term of his apprenticeship. By this means he becomes, perhaps, a fair turner or fitter, but rarely both. The neglect of mental training during his apprenticeship is so absolute that he is a worse scholar than when he left school. He lives and works like a mere machine. In many cases he does not know how to make the simplest calculation in relation to his work."

The fact is that we are now passing through that industrial phase where the old indoor apprentice system has disappeared, and the modern substitute for it has not been found. The proposal to set up technical schools is the favourite scheme for replacing the apprentice system of our forefathers. To listen to a modern platform speech one would think that the schoolmaster had never been heard of in England before, and that the technical school was the first proposal to teach the artisan his trade. It is only so far *new*, as it is a new *form* of giving that training which was formerly given by the seven-year apprentice system. The indoor apprentice system broke down for some other reasons, but chiefly because the master, who indifferently practised his art, was as indifferent a teacher of it. Inadequate as the apprentice system was to the complicated processes of our manufacturing industries, it had elements of good which the technical school at its best cannot offer. In the strict discipline of a solid English household of the olden time, the indoor apprentice learned the homely lesson of God-fearing honesty and uprightness. He learned not merely to live by his art, but to love it, to abhor the tricks of the trade, and to think that scamped work was the affair of rogues and swindlers. He knew his station, kept to it, was proud of it, and brought up his children to it. In seven years of a strict, religious, and sober home the apprentice learnt to stand on his own feet, and laid in the rugged self-dependence which is the best foundation of a firm and true character.

These are two reasons why the technical school cannot be an adequate substitute for the apprentice system. It must be confined to great centres of population, and it cannot supply the bracing moral discipline of a well-ordered household.

There are other reasons why I cannot be as sanguine about the effect of technical schools as the public seem to be. Time will not allow of my dwelling any further on these. Technical schools are the popular remedy of the day, a remedy for an intolerable evil; and it is certain that the public will insist upon its new panacea being tried.

Then immediately arises the questions, Who is to be the organiser of the experiment? Where are the funds, which for anything on an adequate scale must be met, to come from?

One suggestion to the point has been made which touches a fund of such vast porportions, that its very magnitude makes thoughtful men pause before opening it up from fear of the general rush which must ensue when such a gold-field is thrown open. It is said that the guilds or companies of the City of London dispose of an annual income of a million. Not all of this princely fortune is spent in giving dinners to each other; some thousands are dispersed in gifts to hospitals and other charities, in an arbitrary way, at the pleasure of the governors and trustees. In order to get a slice of the plum-cake you have to go through a good deal of personal solicitation. I myself once helped to get a grant from one of these companies for a struggling college for women in London. We got £100, for which we were not grateful, as we wanted £500, and could have got it if we could have brought more influence to bear upon individual governors. Mr. Walter James, M.P. for Gateshead, is anxious to get this fund for technical and science schools. No doubt it would just do for our purpose. But when the fortress of vested interests has been stormed and carried by indomitable pluck and perseverance, who will get the loot? The precedent of the Irish Church surplus or of the charity endowments make us hesitate before we attack, and ask ourselves whom can we trust with such vast spoils. The system of a committee of the House of Commons or of the Charity Commissioners, to give a bit all round to anybody who asks, is only to substitute a new abuse for an old one, and would not give us our technical schools for apprentices.

Meanwhile, the experiment of technical schools has already begun to be tried in one locality—the City of London. The companies of whom I speak, moved partly by their fears, partly by more enlightened members, who are not wanting in these bodies, have subscribed a large sum—£21,000 a year, I believe—and have started a set of schools in Cowper Street. This institution only came into existence in the last twelve months. The South Ken-

sington night schools and classes, of which some two thousand are in operation throughout the country, are doing good work in the supply of theoretical instruction, which, of course, does not pretend to be thorough training of apprentices.

If the supply of technical instruction were to be measured by the demand for it on the part of those who are to be the subjects of it, I for one should have to say that, inadequate as the supply is, it is already far ahead of the demand. It is to be observed that the cry for technical schools does not come from the workman but from the employer, who wants skill and cannot find it; from the public, who want their work done in a workmanlike way, and cannot get it done. The British workman seems, as far as I can make out, to be mostly rather indifferent to the advantages thus placed within his reach, if not for himself at least for his children. I wish I could share the sanguine belief of some people that the English workman is inspired with a love for his work and an ardour to improve himself in its processes, which would lead him to ask that more opportunities of qualifying himself in its processes should be afforded him. I fear that in our country work presents itself to most hands in the light of an underpaid drudgery, which has to be done to obtain a livelihood, but from which he is eager to escape at the earliest moment to some form of recreation, of counter stimulus, or at least of repose. We may regret that this should be so, but can we wonder at it? I confess it seems to me to be the natural and necessary result of factory labour as now organized. The economical results of the division of labour have been prodigious in the production of national wealth, but the same division of labour has operated prejudicially upon the habits of the individual workman. Just in proportion as machinery is perfected, the exercise of the individual intelligence becomes limited. Where an art workman is engaged in creating a new whole by the joint exercise of his imagination and his manual dexterity, he may joy over the work of his hands, and say, "It is good." But what pleasure can a man take in watching the everlasting performance of a single operation by the engine which he is tending? What must be the aspect of the soul of a man who for forty years has done nothing but watch the moment when silver has reached the degree of fusion which precedes vaporisation, who is blind to all else, but receives a fat salary for being able to see that one object? (Roscher, i. 201.) What mind can an operative have left for a night class whose attention has been exhausted by the monotonous repetition of a single operation during a day of ten hours, and often in vitiated air?

The conditions under which many of the trades can pursue their craft are more favourable than those under which the spinner and

weaver in a large mill can work. These less favourable conditions should be borne in mind, and met by compensating arrangements in all well-organized factory establishments. Fresh air and recreation out of doors are the natural and the best restorative after a monotonous day in the mill. Games of the active sort, which the English stand alone among the nations in cultivating—cricket, tennis, bowls, quoits, archery—refresh both mind and muscle, wearied not with labour but with uniformity. What is wanted is open spaces, commons, parks, recreation grounds, where these amusements may be had. But in our climate open-air recreation is confined to a small number of days out of the three hundred and sixty-five. The winter has to be furnished with its entertainments as well as the summer. Every centre of industry should provide itself with spacious and well-lighted club and assembly rooms, where music and dancing may be had in the evenings, where billiards, draughts, and chess may be played on Sundays and holidays, with a smoking-room for the men, and a drawing-room for social converse. The coffee tavern is an excellent beginning, but it is only a beginning. Something more is wanted than an uncomfortable room in which you may sit for ten minutes on an uncomfortable chair, occupying the smallest possible space, to drink a cup of coffee made from the smallest possible quantity of coffee-berry, whitened with the smallest allowance of milk. The common hall for social purposes, call it by whatever name you please, instead of being a back room in a dark lane, should be a spacious, lofty, conspicuous, and central building. The capital invested in such erections would be what is called unproductive capital. But the possession of ample means and opportunities of recreation after the peculiar confinement of the factory-room is as much one of the conditions of the special form of labour, as are the walls and the wheels and the power of the factory itself. You, in Saltaire, are most fortunate in having had to do with a capitalist large-minded enough to have apprehended this requirement, and large-hearted enough to have been willing to supply the want before it was generally recognised as a necessity of manufacturing industry. It is a great mistake to think that amusement is the enemy of work. Such an institute as you enjoy here through the liberality of your munificent founder is not only productive of rational happiness, but is indirectly productive of the freshness of mind and spirits which carry on work. And coming among you, and making acquaintance with this noble institution so liberally provided and so intelligently used, I can see what in the murky dens of some other cities it is difficult to realise, how industrial prosperity may be combined with cleanly lives and rational enjoyment. The welfare of a nation is to be tested not by the value of its exports, but by the way in which it spends its leisure and its savings.

MARK PATTISON.

SPINOZA.[1]

Mr. Pollock's book upon Spinoza fills a gap in English literature in thoroughly workmanlike fashion. Mr. Pollock gives us within moderate space an account of Spinoza's life, an exposition and criticism of his philosophy, and an estimate of its relations to preceding and subsequent systems of thought expressed with admirable keenness, lucidity, and impartiality. The book, it is to be hoped, will be a stimulant as it is a symptom of a growing interest in philosophical problems. I will not attempt to follow Mr. Pollock into those subtler and more technical points of metaphysics which require special qualifications both in a critic and his readers. Nor do I wish to put into a new set of phrases the opinion, sufficiently sanctioned by higher authority, that Spinoza is amongst the greatest of mankind. His place in the history of thought is secure. It would be as impertinent to add a testimonial to his fame as to say that one recognised the greatness of Plato or Aristotle, of Dante or Shakspeare. He is as far beyond the need of compliments as above all danger of detraction.

One aspect, however, of his philosophy upon which it may be permissible to dwell receives due emphasis in Mr. Pollock's book, and has an immediate interest. Mr. Pollock frequently insists upon the remarkable affinity between Spinoza's doctrines and those which are generally accepted as the teaching of modern science. To some who regard Spinoza as a transcendental dogmatist this opinion might savour of paradox. No teaching could be more antipathetic to all that most of us, certainly not excluding Mr. Pollock, regard as essential to the scientific spirit. It is tolerably clear that Mr. Mill, for example, would have regarded Spinoza as the representative of the theories most antipathetic to all the English empiricists. Hegel says that to be a Spinozist is the first step to being a philosopher; and Mill would regard such praise as a sufficient condemnation. He would take it to imply that a study of Spinoza was the first step towards losing yourself in the bewildering and hopeless labyrinth of scholastic logomachy. And yet I think that Mr. Pollock is fully justified in his contention; and that the spirit if not the letter of Spinozism may be thoroughly congenial to those who have sat at the feet of Mill and Lewes and Mr. Herbert Spencer. For a full exposition of this view I must refer to Mr. Pollock: I can here only attempt a very partial indication of some points of affinity.

(1) *Spinoza: his Life and Philosophy.* By Frederick Pollock. C. Kegan Paul and Co. London, 1880.

It is as impossible in this, as in all other cases, to distinguish entirely between the life and the philosophy of Spinoza. It is but a pleasant fiction that any philosophers rise to a truly impersonal region, and gain a vision of truth uncoloured by their own prejudices and passions. One great thinker adopts the uncongenial arts of a courtier, and dresses truth in the livery of accepted conventions; another tries to win reputation by the opposite method of parading startling paradoxes; many are forced to be omniscient because they are professors, and must have a system to expound in their lectures, even though it has to be composed of words; in some the love of truth is tempered by an earnest desire to find truth on the side of edification; and in a few, personal bitterness takes the form of an anxiety to prove that the universe is out of joint. Few indeed are those in whose teaching we cannot find echoes of whispered suggestions from some invisible tempter. Spinoza, one may fairly say, is chief amongst the few. If his character influences, it does not distort his philosophy; for his strongest impulse is the love of truth, and therefore the desire to escape from a merely personal point of view. The desire, so feeble and flickering in most men, not to entertain two contradictory beliefs at the same time, amounted in him to a passion, to a ruling passion, and almost to the sole passion of his life. Though his philosophy is necessarily coloured by the current ideas of his day, it shows no trace of mere personal motive. In this respect he is almost unique. His character is an ideal type, with an admirable simplicity and directness such as we can only find equalled in the story of some semi-historical classical sage. His life is the incarnation of an idea possessing all the freshness and naïveté of an original impression. It is swayed by a genuine and spontaneous impulse, not fettered by the acceptance of a worn traditional dogma. Where an ancient Diogenes would take up his residence in a tub, his modern representative generally writes an essay to prove that tubs would be the most desirable residences if they could be brought into fashion. But Spinoza's life translates his thought into conduct with no such periphrases and qualifications. His action follows from his principle—to use a phrase more in his own style—as a corollary in Euclid follows from the proposition demonstrated. He considered with himself, as he tells us, that the common objects of human desire, wealth, and power, and pleasures, offered no certain or satisfactory reward. The only security for happiness is to have a mind filled with the love of the infinite and eternal. Man's nature is to be perfected by cultivating this love for himself and others. And, on Spinoza's view, this is equivalent to taking an absorbing devotion to philosophical truth for the ruling passion of his life; and, therefore, to acquiring absolute personal independence as a necessary condition of giving it free play. The condition was

early secured by one who could learn the art of being poor, and who had no political and social trammels. An outcast from a community of outcasts, he had the negative advantage of freedom from external ties. His handicraft supplied him with the few pence needed for a life of ascetic frugality. He calmly put aside wealth and patronage when offered to him, seeing that the acceptance would involve bondage and impose reticence. He would not submit to be wrongfully deprived of his small inheritance, but when his rights were established he quietly abandoned the proceeds. His asceticism and his self-respect had nothing in them of the morose. He lived peaceably in his upper chamber, reading his few books, corresponding with such like-minded spirits as had discovered his genius, and polishing his lenses like a good workman. He came down to chat with his landlady and his friends, catechised the children, gave good advice to the parents, smoked his pipe of tobacco, enjoyed the gossip of the little circle, and amused himself by looking at insects through his microscopes and laughing over the battles of flies and spiders. He bore the many trials of a long disease with stoical patience—so says the excellent Colerus to whom we owe these details, and a word of recognition must be spared to this Protestant pastor whose orthodox abhorrence of Spinoza's theories did not blind him to the admirable character of the man—and, at last, died peacefully, as became the author of the great saying that the free man thinks of nothing less than death. He left behind him just enough to secure that his funeral should be no burden to survivors. His life, in short, was one of serene dignity, free from any stain of meanness or affectation, of compliance with any wordly motives, or even of yielding to the "last infirmity of noble minds." He left his thoughts to the world, but there is no sign that he cared for any reward in the shape of personal reputation. The truth itself, not the fame of discovering the truth, was the prize which he coveted.

To such a man it was impossible that one problem which has tortured many sincere reasoners should ever present itself. How, they seem to ask themselves, are the interests of truth and morality to be reconciled? To Spinoza, morality is so thoroughly identified with truth that any distinction implies a contradiction in terms; and yet there are obstacles enough in getting at his true meaning. His absolute sincerity and simplicity of purpose are not represented by the corresponding literary virtue of perfect transparency. Nobody can deny that a study of Spinoza is a severe strain upon the attention. Some of the causes are obvious enough. Spinoza, as Mr. Pollock points out, probably regarded some distinction between esoteric and exoteric teaching as a permanent necessity. He scarcely looked forward to a day in which truth could be presented unveiled to the world at large. He spoke his thought with absolute sincerity,

but he spoke it to the inner circle; he did not expect it to spread beyond the philosophic world. The expectation would certainly have been idle; and his correspondence shows that he had overestimated the readiness even of the select few to give an unbiassed hearing to his teaching. He naturally used a dialect not too accessible to the vulgar, and, when appealing to a larger audience, was content occasionally, as in much of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, to argue from his opponents' assumptions. The method involved no subterfuge, for it faithfully reflected the genuine process of his thought. He started as a theologian; and met the theology of his time not by direct antagonism, but by pushing theological principles to their legitimate conclusion. Jehovah in his mind becomes gradually identical with nature; and he transfers, perhaps unconsciously, some of the old associations to doctrines, where to others they seem to lose their natural fitness. If Spinoza fancied that this method would conciliate his opponents, he was certainly reckoning without his host. Nothing is more irritating than an invitation to abandon your conclusions in the name of your first principles, and to be required, for example, to give up a belief in the supernatural precisely because you are a believer in God. The orthodox looked upon such a use of its language as a deliberate mask for atheism; whilst the antagonists thought that it concealed a retention of the old dogmas. But, in a wider sense, this apparent ambiguity is a characteristic of Spinoza's philosophy. Mr. Pollock very properly condemns Jacobi's daring assertion that no man understands Spinoza so long as he finds a single line of the Ethics obscure. For he has been defended as he has been attacked from the most opposite points of view. The materialist and the idealist; the dogmatist and the sceptic; the mystic and the man of science have each found in him something congenial, and with equal ease something antagonistic. It is only necessary to read the careful commentaries of Mr. Pollock himself, or of Kuno Fischer, to find oneself balanced between rival interpretations which give the most opposite meanings. It is a characteristic of his writings that at every step one finds in it striking anticipations or reflections of other systems, couched in a few brief sentences of pregnant brevity which he does not condescend to expound at length. Each reader must be his own commentator, and it is no wonder if the interpretations vary, and each man can read his own meaning into the author. Admirers may perhaps account for this in general terms, by saying that Spinoza is on the central line of speculation. Other thinkers of the highest celebrity represent only one of the antagonistic impulses by whose clash and collision the progress of thought is determined. Spinoza's is one of those comprehensive minds in which the hostile elements are equally represented, though not so combined as to give the final mode of

conciliation. The transcendentalist is attracted by his unqualified belief in the supremacy of reason; and the empiricist by his utter rejection of certain metaphysical figments which too often intrude themselves into the domain of science. To justify this view would in any case require a closer examination of details. And it must, of course, be added that the peculiar form into which Spinoza has cast his thought, makes the task of interpretation specially difficult. "A hair, they say, divides the false and true" in these subtle speculations; and it requires a sustained effort to catch Spinoza's meaning as shrouded in his peculiar technical phraseology, and to translate it into its right equivalent in the language to which we are accustomed. To understand him at all, we must keep our minds in a constrained and unfamiliar attitude, and must often be doubtful of our interpretations.

If, in spite of such difficulties and ambiguities, Spinoza still rewards an attentive student, the cause is not far to seek. His system may be unintelligible, equivocal, and even contradictory; but then his system is that for which we care least. "The time has passed," as Mr. Pollock truly says, "when systems of philosophy could be regarded as final and absolute." The illusions so long cherished during the earlier stage of thought may have had their uses like the illusions which reflect the hopefulness of youth in individuals. We must learn to dispense with them, to admit, sorrowfully or hopefully, that our systems have but a provisional value, and that every advance of thought suggests an indefinite vista of future problems, to tax the intellects, or reward the industry, of future inquirers. Bacon or Descartes, or Spinoza himself, may be pardoned for imagining that they could once for all discover the clue to lead us through all the windings of the vast labyrinth of knowledge. By simply looking into their minds and analyzing with due care certain elementary processes of thought, they fancied that they could discover a definitive method which, once known, would make all subsequent investigation an easy and almost mechanical operation. The belief is more or less entertained by those who still dream of a possible ontology, and claim to have reached at a bound the highest fountains of truth. We are beginning to see that philosophy must mean something very different. It cannot by itself disclose to us any specific truths; it does not correspond to a special department of inquiry, apart from all others. It is simply a name for the art of thinking straight, of laying the dust which we have raised, and which prevents us from seeing.

Systems after the pattern of Spinoza's are at best attempts to take by storm a position which can only be won by slow approaches; and it is well if they are not attempts to arrest the progress of thought or to guide it into fruitless paths which end by returning

upon themselves. Spinoza's merit must be sought not in the dogmatic system which nobody has ever accepted, but in the vigour with which he represents the great philosophical impulse of bringing speculation into thorough harmony with itself and with the teaching of experience. We may take, for example, the remarkable theory expounded in the first two parts of the Ethics, of the single substance with its attributes and modifications, and the consequent theory of the relation between mind and body. We are astonished at the audacity of his conceptions; we admire the dialectical skill which gives to his teaching the external appearance at least of a connected system of propositions, worked out by the geometrical method; our admiration rises as we examine details and try to realise the vast intellectual labour which has gone to the construction of the elaborate fabric, and the severe self-constraint which has been content to trust such a weight of meaning to a few phrases, and embodies some doctrine pregnant with a deep emotion in a dry mathematical formula. We can understand the enthusiasm which proclaims Spinoza's logic to be irrefragable, and the hesitation with which some assailants try to find a gap here and there in the joints of this imposing panoply of logic. But when we consider a little and try to give or withhold a definite assent, we begin to hesitate. We ask whether the whole theory is not based upon a stupendous assumption; whether that assumption does not transcend the limits of human intelligence, and, by its very nature, elude any conceivable method of bringing its truth and falsehood to any intelligible test; and then, if we try to work it out in detail, incoherences begin to display themselves. The attributes of thought and extension will not maintain their parallelism; thought threatens to swallow up extension, and we are on the way to a complete idealism; or extension confines thought in such a way that Spinoza seems after all to be preaching materialism; or, if we hold to the parallelism, we doubt whether we have not the old dualism in disguise. We go to the commentators and find fresh doubts. One of them explains a difficulty by telling us that Spinoza is accommodating his doctrine to a practical necessity; another rejects this as an unworthy evasion, but says that Spinoza has fallen into a singular paralogism, only explicable by his peculiar use of certain words; a third declares that Spinoza, rightly interpreted, is here perfectly consistent with his first principles, and, indeed, giving a necessary deduction from them, but damps our satisfaction by adding that the doctrine also reveals certain inevitable contradictions latent in the whole system. Obviously, if we were to judge the philosophy by its value as a tenable set of dogmas, we should throw it aside as hopeless. At most we should admire the extraordinary intellectual energy wasted in the effort to achieve impossibilities, and in con-

structing a vast apparatus which turned out after all to be an encumbrance instead of an aid to the speculation. Even so we might be surprised at the vivid flashes of light which are occasionally thrown upon dark places, and wonder how such an intellect could be condemned to toil in a dungeon whence there is no issue.

In truth, however, the system should be considered, crabbed as is its embodiment of language, almost as much from a poetical as from a scientific point of view. Spinoza seems to use his abstract geometrical symbols as Dante or Milton used their sensuous imagery, to represent his mode of conceiving the universe. It is impossible to accept his view in which the world at large seems to be a kind of crystallized geometry, and any particular phenomenon not so much to be capable of being discovered from first principles like a corollary from a proposition of Euclid, as to be itself a corollary. We cannot keep our minds at his point of view without a continual effort and a loss of the sense of reality. But, on the other hand, it is impossible to imagine a more forcible representation of certain ideas for which we are still striving to find an unexceptionable mode of utterance. His conception of the unity of substance reflects that belief in the perfect unity or continuity of nature which we cannot even now formulate without error, but which must in some sense correspond to the ideal consummation of scientific research. The dogma of the self-caused substance, with its infinite attributes, may be rigidly inconceivable. But, at least, it is the aim of all reason to represent the whole accessible universe as a manifestation in each particular detail of some more general forces, and to range all special propositions under more comprehensive and simpler formula. And though Spinoza's doctrine requires restatement before it is even intelligible, it gives a vision of the ultimate, though indefinitely distant or absolutely unattainable goal towards which all workers for the truth must direct their efforts. And so of the great problem, his solution of which gives us, in some sense, the specific peculiarity of his system. How are we to conceive of the great antithesis which appears in Spinoza as the distinction between mind and body? His treatment of that distinction leads him into perplexity if not into self-contradiction, and has given abundant trouble to his commentators. The remarkable series of propositions which open the second part of the Ethics, lend themselves to various interpretations, and Mr. Pollock gives a plausible explanation of one of the chief difficulties (with which, I must confess, I am not altogether satisfied), tending to show that Spinoza has fallen into a downright fallacy. In any case, it may be safely said that no one will accept or has ever accepted Spinoza's solution as adequate or tenable. And yet it is not the less true that he strikingly anticipates the general tendency of modern thought in regard to a problem which we must admit to be still unsolved. For Spinoza

rejects emphatically the untenable doctrine according to which mind and body were to be regarded as two distinct substances, somehow brought into relation by a constant miracle. They are rather related as two different aspects, as corresponding to different modes of grouping thoughts, not as related to entirely different objects. "To ask why mind should correspond with matter," says Mr. Pollock, "is (according to Spinoza) like asking why the convexity of a curve should answer to the concavity." If Spinoza's way of putting this doctrine is not satisfactory, nor even consistent, we may say the same of every conception hitherto advocated. But Spinoza grasps the true difficulty, and understands the conditions of a satisfactory answer. His theory is an attempt to state the most satisfactory view in terms which are not fit to give the truth purified from all erroneous assumptions. Till language has been brought into conformity with philosophic thought, all attempts to express the undiluted truth must be more or less failures. And at present the average thinker is still behind Spinoza; so far behind, indeed, as not to appreciate the true bearing of the problem, and therefore much given to accuse philosophers of materialism when they adopt the only attitude which is radically inconsistent with materialism. And to this it may be added that, in any case, the student of Spinoza comes to feel a refreshing confidence that his teacher is not indulging in a mere logomachy, but grappling, to the best of his power, with genuine difficulties.

Any skilful controversialist may thus easily make a show of tearing Spinoza's philosophy to pieces. He may discover in it as much inconsistency and incoherency as would seem to deprive it of all title to respect. Indeed, that is a tolerably easy task in the case of any philosophy which has passed beyond the mind of its first propounder and been subjected to the test of much independent criticism. And yet the most unsparing antagonist may have a misgiving that after all he has been only striking at the case of Spinoza. The soul of the system is immortal, for the soul is simply the resolute endeavour to see all things in a truly scientific order. Fully to appreciate the value of this endeavour, carried out by a thinker of such astonishing vigour, it would be necessary to follow Mr. Pollock's complete survey of the doctrine, and to point out how constantly Spinoza brings us into contact with the ultimate problems of thought, and how forcibly he suggests the true line of assault.

I will only now endeavour to consider briefly from this point of view one of the characteristic peculiarities of Spinoza's system —I mean his uncompromising attack upon the doctrine of final causes. It is, indeed, plain that from Spinoza's point of view, there can be no place for any such doctrine. For, in his thought, the universe is always regarded from the mathematical point of

view. The peculiarity goes, as I cannot help thinking, a little deeper than Mr. Pollock is willing to admit. Spinoza, as it seems to me, not only uses geometrical forms and brings in geometrical examples by way of illustration, but is always referring to them, tacitly or explicitly, as the specific instances by which he virtually tests the truth of his abstract propositions. He tries the weapons which he has forged upon the geometrical anvil to test their temper. And it is sufficiently clear that geometrical demonstrations do not properly admit of any reference to a supposed end. To ask the question why? in regard to such demonstrations, would appear, to ordinary minds at least (for no proposition, as we know, is too absurd for philosophers), to have no conceivable meaning. Why do two and two make four? Why are the three angles of a triangle equal to two right angles? It is possible to put such words together, but they convey no intelligible sense. We see that two and two make four, and we are made to see by demonstration that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, and there is an end of it. Spinoza thus regards the revelation of a new standard of truth by mathematics as the most prominent cause of the dissipation of the illusions of final causes; for mathematics, as he says, are concerned not with ends but with the essences and properties of figures. This is the type to which all knowledge would conform as it became perfect. There can be no such thing as contingency; whatever is, flows from the infinite nature of God. The whole universe is an unbroken chain of cause and effect; and the relation between cause and effect corresponds to that between any property of a circle and its definition. Each specific determination of every event down to the minutest detail arises by equal necessity. If all our ideas were adequate, this necessity would become a matter of intuition, and to ask why? would be as unreasonable as in the case of arithmetic. And hence, too, the phrases, perfect or imperfect, good or bad, are seen, like contingency, to have a meaning only in relation to our inadequate knowledge. They have no absolute sense in regard to the universe. "By perfection and reality," says Spinoza in one of his pregnant definitions, "I understand the same thing." This is not, as it might seem to be in some systems, an avowal of thoroughgoing optimism. On the contrary, it makes optimism and pessimism equally irrelevant. When we call a thing perfect we compare it with some type existing in our mind and which we suppose to exist in the mind of the conceiver. A house is perfect in so far as it fulfils the intention of the architect, or a poem as it exactly expresses the poet's thought. But for such meaning there is simply no room when we speak of God or nature. Each particular thing represents equally and absolutely some idea in the divine mind. A type is simply the indistinct image which is formed in our mind from the contem-

plation of a number of individuals, and Spinoza explains, as a thorough nominalist, how such types are generated. A thing, therefore, is not more or less perfect as it conforms more or less to the type, except in the sense that it is more intelligible to our understanding, or more agreeable to our feelings. We call things orderly in so far as they conform to a plan which we can easily comprehend; but from the universal point of view such intelligibility is not an intrinsic perfection. We call things good or bad as they are productive of happiness or unhappiness. But the feelings which we call pain or pleasure are, like everything else, part of the universal system, to be explained by their place in the system, and not something external, by a reference to which the system can be itself determined. When we rise to the region of adequate ideas, things are not good or bad but simply necessary. Each minutest fragment is an integral part of the whole to be explained by its relation to the whole, but not capable of supplying an independent test by which the merits of the whole can be measured. Everything is perfect so far as real, whether more or less comprehensible by the finite minds, and useful or injurious to particular individuals. It would be as idle to introduce these relative conceptions as to class the general under the particular; as futile to complain of any fact as to declare that a mathematical proposition is false because it is too complex for our understandings, or to find fault with geometry because some bodily inconvenience involves a particular relation in space.

In this thoroughgoing assault upon the doctrine of final causes, Spinoza is protesting against the inevitable anthropomorphism which it always embodies in some more or less subtle shape. God, not man, must be at the centre of the universe. Man is at the circumference; the effect, not the cause. We have a capacity for truth, because some universal truth is given in every particular truth; but we cannot look upon truth as a whole, or regard the universe from outside as something upon which we can pass a judgment. Even to make the attempt is to fall into inevitable contradictions. In pronouncing this judgment, Spinoza so far clearly falls in with tendencies of modern thought exhibited beyond the limits of that kind of scientific speculation which utters its most effective protest against teleology in Darwinism. It is a side of his teaching, for example, with which Goethe specially sympathized; and with it, to some extent, every one must sympathize who has a vivid sense of the pettiness of man in relation to the universe, and who feels how all theological systems have really made God in the image of man. It is not difficult to pick holes in the peculiar system by which Spinoza interprets his thoughts. The mathematical analogy cannot be satisfactorily carried into details; and though it is not really essential to Spinoza's argument, it perplexes his exposition. I think,

again, that some misconception would be avoided if Spinoza had admitted that the word necessary is as much relative to our knowledge as the correlative word contingent. We say that an event is necessary when we mean that disbelief in its occurrence is impossible; and, of course, this is a highly useful meaning. But a thing either is or is not; and I do not see that the addition of the phrase "necessary" adds any predicate which is independent of the observer's mind. The use of the phrase preserves, on the other hand, the irrelevant conception of some external constraint, which is precisely the conception which Spinoza sought to banish from his philosophy. The necessity of the divine nature does not imply that Spinoza's God is bound by some external condition which determines him to be what he is; but is simply another name for the nature itself. In saying that there is nothing outside God, Spinoza expresses what is meant by the modern man of science when he says that a "law of nature" is not an external entity imposed upon the phenomena: but simply the general statement of the phenomenon. In each case the use of the phrase introduces needless perplexity.

Omitting, however, the peculiarities due to the particular form of Spinoza's thought, it will appear that he is simply expressing the essential characteristics of a scientific view of nature. If we could reach the goal to which all rational thought tends, or look at the world as it would appear from that indefinitely distant point of view, the conception of an end would become irrelevant. It must, therefore, be discarded even when we are still trying to express our most general conceptions, however inadequate they may be. For science must tend, if we may use the words, to absorb final in efficient causes. It approaches ideal perfection in so far as every particular phenomenon can be explained as a case of some more general rule; and the whole body of knowledge organized into a system of coherent and duly subordinated truths. Now, to assign a final cause is to say that a being is determined to act in a particular way by his constitution as acted upon by his environment; and must, therefore, always raise the further question how he comes to be so constituted. That, again, must be answered by discovering the general conditions of life, and when they are determined, his motive will appear in the final result as an effect and not as a cause. A final cause corresponds to a relation between different parts of a system, not to the whole system. The attraction of the earth explains the movement of the moon; but when we take the earth and the moon together, it appears merely as a relation between parts which follows as a result from the material relations of the whole system. In any intelligible case of final causes we have a similar evolution of thought. Take, for example, Paley's famous watch. The argument is cogent and conclusive in the assumed case; and its cogency depends upon very simple

principles. Materials are arranged in a particular form, which is not explicable from any properties of the materials themselves. It is explicable when we assume the existence of a being acting upon those materials. The watch is only intelligible, in other words, as part of a greater whole, and may fairly be regarded as a kind of detached limb. We, therefore, infer the man from the watch precisely as we infer Hercules from his foot. And when we have got the man and the materials, the explanation is so far complete, and we need go no further. The whole argument, therefore, is simply this, that when any complex process is only in part explained by one set of processes, into which it may be analyzed, we are justified in supposing that there must be other concurrent processes. And in this it is implied that the new agent whose existence is inferred represents a force additional or external to the forces already known; and that the force which he exerts is precisely measured by his relation to the rest of the phenomenon.

Extending the argument from the watch to the eye, and using our terms in the same sense, the nature of our reasoning is clear. The eye, of course, is only intelligible as part of a living organism under certain external conditions. The question should be, upon Paley's showing, whether these conditions and the properties of the living organism being given, the eye is sufficiently explained, or whether we require the intervention of an additional agent. And Paley, again, would answer that in the case of any individual, the explanation is complete; but not in the case of the race. The eye of the first man must have been put together by some external agent, because we can imagine no way in which it could otherwise have come into being. The eye of the individual grows by the intrinsic properties of the organism. Here, of course, he is met by the modern evolutionist, who says that there is no such difference between the two cases. Eyes grow, as each particular eye grows, and there is no need of looking beyond the properties, say, of protoplasm and the external medium. We need not call in an additional force; for, assuming these data, the eye necessarily follows. Spinoza's answer would be independent of this issue of fact. In any case, he would say, all that your argument can possibly prove, or tend to prove, is the existence of some external being, who is a part of the universe, for the eye is external to him as he is to the eye, and whose power must be finite, for it is measured by his action upon the materials. In any case, you do not prove the existence of God, but of a god or gods; of mysterious invisible agents, who act upon the world from without, and whose own nature would require to be explained just as much as that of the materials affected. They would be parts of the whole, just as a man or a watch is part of the whole; and their methods might be explained, and appear as

effects of some more general causes. So long as motive appears in your formulæ, they do not express the most general principle.

The argument takes other shapes which illustrate Spinoza's position. The conception of purpose, it may be said, is not excluded by the reasoning in this sense. For the primary data of the whole problem might have been differently arranged. All that we know, or ever can know, of the universe, is consistent with an indefinite number of such arrangements, as all that we can say of the laws of gravitation is consistent with an indefinite variety of solar systems. Spinoza would declare this hypothesis to be inadmissible, because he explicitly denies any distinction between the potential and the actual. Whatever is possible is also real. To say that God could have done that which he has not done is as idle as to say that given a circle, it may have contradictory properties. On this point I imagine that Spinoza would hardly be followed by modern men of science. They content themselves with the assertion that the hypothesis, though not self-contradictory, is nugatory. If the existing arrangements are not intrinsically necessary, they are necessary relatively to us; for without some basis of positive knowledge, our reasoning is *in vacuo*, or in other words, represents a mere set of phrases without intelligible contents. If, in this sense, the universe represents the end of the Creator, the knowledge that he had such an end tells us nothing, for we can have no conception whatever of a purpose related to no conceivable conditions.

The argument more generally takes another form. Its true force, it is urged, is not given by my interpretation. It is not an argument from particular arrangements, but from the existence of order. The cause inferred is not external but internal, not transient but immanent. One caution is necessary in accepting this doctrine. Order must be understood in the sense in which order is universal. Spinoza, as we have seen, understands order in a relative sense. That is orderly which is easily comprehended. And if we start from this basis, we fall into the insoluble difficulties which appear in the controversy as to the origin of evil. For we assume that things may be more or less orderly, and that the universe is divine so far as it exhibits a characteristic present in various degrees. Our argument to a Being of infinite power and benevolence is, therefore, inadequate, and we escape only by talking about mystery to conceal a covert admission that our reasoning fails. But if we take order in a sense of sufficient generality, a belief in its existence is simply equivalent to the scientific dogma generally stated as that of the uniformity of nature. Our guarantee for its existence is the statement that the world is inconceivable without it. If this be an insufficient guarantee, we are not sure that it does in fact exist, and we leave the field open to the doctrine of a blind chance and the survival of lucky hits. If it be sufficient, the so-called inference is

really no inference at all. We believe that two and two always make four, that a given effect will always follow a given cause, and so forth; and, therefore, we say we must believe in a Supreme Being who maintains this order. That is, we explain the simplest and most elementary truths obtainable by assuming that an inconceivable thing—for matter without form is by the hypothesis inconceivable—is acted upon by an inconceivable being—for form without content is as inconceivable as content without form—after a manner which is at least equally inconceivable. Having pushed our analysis to the utmost limit, we try to analyze again, and necessarily fall into absurdity.

Spinoza would accept the argument in a different sense. Order is not maintained by, it is the Supreme Being. Call order divine, and you have Spinoza's god, *Deus sive natura*. If this use of words be allowable, no scientific reasoner need shrink from calling himself a theist. For, in this sense, the man of science may say that if there is no God we must invent one. To reason at all we must go upon the hypothesis, even if it be no more than a hypothesis, of a uniform and intelligible order of nature. Spinoza's position is attractive to men of science because it excludes the false interpretation which is too often put upon their doctrine. In the effort to liberate themselves from the tyranny of *à priori* methods, or to get rid of the anthropomorphic assumptions which distort the true order of scientific thought, they have rejected the old theology in such a manner as to cut away their own standing-ground. Whilst it is of the very essence of their position to deny the existence of chance, they sometimes speak as if chance, in the epicurean sense, were the ultimate ground of the universe; instead of asserting that laws can only be discovered by experience, they seem to maintain that there cannot be any permanent laws; or rather, that the discovery of such a law implies a fatalistic, instead of a determinist, theory of the universe; a blind, inscrutable force which holds together the incoherent atoms of the world, and represents the old deity, only degrading him to be an arbitrary and radically unintelligible and unintelligent agent. And, similarly, in trying to get rid of the assumption that human intelligence was at the centre of the universe, and capable of gauging the purposes of its Creator, and defining beforehand the plan upon which he must act, they have fallen into the kind of crude materialism which, in words at least, seem to deny the existence of mind; to make the consciousness to which the ultimate appeal must lie a radically illusory faculty, and to endeavour to explain the thought in general as a particular case of some of its special manifestations. Spinoza, starting from the theological view, shows that if unflinchingly carried to its logical conclusions, it is fatal to the anthropomorphic conception and to the doctrine of final causes which follows from that conception. The belief in the supernatural—in the theory of spas-

modic interventions of the supreme cause, which are regarded by the ordinary theologian as of the very essence of his system, are shown to involve insoluble contradictions; and the theologian is thus, as it were, taken in the rear by the adoption of his own first principles.

But meanwhile the universe remains not only reasonable, but the very incarnation of reason, and chance is shown to be a mere illusion corresponding to no external reality. The resolute maintenance of the inevitable parallelism of mind and body destroys the vulgar materialism which tries to explain mind as a special product of the properties of matter; whilst at the same time it puts an insuperable bar in the way of all flights into the region of mystical fancies, and upholds the contention which is the strength of the materialist's case, the necessity of keeping a firm hold upon realities, and abjuring all transcendental figments. It is, in this way, the special peculiarity of Spinoza to expunge from his system the whole class of fallacies which spring from anthropomorphism, and generate the phantom of final causes, and yet to leave no ground against the cruder assumptions which the ordinary protest too often embodies. Spinoza, says Kuno Fischer, is the only philosopher who has altogether renounced the teleological view, without renouncing a belief in the originality of thought and purpose. He believes in reason and order, the true deity of the scientific mind, but does not place the human reason at the centre of the universe, and make our conceptions of order the test of its perfection.

Here, indeed, there is a certain difficulty. Spinoza should be prevented by the general spirit of his system, and by his own express assertions, from entering the path to mysticism. God is nature. We cannot get beyond nature into a transcendental region. The mind, in his language, does not know itself except in so far as it perceives the affections of the body. This and the whole argument of which it forms a part are expressly intended, one would say, to exclude the possibility of any knowledge of the abstract "ego" or of "things in themselves." There are not two kinds of knowledge, of which one kind comes through the senses, whilst the other is obtained through some superior faculty; but all knowledge is essentially one. Things perceived are not the efficient causes of our ideas, nor *vice versâ*; the mind, that is, is not the passive recipient of impressions from without; but neither can it have ideas to which nothing corresponds in the external world. The whole order of nature may be expressed as well in terms of extension as in terms of thought. These propositions seem to be elaborated expressly to restrain us from ever pursuing the metaphysical phantoms which have no continuity with sensible experience. And yet we certainly have a vein of something which, in language at least, sounds like mysticism in the last book

of Ethics. Some of Spinoza's most famous propositions occur in this part of his treatise. The intellectual love of God is the *summum bonum* revealed to us by reason. He who loves God should not seek to be loved by God in turn. God loves himself with an infinite love. Our love of God is part of the infinite love wherewith God loves himself. God's love of man is one and the same thing with this intellectual love of God. Moreover, though the mind can have no effusions, or imaginations, or memory independently of the body, yet the mind is eternal in so far as it has this intellectual love. It must be admitted that this language not only savours of mysticism, but requires some peculiar interpretation to make it fit in with the rest of the system. For Spinoza not only maintains that God is without passion, and can have neither joy nor sorrow; but has expressly said that the divine and human intellect will have nothing but the name in common; adding, with unusual quaintness, that they resemble each other as little as the dog star resembles the dog. The love of God for himself and our love of him must be understood in a non-natural sense to make these doctrines consistent. So again, though the eternity of the mind seems to exclude what is called personal immortality (for memory and imagination cease with the body), it is difficult to say in what sense Spinoza takes the mind to be eternal. Time, according to him, is nothing but a mode of thought or imagination. It belongs to the sphere of "inadequate" ideas, and would disappear if we could reach the highest kind of knowledge. Now even if with some philosophers we can succeed in conceiving an eternity which has no relation to time, it would seem, according to Spinoza, that the body would become eternal by the same right as the mind. The statement that the mind survives the body surely becomes meaningless when the word surviving is unintelligible. And Spinoza had apparently some misgivings as to his logic—an unusual circumstance with him—as he proceeds to argue that his moral teaching is independent of this part of his theory. I will not venture to interpret this doctrine, or to pronounce any opinion upon the acute suggestion which Mr. Pollock has advanced after much reflection. Perhaps one may say in a general term that in any Pantheistic system there must be some assertion of the eternity of mind and spirit, understood, of course, in a sense exclusive of personal immortality. Perhaps, even from a scientific point of view, we may say that there must be some formula—which we have not yet succeeded in properly expressing—corresponding on the subjective side to the objective doctrine of the conservation of energy. The form of Spinoza's theory is partly due to a doctrine not peculiar to him, which seems to be one of the weaknesses of his system. Upon his showing, feeling is resolved into, or is identical with, knowing. Volition and emotion are the same thing as cognition. So, for example, he gives

as an example of volition, the belief that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. And hence the intellectual love of God seems ultimately to mean the knowledge of God; and the knowledge of God to mean simply the possession of "adequate ideas;" or, in short, of demonstrable truth. Demonstrations, says Spinoza characteristically, are the eyes of the mind. Through them we have the beatific vision of perfect truth. And to say that the mind is eternal appears to mean only that eternal and necessary truths are within its grasp. There is nothing positive in error, says Spinoza; error disappears as the inadequate ideas are fitted into their true place in the general system of truths. Contingency belongs to inadequate ideas; certainty and necessity to the adequate, which are, therefore, absolutely true, or dependent upon no unknown condition for their truth. To say that the mind has an adequate knowledge of God is to say that it can rise to such truths, and so far Spinoza holds that it partakes of their eternity.

Thus we reach the moral conception which is the goal of Spinoza's labours. As he starts from a logical development of theology, so it is his definite aim to discover what is the highest aim of man. And the answer goes far to explain what was the determining impulse of his life. The desire to understand is the first and sole foundation of virtue. To become, as far as may be, incarnations of reason, to live according to the dictates of reason, to regard the universe of which we are parts as a vast system of objective reason, and, therefore, to acquiesce in its arrangements as necessary parts of the whole, that should be our supreme dominating principle. Mr. Pollock has pointed out the close resemblance between this and the Stoical doctrine—a doctrine of which Spinoza probably knew little or nothing at first hand. No one has maintained this doctrine with more vigour and consistency than Spinoza; and his pregnant and weighty utterances are worthy of the imposing character of the system of which he is the prophet. Spinoza, however, applies it on a method of his own; and his method exhibits again his affinity to more recent thinkers. It is frequently said that Pantheistic systems must be immoral, inasmuch as nature is an indifferent god, and produces vice as distinctly as virtue. And as no individual can be independent of nature, none can be responsible to the God who is identified with nature. From Spinoza's point of view, however, this merely expresses an obvious truth. As we have altogether got rid of final causes we cannot find the final cause in the interests of morality more than in any other assumed end. To endeavour to do so is to subordinate the general to the particular. To reason is to put things in the order of cause and effect, and not to single out some particular effect as determining the cause. We have simply to see how the various phenomena of human life or of the material world follow from wider causes; and

every moral principle must be a deduction from these causes, and cannot be discovered independently. Moral rules can be broken, and therefore they cannot be laws of nature. We have to account for bad men as for good men simply as facts, and not to turn our eyes from facts because they are disagreeable. As Spinoza says in a famous sentence of his *Tractatus Politicus*, he means to examine the science of politics as calmly as the science of mathematics, and has therefore sedulously taken care not to laugh nor weep nor rail at human actions, but to understand them. That is the statement of the method which must be adopted by every one who would study morals in a scientific spirit.

What, then, is the essence of morality according to Spinoza? The root from which all morality springs is in his language the *conatus* by which everything *in suo esse perseverare conatur*. This effort to maintain its own being is nothing else but the very essence of the man, from whose nature these things necessarily follow which are necessary to his preservation. This which becomes will in the mind or appetite in the man considered as mind and body, is desire so far as it is conscious. In deducing morality from this primary principle which is common to all things, for in another sphere it is simply an attempt to formulate the first law of mechanical science, Spinoza's argument is coloured by his characteristic assumptions. It gives some apparent sanction to the opinion that his doctrine is really egoistic. If each thing is in such sense separate that it is to care only for its own existence, the ultimate principle seems to be self-love. As Spinoza says in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, in a state of nature the right of each being is the same thing as its power, and thus big fish eat little fish by the highest natural right. And thus morality would merely be an agreement between men to observe certain rules, so far and so long as they were mutually useful. In this direction the doctrine sounds like pure egoism. The conclusion, indeed, was explicitly repudiated by Spinoza himself. Nobody could say more emphatically that society is in some sense natural to man; or that the society of a man's fellows is of all things the most useful to himself; and that to live by reason is to live for the common good. And yet the mode in which he conceives the origin and nature of society as dependent upon a compact between independent units implies an individualist substratum of theory from which he cannot quite free himself. His doctrine, as Mr. Pollock shows, has a very close affinity with that of Hobbes, of whom he was in some sense the disciple, so far as his political doctrine is concerned. The social union always remains something external and contingent; society is always potentially resoluble into separate atoms, an aggregate of independent parts rather than a true organic growth. And though he labours to show a necessary identity of interests, in so far as men live according to reason, his argument seems to betray

an artificial and unsatisfactory foundation. Nobody, indeed, could realise more fully the degree in which the average human being is under the dominion of passions and "inadequate ideas;" and it would seem that the identity of interests which he assumes could only be reached in that ideal state of society in which all men should become reasonable. Until that ideal is attained his escape from the egoistic theory seems to be rather precarious. In one case, indeed, and that a very important one for Spinoza, we may assume that the solution would be perfect. So far as a man is a philosopher, and so constituted that the pursuit of truth is the absorbing aim of his life, he is necessarily labouring for himself in labouring for others. He who extends the empire of truth is making conquests not for himself alone but for humanity; and the fruits of his labours have the best claim to be called eternal. For a Spinoza, in short, there is no distinction between the pursuit of his own happiness and the pursuit of the general happiness. But we are not all Spinozas, and even a Spinoza has to be something more than a reasoning machine, and therefore has come into collision with his fellows in relations where the dictates of pure reason are not so free from ambiguity.

The ethical doctrine of Spinoza, however, has another aspect. He avoids the line of speculation common to most philosophers who in some respects share his view of the essential reasonableness of morality. They are led to identify, in some sense or other, the moral obligation with logical necessity. The essence of morality is supposed to reside in the abstract form of law; and we have such theories in Kant's Categorical Imperative or the cruder doctrines of Clarke. Much eloquence has been expended upon the sublimity of such teaching, which to me (as I must humbly confess) seems fit only for a dry professor of metaphysics who has forgotten the existence of the passions. But, in any case, it is not the teaching of Spinoza. If he identifies volition with cognition, he does not sink one term in the other so as to reduce all living to a mere process of working out abstract formulæ. So long as we are in this purely logical region, and arranging things in the order of cause and effect, we are beyond the region of morality. We are in a sphere where good and bad, perfect and imperfect have no meaning, and where we are indeed laying the base of moral as of all other truth; but have not to take into account these secondary distinctions. Morality must be founded upon science, but not identified with it. And the only acceptable meaning follows as we enter the region of reality and experience. For though we have no absolute standard of comparison external to the world at large by which to judge of the good and bad, the perfect and imperfect, yet those words may have a perfectly consistent and intelligible meaning. There is no type by comparison with which we can judge of the excellence of a being, but a being may be called

more or less excellent as it has more or less reality. And this must be taken to mean that a being is perfect or bad as it has more or less vitality. In Spinoza's language things are therefore good or bad for us as they increase or decrease the body's power of acting. Mr. Pollock shows very clearly how this theory, though it cannot be said to anticipate modern theories of evolution, exactly falls in with them, and leaves the doctrine to receive the full interpretation by the disciples of Mr. Darwin. Every critic has admired the skill with which Spinoza deduces his whole psychological theory from this central conception. Morality means vitality. The moral law expresses the rule of life which a man spontaneously fulfils in so far as he most thoroughly fulfils the general condition of adaptation to the whole circumstances of life. If from an individualist point of view this seems to imply a selfish theory, because the struggle for existence is interpreted as a struggle of each against all, we only require a fuller and more adequate perception of the true nature of the social organism, to see that the development of the social instinct is an intrinsic and essential part in the development of individual vitality; and to recognise in Spinoza's theory the germ of the most comprehensive moral theory. Morality is not an ultimate element in the analysis of the existing world; but it is the name of the instinct by which the growth and healthy development of a race is eventually conditioned.

Finally, let us notice how Spinoza, here as elsewhere, holds the balance between opposite tendencies. He rejects implicitly the transcendental theories which on pretence of exalting morality would somehow make the laws of human conduct independent of the constitution of human nature. But he is equally opposed to the doctrine which would give more tangible reality to morality at the cost of making it external and contingent. The proposition which concludes and crowns the Ethics gives the whole spirit of his teaching. "Blessedness is not the reward of virtue but virtue itself; nor do we feel it to be a blessing because we control our lusts; but, on the contrary, we control our lusts because we feel it to be a blessing." Rejecting, as exhaustively as Spinoza has rejected, the whole doctrine of final causes, it would be utterly inconsistent with his whole teaching were he to regard virtue either as an effort to gain some specific reward, which would be to alter and degrade its nature; or as a preparation for some supernatural state, which would be to make it radically unintelligible. The most virtuous man is the one who is most fitted for the universe in which we live; and fitted for it because his whole faculties have reached the highest and most harmonious development. He will not be ascetic, for all happiness is good, except in so far as it impedes his development; nor will he exaggerate the importance of the lower forms of

enjoyment, for the fully-developed man must certainly be the one who has high intellectual and emotional power, and to whom the grovelling view of the universe is therefore an impediment to fulness of life. Least of all will such a man look beyond himself for a reward. His virtue is not of the transcendental kind, for it is but the expression of his fitness for the world in which he lives. But the higher his faculties, the more he will perceive the value of that doctrine which Spinoza shares, not only with the stoics, but with all moralists of the loftier kind; the necessity of making himself independent, as far as his position allows, of things accidental and contingent and resting on things eternal. But the doctrine must not be interpreted to mean that he is to live in a dreamworld separated by an impassable gulf from the world of reality; but that he is to do good work, that is the only work which has in itself the conditions of stability; that he is to labour for the extension of truth, not to try to prop up mere dying error; and to promote the growth of a social order which has the chance of permanence in so far as it satisfies the legitimate aspirations of mankind. If his labour be thrown away, he must take such comfort as he can (for it is the only comfort to be found) in the thought that the reasonable man regards all things as necessary, not as contingent; or, as we may interpret his words, that, as we are part of a vast whole which is beyond our power to control, it is as idle to weep over might have beens as to wish that two and two did not make four. The highest reward which he can reach is the *acquiescentia in se ipso;* acquiescence, therefore, in the conditions in which we are placed, and in the sense that we have acted on the dictation of reason, though we can never be beyond the reach of accident. But if a man cares little for such lofty teaching? If he prefers the pleasures of the senses to the strenuous exertion of the intellect, and would, in short, rather be a pig than a man? What is to be said? Apparently it can only be said from Spinoza's point of view that a philosopher can show the road to salvation, but that twenty philosophers cannot make a man enter it; that nature will continue to bring forth pigs both animal and human. And that the pig, though he may be whipped into decency, cannot by any ingenious combination of inducements be turned into a free man. The attempt to get out of this difficulty is in reality what squaring the circle and discovering perpetual motion are in mathematics. The only hope is that as the free man is he who best satisfies the conditions of human existence, the higher type will succeed in ousting the lower. But Spinoza scarcely looked forward to what we call progress, nor is it easy to see how such a creed can form part of a general philosophy. We must live in the present, though to live as becomes philosophers we must fix our affections upon the deepest and most permanent elements of life. LESLIE STEPHEN.

MR. WALLACE'S *ISLAND LIFE*.[1]

Every great scientific theory passes through two stages, the inductive and the deductive. First of all it is built up by an accumulation of facts and inferences: the facts are traversed, the inferences are disputed, and a great battle rages over its general acceptance. But as time goes on, the induction becomes complete; assailants are won over, or silenced, or else die off; a younger generation is brought up in the new faith; and the doctrine passes at length as an ascertained truth into its deductive stage. Henceforth, instead of being fought over, it becomes an accepted principle for the interpretation of other facts in nature. Such has been the history of the Copernican theory, the Newtonian law of gravitation, and the Daltonian theory of atoms: such in our own time is the history of Mr. Darwin's hypothesis of natural selection, and Mr. Herbert Spencer's theory of evolution. Practically speaking, no biologist of note now refuses to believe in the development of all living plants and animals from one or more simple original types. Even our bishops hint a possible acceptance, and hesitate a mild dissent only as to certain real or supposed implications. As everybody quietly swallowed geology fifty years since, and yet compounded for Genesis, so everybody is quietly swallowing evolution to-day, and yet compounding for other equally irreconcilable beliefs. At any rate, the scientific world has long since got beyond the stage of arguing over Darwinism, and has taken the wiser and more fruitful course of applying Darwinian principles to the explanation of hitherto unsolved biological problems. Mr. Wallace was one of the first writers who thus abandoned the barren field of disputation for the real work of extending and tracing the consequences of the new discovery. From the moment when the great secret of natural selection first flashed upon his mind in the Malay Archipelago, as it had flashed upon Mr. Darwin's mind years before on reading Malthus, he has, apparently, had no doubts as to the final triumph of the truth. It was inevitable that in the end fresh facts and new explanations must break down the resistance of the old school; so instead of troubling himself by adding further arguments to the vast accumulation gathered by Mr. Darwin, he set himself to employ the evolutionist hypothesis, one of whose authors he might fairly claim to be, in the deductive explanation of zoological and botanical distribution. The results of his work he has already given us in more than one form: and his new volume on *Island Life* contains his latest views on the subject set forth in a clear and popular

(1) *Island Life*. By Alfred Russel Wallace. Macmillan & Co. 1880.

manner which should make them accessible to many readers who would not venture on the perusal of his more strictly scientific expositions. Moreover, the limitation of his subject in his new work to the special case of islands allows him to deal with those minor differences which are classed as specific merely; while his former volumes were restricted to the wider differences which characterize genera. Thus *Island Life* is essentially a new work, both as containing many later and more matured views, and as treating of a comparatively fresh and more limited area. Mr. Wallace has written nothing more clear, more masterly, or more convincing than this delightful volume.

Evolution is the key to distribution. Every great type must have originated in some particular spot, under the influence of certain special conditions: and from that spot it must have dispersed itself in various directions, according to the means of transport, and have undergone greater or less modifications to suit its altered habitats. At a very remote period, perhaps up to the dawn of the Eocene, Europe and Asia were peopled by no mammals except marsupials, like the kangaroo and the opossum. At that period, Australia had some land communication with the rest of the world, and it thus acquired a population including these marsupials, then probably the foremost type of animals upon the earth. At the beginning of the tertiary epoch, a new and higher type of mammals, the placental, appeared upon the scene in the great eastern continent, and soon wholly overran it. Splitting up first into sundry primary groups of hoofed and hoofless creatures, it shortly produced all the various races of ruminants, horses, elephants, carnivores, insectivores, rodents, and apes, which spread rapidly over the whole extent of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. These placental mammals quickly lived down the less specialised and developed marsupials, of whom the opossums in America at last remained the sole representatives on either great continent. But before the rise of the placental group, Australia had become insulated from the neighbouring lands, with which it has never since had any direct connection. Accordingly, the higher mammals never reached Australia at all, till a few of them were carried there by man—the dingo by the black fellows; the horse, cow, and sheep by the European colonists. But on the other hand the marsupials had room to develop into numerous special forms, such as the kangaroos, the Tasmanian devil, and the wombats; because they were not kept down as in Asia and America by the competition of superior types. Thus the mere peculiarities of the Australian fauna sufficiently show us that Australia has never been united with Asia since the rise of the placental mammals—that is to say, at latest, since the end of the Cretaceous period, and probably far earlier: for if it had been so united, we know that some of

these superior forms must have invaded it, with the probable result of exterminating its native marsupials.

This familiar instance may be taken as typical of the class of questions with which Mr. Wallace undertakes to deal. It sufficiently exemplifies the two main elements in the problem, of which one is biological and the other physical; the latter, of course, being at present most in need of explanation. But the physical question, again, depends mainly upon the changes undergone by our earth in past times. We have to consider, not merely the existing distribution of land and water, of polar ice and tropical forest, of glaciated mountains and warm ocean currents, but also their previous distribution throughout the whole history of our earth. To recur once more to the example of Australia: if that great isolated land had ever been joined to the mainland of Asia since the beginning of the tertiary period, then we should find it now inhabited by mammals of the common Asiatic types. On the other hand, if it had ever been wholly submerged at any one time since the date of its separation, we should find it wholly devoid of land mammals, such as the kangaroo and the other marsupials. The old-fashioned geologists would have led us to suppose that Australia had been sunk bodily beneath the ocean half-a-dozen times in that interval, and had been joined again sometimes to a great Antarctic continent, sometimes to South America, sometimes to Asia, sometimes perhaps to some vast mountain region now buried beneath five miles' depth of the Pacific. But if this were so, the fauna of Australia would be wholly different from what it is at the present day. We should find in it fragments of all the other faunas which were once able to invade it: instead of which we find a very ancient, very peculiar, and wholly endemic fauna, having no resemblance to anything which has existed in any other country since the later Eocene age. Thus the existing distribution of organic forms is at once a clue to the former distribution of land and water, and itself a result of that distribution. We can infer the cause from the effect; though we are often able to bring up independent evidence which forcibly strengthens and confirms our inferences.

Everything then depends upon the question whether, in the past, continents and oceans have had anything like permanence, or whether they have been in that perpetual state of flux and interchange which the old geologists imagined. If a deep sea now and then occupies the site of the eastern continent, from England to Japan; if a vast mainland occasionally bridges over the Pacific from China to Patagonia; if an open ocean often fills up the north temperate region, while a system of continents gathers around the south pole—then, of course, the task of tracing out the interactions between organic evolution and geographical features would be impossible. But we have

seen already that in the case of Australia the fauna itself sufficiently points out the true facts of geological history: and the faunas and floras of the larger continents also tell a similar though slightly varied tale. Mr. Wallace, however, does not rely entirely or even mainly upon arguments of this nature. He shows by several independent lines of reasoning that the present distribution of land and water approximately represents the distribution throughout an immense period of past time, at least ever since the opening of the secondary epoch. It is true that the earliest secondary deposits are quite modern in age, compared with the whole lapse of time since the first evolution of life upon the earth; but then, we are little concerned with the distribution of those lower and chiefly marine forms of life which existed almost alone in the long primary epoch; while we are greatly interested in the higher and chiefly terrestrial forms which first appear in the secondary and tertiary epochs—the birds, mammals, and flowering plants. Mr. Wallace himself believes that the continents have always existed since palæozoic times, in a circle around the North Pole, with three southward extensions, as at present: but he thinks they have undergone a constant development, which only reached its full form at the glacial period. Hence the real and practical question for our present purpose resolves itself into this—what evidence have we of the comparative permanence of our oceans and continents throughout the secondary and tertiary epochs?

To this question Mr. Wallace has always given satisfactory answers, which he now recapitulates and strengthens by further arguments. The continents which we see at the present day have probably almost always occupied much the same positions as those which they occupy in our own time. It is true every part of them has at one time or other been under water; but still these submerged parts were, nevertheless, high submarine banks lying in the immediate neighbourhood of dry land. They were, in fact, parts of continental bosses, slightly depressed beneath sea-level. It seems likely that from a very early period the three great oceans—Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian—have filled the same deep hollows in which they now lie. It seems equally probable that two or three great masses of land, compactly grouped around the North Pole, and tapering towards the south, sometimes united and sometimes separated by shallow seas, but always essentially connected with one another, have almost invariably occupied the positions now held respectively by Europe, Asia, and North Africa, by South Africa, and by North and South America. Even Australia seems to have been relatively constant in position ever since the beginning of the Eocene age, and probably far earlier. It should be added, however, that Mr. Wallace alleges

reasons for believing in the permanence of the actual continents even in palæozoic times.

Around all our existing continents there runs a belt of shallow water about 100 fathoms deep. Sometimes this belt stretches only 20 miles from the shore; more often it extends 100 miles; and in a few cases it forms a long bridge of several hundred miles between one continent and another. The depth of 1,000 fathoms, marking what may fairly be called deep sea, sometimes approaches within 30 miles of the actual coast, and sometimes recedes to 100 miles or more. The shallow ledge which thus fringes and often unites mainlands may be regarded as in reality a submerged or non-emerging portion of the continent. Now, the dredgings of the *Challenger* have shown that sedimentary deposits, consisting of detritus from the land, are only collected as a rule within about 50 or 100 miles of the coast, the finest mud being rarely carried to a distance of 150 or 200 miles. Beyond this point the ocean bed is covered with sediment of purely organic origin, consisting of small siliceous and calcareous shells. Hence it follows that by far the larger part of all stratified deposits, and certainly all those containing sand, pebble, or visible fragments of rock, must have been formed within 50 or 100 miles of then existing continents, or else in inland seas, receiving the waters of great rivers. But such rocks—sandstones, limestones, conglomerates, and shales—occupy the centre of all our great continents; and they were probably, therefore, deposited either in arms of the ocean, like the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, or in vast inland lakes, like the Caspian. Professor Geikie has already pointed out the arguments in favour of the littoral origin of the palæozoic rocks; and Professor Ramsay's inaugural address to the last meeting of the British Association points in the same direction. Mr. Wallace adds several fresh arguments of like implication. Even as regards the chalk, generally represented as a typical deep-sea deposit, he shows that its chemical composition differs considerably from that of the modern oceanic globigerina ooze; while similar ooze from coral reefs and other shallow places resembles it much more closely. Dr. Gwyn Jeffreys, one of our leading authorities on the mollusca, declares that the chalk fossils are distinctly shoal water forms. Moreover, even the chalk is found only in a comparatively restricted belt of Europe, from Ireland to the Crimea, and from Southern Sweden to Bordeaux. The sea in which it was formed was, therefore, probably an earlier and somewhat larger Mediterranean, extending across Central Europe, and bounded by the Scandinavian Highlands, Russia, Austria, and South Germany, and the south of France. In like manner the large number of fresh-water and shore deposits found in all countries also proves the comparative permanence of the great land areas.

The permanence of oceans, even more important, perhaps, in its implications than the converse truth, is shown by equally cogent arguments. As Mr. Darwin remarks, hardly one truly oceanic island possesses even a fragment of palæozoic or secondary formations—a fact which clearly proves that the ocean bed from which they have been elevated has never at any time formed part even of the littoral belt surrounding a continent. Had continents or continental islands ever existed in their neighbourhood, they would almost certainly have produced sedimentary deposits, as we know them to have done and to be still doing in the littoral belt of existing lands. Moreover, the deposits now being formed in the deep seas are wholly different from anything to be found in the formations which compose our continents.

Thus we find that our existing distribution of land and sea has persisted in the main throughout all time. But endless changes of detail have taken place from age to age; and upon these changes the distribution of animals and plants depends. Mr. Wallace will have nothing to do with those cheap and easy explanations which consist in running up a hypothetical continent across the bed of a vast ocean whenever you wish to account for any quite modern peculiarity of distribution. He refuses to bridge over the Pacific merely in order to explain the presence of tapirs in Sumatra and in Brazil; he demurs to the invention of a lost Lemuria between Madagascar and the Deccan, simply because some South Indian species resemble some Madagascar types; and he will not consent to manufacture a road from New Zealand to the Cape and to South America, for no better reason than because struthious birds are found at the present day in all three of them, and in no intermediate region. His wide grasp of facts, geological, palæontological, and biological, enables him to frame hypotheses which are less simple, it is true, but which have the merit of explaining all the facts instead of being contradicted by nine-tenths of them. He knows that ancestral tapirs once ranged in every country from Sumatra to Paris, and from Paris to North America; that ancestral ostriches swam about in the Western States or roamed over the plains of England; and that we can more easily explain the similarities of Indian and Madagascar species by other known principles than by such a clumsy and false expedient as that of a Lemuria, whose fauna is not to be found in any of its supposed existing fragments, Bourbon and Mauritius.

Passing on to the problem of geological climates, so closely connected with the distribution and dispersal of plants and animals, Mr. Wallace arrives at conclusions which are, perhaps, somewhat more doubtful, certainly more opposed to received opinions, yet which seem conclusively reasoned out. It has for some time been

acknowledged that certain recurring astronomical conditions of our planet help us largely to account for those great changes of climate which we know to have often occurred in geological time: and it has usually been held as a corollary to this opinion, that glacial epochs in the northern and southern hemispheres respectively must recur at certain fixed though irregular periods. Dr. Croll has pointed out that a particular combination of astronomical revolutions —the precession of the equinoxes and the motion of the aphelion— brings about a change of position in a cycle of 10,500 years, so that the hemisphere which at the beginning of that period had winter in perihelion at the end has it in aphelion. At the present moment this cause probably accounts in great part for the difference between the climate of the two hemispheres: for the north has now a somewhat shorter and warmer winter than the south. But the eccentricity of the earth's orbit itself also varies largely and irregularly, though very slowly; and it is calculated that when the eccentricity is highest the differences in temperature brought about in either hemisphere by the cycle in question would be very much intensified. Dr. Croll points out that such a period of high eccentricity began about 250,000 years ago, and reached its maximum 210,000 years ago. He believes that the last glacial epoch, which formed the ice-worn boulders and moraines of our Welsh and English hills, began at this period of high eccentricity, and continued intermittently in either hemisphere with each cycle of 10,500 years, down to some 80,000 years since, warm interglacial periods occupying the intervals. This theory has been pretty generally accepted by all scientific men. But Dr. Croll also believes that similar glacial periods have probably occurred with each irregular period of high eccentricity. He even points out the probability that an ice age, far more severe than that with whose remains we are so familiar, occurred about 850,000 years ago, and coincided with some part of the Miocene period. To this latter portion of Dr. Croll's argument Mr. Wallace demurs. Accepting the general theory that the last glacial epoch was due in the main to a period of high eccentricity, he denies that every such period necessarily produces an ice age.

Mere astronomical changes are not in themselves sufficient to account for the climatic peculiarities of glacial epochs. Mr. Wallace shows that glaciation can only take place when the circumstances allow large accumulations of ice and snow. Such accumulations require high land at or near the poles. He then examines the tertiary formations of Europe, and points out that they contain no large deposits of presumably glacial origin, but that, on the contrary, they involve almost without exception the prevalence of a comparatively warm and almost tropical climate throughout the whole long period in which they were deposited. The Arctic flora

of tertiary and secondary times was also of a temperate character. Putting all the evidence together, he urges that since the Permian period, at least, the climate of Northern Europe and America was uninterruptedly warm (up to the last ice age), while that of the Arctic regions was comparatively mild. The last glacial epoch he believes to have been an exceptional phenomenon, due to the rise of much high land about the pole, coincidently with the coming on of a period of high eccentricity. On the other hand, the warm Arctic climates which prevailed throughout the secondary and tertiary ages, he attributes to the existence of an open polar sea, with currents of hot water setting towards it from the equatorial oceans. If this view be true—and it is enforced by all that wide and minute knowledge of facts in every department of science which is Mr. Wallace's speciality—we must in future regard geographical conditions as far more important than astronomical in producing alterations of climate. The alternate warm and cold spells supposed of necessity to accompany periods of high eccentricity need now only be expected in cases where special features of polar geography synchronize with unusual distance from the sun in winter.

In the second half of Mr. Wallace's work, the general principles of biological distribution are particularly applied to the special case of islands, which allow of detailed treatment impossible in wider stretches of land. Islands may be grouped in two great classes, oceanic and continental. The former are those which have never at any time formed part of any continent, and which, therefore, possess no indigenous terrestrial mammals. The latter are those which have once been united with the adjacent mainland, and which, therefore, possess the same general type of fauna and flora, more or less profoundly modified by local conditions in rough proportion to the length of time during which they have been isolated.

Oceanic islands are of volcanic or coralline formation, and contain few or no old sedimentary deposits. Their fauna and flora have been wafted to them over sea, and are, therefore, mere fragments of those which exist in the nearest mainland. Birds and flying insects form their chief animal inhabitants, because they can be carried out to sea for long distances on their own wings during heavy gales. Land snails, borne in the egg or in crevices of wood, are also common. On the other hand, mammals and amphibia are wholly wanting. Plants, whose seeds or spores can be readily borne by wind or waves, are comparatively abundant. The degree of local modification which the species have undergone in their new homes depends mainly on three conditions—the length of time during which the islands have existed; the frequency of fresh arrivals to keep up the purity of the old types; and the peculiarities

of the surface and other productions, reacting upon the various species.

In the Azores, we have an instance of an oceanic archipelago, where most species have remained fairly true to their original continental forms. Lying about nine hundred miles west of the Portuguese coast, they possess an indigenous fauna of wholly European character, only slightly modified in a few unimportant particulars. It consists of birds, insects, and land shells. Most of the birds are waders or swimmers; of the remainder, all but three are common European and North African species. Two out of the three exceptions belong to Madeira and the Canaries; while one, the Azorean bullfinch, is peculiar to the islands. Thus, a single bird alone has varied enough from its ancestral type to be considered as a separate species. The reason for this relative fixity of type is that the Azores lie in the belt of storms, and that stragglers from Europe arrive in the islands almost every season. The one species which has varied is the bullfinch, which does not migrate, and is, therefore, less likely to be blown out to sea. Among the insects, the butterflies are almost all European; but twenty-three beetles out of two hundred and twelve are peculiar to the islands, while a few others belong by origin or affinities to South America, to the Canaries, and even to Madagascar. As beetles must be reinforced by fresh individuals of their own species far less frequently than birds or butterflies, the greater divergence among them is perfectly natural. Lastly, land snails, which have least power of dispersal of all, show the largest amount of local peculiarity, nearly half being found in no other place. The Bermudas stand to America in much the same relation as the Azores to Europe, and their fauna and flora display almost exactly analagous features. Lying two hundred miles nearer the mainland, however, the chances of stray birds arriving from time to time are even greater than in the Azores; and so all the birds without exception belong to American species. The insects, too, remain true to type; but there are four peculiar snails and two ferns which have sufficiently altered to rank as separate kinds. These two insular groups are examples of recent oceanic islands, only just beginning to possess a peculiar fauna and flora of their own, and prevented from doing so more rapidly (if at all) by the great facilities which exist for intercourse from the continent.

The Galapagos Islands stand nearer to South America than do either of the previous groups to their nearest mainland. But they are probably of older formation, and they lie within the stormless equatorial belt. Hence their fauna and flora are far more peculiar. There are two large tortoises, derived from America, but now quite distinct from any American kind; and five lizards, three of which differ specifically from their ancestors, while two have so far diverged

as to be accounted separate genera. Among the birds, we find every gradation of difference, from those which are perfectly identical with continental species, to those which have varied widely enough to be classed as generically distinct; and this diversity bears an obvious relation to the facilities which each original species possesses for migration to the islands. The insects and land-shells are mostly peculiar; while a still larger number of the plants have adapted themselves to their new situation, sometimes out of all knowledge of their ancestors.

Continental islands differ in several important respects from those of oceanic origin. They are more varied in geological features, containing ancient and modern stratified rocks, and they always possess at least some terrestrial mammals. Recent continental islands, like Great Britain, are situated on submerged banks, connecting them with the mainland: they resemble the continent in their geological structure; while their fauna and flora are identical with those of the neighbouring mainland, or differ very slightly from them. Our own country forms, perhaps, the best example of this class. It possesses a modest mammalian fauna, identical with that of northern Europe, as far as it goes, but much poorer; while in reptiles and amphibia it is even more deficient. One of our birds, however, the red grouse, is decidedly peculiar; and two other varieties, the coal-tit and long-tailed tit, are sufficiently different to be ranked by competent authorities as separate species. Among fresh-water fish we have no less than fifteen kinds peculiar to Britain; and some of these have very restricted areas, being only found in one or two Scotch or Irish mountain lakes. This strong tendency to local variation is due to the difficulty or impossibility of intercourse between the inhabitants of one tarn and another. A good many insects are held to be more or less specifically British, and there are certainly a great number of marked varieties. These incipient differences are most noticeable in the outlying islands, such as the Isle of Man and the Shetlands. Among the mollusca, Ireland has a slug and a snail found nowhere else. Altogether, Mr. Wallace shows by a most exhaustive survey of the British fauna, that though it is still in the main identical with that of the continent, a considerable amount of variation already exists, and shows itself most markedly in the most isolated situations, or among the most scattered groups of organisms. Borneo and Java, though perhaps no older than Britain, display the same peculiarities even more distinctly, owing in part to the greater richness of tropical life, but still more, no doubt, to their wider separation from the adjacent continent.

Perhaps the most wonderful specimen of ingenious reasoning in the whole book is contained in the singularly clever and intricate chapters on New Zealand, classed with Celebes among anomalous

islands. The fauna and flora of New Zealand have long formed an insoluble crux for the geographical biologist: and Mr. Wallace's explanation, though it perhaps makes rather large demands upon our powers of assent, has at least the merit of perfectly harmonizing all the facts. Whether the series of changes which he supposes to have taken place are actually those which did take place or not, it is at any rate certain that such changes would have resulted in the state of things which we do as a matter of fact now find existing. It would be impossible adequately to summarise his arguments without employing many pages; but the gist of his actual conclusions is this:—

During the Cretaceous period, Australia was divided into two large islands, one of which, the western, was temperate in climate, and almost as extensive as the existing continent. The other or eastern island was a long and narrow strip of land, extending from Cape York on the north to a point beyond modern Tasmania on the south, and so stretching from the tropics into the heart of the temperate zone. Between these two islands lay a sea, in whose bed cretaceous and tertiary deposits are now found uniting the two halves of the continent. From New Zealand, a long submarine spur or bridge runs north-westward towards Cape York. At some time or other a land connection must have existed along this spur, by its temporary elevation above the sea level. But this connection was only with tropical eastern Australia, while between New Zealand and temperate Australia a deep sea channel has always lain. In this manner those Australian plants and animals which already inhabited the tropical portion of the eastern island were enabled to invade New Zealand; but those which inhabited the western island were unable to do so, unless they had already established themselves at an earlier period by stray accidents in the sister land. At an epoch subsequent to the re-insulation of New Zealand, the two Australias became united by the upheaval of the cretaceous and tertiary sea-bottom, and the faunas and floras of both halves were enabled freely to mingle with one another. Accordingly, at the present time, the flora of New Zealand presents the most apparently capricious relations to that of Australia, many families being common to both, while others are unaccountably absent. Unaccountably, that is to say, before Mr. Wallace's ingenious solution had been offered: for if he is right, the common families and genera are those of the old tropical Australia, altered and modified of course by change of circumstances; while the families and genera found in Australia but not in New Zealand are those of the separate western temperate island. So that now temperate New Zealand has relationships not with the temperate, but with the tropical portion of the Australian plant-life.

So much is sufficient to account for the main peculiarities of the New Zealand flora; but other facts are implied by its fauna. The large number of wingless birds, extinct or living, in so small a country, calls for special explanation. Fifteen species of apteryx and moa have within recent times inhabited New Zealand. Hence we must suppose that when the ancestral form of these wingless birds first established itself in the island its area must have been far larger than at the present day. Again, the large island thus postulated must have split up at a later period into several smaller but still considerable islands, on each of which a local species of moa or apteryx was developed. Then once more the various islands must have been reunited by an elevation of the great submarine bank which still probably marks their sites; and the various local species must thus have spread themselves over the whole area. Lastly, the larger part of this new land must afterwards have subsided again, leaving all the species crowded together in the comparatively narrow space of the existing New Zealand. Thus, by the combination of various facts, botanical, zoological, geological, and geographical, which he knows so well how to co-ordinate, Mr. Wallace evolves order from the chaos of various isolated observations, and builds up for us a complete history of New Zealand and the surrounding lands, every one of whose items is a masterpiece of connected reasoning. Even if we allow that the whole result is perhaps too hypothetical for implicit acceptance, we must at least recognise the wonderful skill with which the evidence has been pieced together, and the reconstructive power by which it has been made to yield a consistent and probable story. If we are not certain that Mr. Wallace's account is exactly what took place, we may at any rate feel sure that it is very near the actual truth.

As a whole, *Island Life* is almost above criticism. Mr. Wallace brings to his task a rare combination of qualities not usually compatible with one another—the faculty for wide and far-seeing generalisations, and the faculty for minute and painstaking scrutiny of facts. He takes his subject-matter from all the sciences, and he builds it into a new and harmonious whole. Every page is interesting merely in virtue of the special facts which it details; but the entire work is a thousand times more interesting in virtue of the consistent thread of reasoning which runs through it, and of the general light which it throws upon the whole course of organic evolution, and the whole physical history of our planet.

GRANT ALLEN.

THE TRAGIC COMEDIANS:

A STUDY IN AN OLD STORY.

Chapter VIII.

Alvan, left to himself, had a quiet belief in the subjugation of his tricksy Clotilde, and the inspiriting he had given her. All the rest to come was mere business matter of the conflict, scarcely calling for a plan of action. Who can hold her back when a woman is decided to move? Husbands have tried it vainly, and parents: and though the husband and the parent are not dealing with the same kind of woman, you see the same elemental power in her under both conditions of rebel wife and rebel daughter to break conventional laws, and be splendidly irrational. That is, if she can be decided: in other words, aimed at a mark and inflamed to fly the barriers intercepting. He fancied he had achieved it. He thanked his fortune that he had to treat with parents. The consolatory sensation of a pure intent soothed his inherent wildness in the contemplation of the possibility that the latter might be roused by those people, her parents, to upset his honourable ambition to win a wife after the fashion of orderly citizens. It would be on their heads! But why vision mischance? An old half-jesting prophesy of his among his friends, that he would not pass his fortieth year, rose upon his recollection without casting a shadow. Lo, the reckless prophet about to marry! No dark bride, no skeleton, no colourless thing, no lichened tree, was she. Not Death, my friends, but Life, is the bride of this doomed fortieth year! Was animation ever vivider in contrast with obstruction? Her hair would kindle the frosty shades to a throb of vitality: it would be sunshine in the subterranean sphere. The very thinking of her dispersed that realm of the poison hue, and the eternally inviting phosphorescent, still, curved forefinger, which says, "Come."

Methodically, according to his habit, he jotted down the hours of the trains, the hotel mentioned by Clotilde, the address of her father; he looked to his card-case, his writing materials, his notes upon Swiss law, considering that the scene would be in Switzerland, and he was a lawyer bent on acting within and up to the measure of the law as well as pleading eloquently.

The night passed, the morning came, and carried him on his journey. Late in the afternoon he alighted at the hotel he called Clotilde's. A letter was handed to him. His eyes all over the page caught the note of it for her beginning of the battle and despair at the first repulse. "And now my turn!" said he, not overjoyously. The words Jew and demagogue and baroness, quoted

in the letter, were old missiles hurling again at him. But Clotilde's parents were yet to learn that this Jew, demagogue, and champion of an injured lady was a gentleman respectful to their legal and natural claims upon their child while maintaining his own: they were to know him and change their tone.

As he was reading the letter up stairs by sentences, his door opened at the answer to a tap. He started; his face was a shield's welcome to the birdlike applicant for admission. Clotilde stood hesitating.

He sent the introducing waiter speeding on his most kellnerish legs, and drew her in.

"Alvan, I have come."

She was like a bird in his hands, palpitating to extinction.

He bent over her: "What has happened?"

Trembling, and very pale, hard in her throat, she said: "The worst."

"You have spoken to them both subsequent to this?" he shook the letter.

"It is hopeless."

"Both to father and mother."

"Both. They will not hear your name; they will not hear me speak. I repeat, it is past all hope, all chance of moving them. They hate—hate you, hate me for thinking of you. I had no choice; I wrote at once and followed my letter; I ran through the streets, I pant for want of breath, not want of courage. I prove I have it, Alvan; I have done all I can do."

She was enfolded; she sank on the nest, dropping her eyelids.

But he said nothing. She looked up at him. Her strained pale eyes provoked a close embrace.

"This would be the home for you if we were flying," said he, glancing round at the room, with a sensation like a shudder. "Tell me what there is to be told."

"Alvan, I have; that is all. They will not listen; they loathe —— Oh! what possesses them!"

"They have not met me yet!"

"They will not, will not ever—no!"

"They must."

"They refuse. Their child, for daring to say she loves you, is detested. Take me—take me away!"

"Run?—facing the enemy?" His countenance was the fiery laugh of a thirster for strife. "They have to be taught the stuff Alvan is made of!"

Clotilde moaned to signify she was sure he nursed an illusion. "I found them celebrating the betrothal of my sister Lotta with the Austrian Count Walburg; I thought it favourable for us. I spoke

of you to my mother. Oh, that scene! What she said I cannot recollect; it was a hiss. Then my father! Your name changed his features and his voice. They treated me as impure for mentioning it. You must have deadly enemies. I was unable to recognize either father or mother—they have become transformed. But you see I am here. Courage! you said; and I determined I would show it, and be worthy of you. But I am pursued, I am sure. My father is powerful in this place; we shall barely have time to escape."

Alvan's resolution was taken.

"Some friend—a lady living in the city here—name her, quick!—one you can trust," he said, and fondled her hastily, much as a gentle kind of drill-master straightens a fair pupil's shoulders. "Yes, you have shown courage. Now it must be submission to me. You shall be no runaway bride, but honoured at the altar. Out of this hotel is the first point. You know some such lady?"

Clotilde tried to remonstrate and to suggest. She could have prophesied certain evil from any evasion of the straight line of flight; she was so sure of it because of her intuition that her courage had done its utmost in casting her on him, and that the remainder within her would be a drawing back. She could not get the word or even the look to encounter his close and warm imperiousness; and, hesitating, she noticed where they were together alone. She could not refuse the protection he offered in a person of her own sex; and now, flushing with the thought of where they were together alone, feminine modesty shrivelled at the idea of entreating a man to bear her off, though feminine desperation urged to it. She felt herself very bare of clothing, and she named a lady, a Madame Emerly, living near the hotel. Her heart sank like a stone.

"It is for you!" cried Alvan, keenly sensible of his loss and his generosity in temporarily resigning her for a subsequent triumph. "But my wife shall not be snatched by a thief in the night. Are you not my wife—my golden bride? And you may give me this pledge of it, as if the vows had just been uttered . . . . and still I resign you till we speak the vows. It shall not be said of Alvan's wife, in the days of her glory, that she ran to her nuptials through rat-passages."

His pride in his prevailingness thrilled her. Alvan summoned his gaiety, all his homeliness of tone, to give her composure, and on her quitting the room she was more than ever bound to him, despite her gloomy foreboding.

A maid of her household, a middle-aged woman, gabbling of devotion to her, ran up the steps of the hotel. Her tale was that the general had roused the city in pursuit of his daughter; and she heard whither Clotilde was going.

Within half an hour Clotilde was in Madame Emerly's drawing-room relating her desperate history of love and parental tyranny, assisted by the lover whom she had introduced. Her hostess promised shelter and exhibited sympathy. The whole Teutonic portion of the Continent knew Alvan by reputation. He was insurrectionally notorious in morals and menacingly in politics; but his fine air, handsome face, flowing tongue, and the signal proof of his respect for the lady of his love and deference toward her family, won her personally. She promised the best help she could give them. They were certainly in a romantic situation, such as few women could see and decline their aid to the lovers.

Madame Emerly proved at least her sincerity before many minutes had passed.

Chancing to look out into the street she saw Clotilde's mother and her betrothed sister stepping up to the house. What was to be done? And was the visit accidental? She announced it, and Clotilde cried out, but Alvan cried louder: "Heaven-directed! and so, let me see her and speak to her—nothing could be better."

Madame Emerly took mute counsel of Clotilde, shaking her own head premonitorily; and then she said: "I think indeed it will be safer, if I am asked, to say you are not here, and I know not where you are."

"Yes! yes!" Clotilde replied: "Oh! do that."

She half turned to Alvan, rigid with an entreaty that hung on his coming voice.

"No!" said Alvan, shocked in both pride and vanity. "Plain-dealing; no subterfuge! Begin with foul falsehood? No. I would not have you burdened, madame, with the shadow of a conventional untruth on our account. And when it would be bad policy? . . . . Oh, no, worse than the sin! as the honest cynic says. We will go down to Madame von Rudiger, and she shall make acquaintance with the man who claims her daughter's hand."

Clotilde rocked in an agony. Her friend was troubled. Both ladies knew what there would be to encounter better than he. But the man, strong in his belief in himself, imposed his will on them.

Alvan and Clotilde clasped hands as they went down stairs to Madame Emerly's reception room. She could hardly speak: "Do not forsake me."

"Is this forsaking?" He could ask it in the deeply questioning tone which supplies the answer.

"Oh, Alvan!" She would have said: "Be warned."

He kissed her fingers. "Trust to me."

She had to wrap her shivering spirit in a blind reliance and utter leaning on him.

She could almost have said: "Know me better;" and she would,

sincere as her passion in its shallow vessel was, have been moved to say it for a warning while yet there was time to leave the house instead of turning into that room, had not a remainder of her first exaltation (rapidly degenerating to desperation) inspired her with the thought of her being a part of this handsome, undaunted, triumph-flashing man.

Such a state of blind reliance and utter leaning, however, has a certain tendency to disintegrate the will, and by so doing it prepares the spirit to be a melting prize of the winner.

Men and women alike who renounce their own individuality by cowering thus abjectly under some other before the storm, are in reality abjuring their idea of that other, and offering themselves up to the genius of Power in whatsoever direction it may chance to be manifested, in whatsoever person. We no sooner shut our eyes than we consent to be prey, we lose the soul of election.

Mark her as she proceeds. For should her hero fail, and she be suffering through his failure and her reliance on him, the blindness of it will seem to her to have been an infinite virtue, anything but her deplorable weakness crouching beneath his show of superhuman strength. And it will seem to her, so long as her sufferings endure, that he deceived her just expectations, and was a vain pretender to the superhuman. The pusillanimous are under a necessity to be self-consoled when they are not self-justified: it is their instinctive manner of putting themselves in the right to themselves. The love she bore him, because it was the love his high conceit exacted, hung on success: she was ready to fly with him and love him faithfully: but not without some reason (where reason, we will own, should not quite so coldly obtrude) will it seem to her that the man who would not fly, and would try the conflict, insisted to stake her love on the issue he provoked. He roused the tempest, he angered the Fates, he tossed her to them; and reason, coldest reason, close as it ever is to the craven's heart in its hour of trial, whispers that he was prompted to fling the gambler's die by the swollen conceit in his fortune rather than by his desire for the prize. That frigid reason of the craven has red-hot perceptions. It spies the spot of truth. Were the spot revealed in the man the whole man, then, so unerring is the eyeshot at him, we should have only to transform ourselves into cowards fronting a crisis to read him through and topple over the Sphinx of life by presenting her the sum of her most mysterious creature in an epigram. But there was as much more in Alvan than any faint-hearted thing, seeing however keenly, could see, as there is more in the world than the epigrams aimed at it contain.

"Courage!" said he: and she tremblingly: "Be careful." And then they were in the presence of her mother and sister.

Her sister was at the window, hanging her head low, a poor

figure. Her mother stood in the middle of the room, and met them full face, with a woman's combative frown of great eyes, in which the stare is a bolt.

"Away with that man! I will not suffer him near me," she cried.

Alvan advanced to her: "Tell me, madam, in God's name, what you have against me."

She swung her back on him. "Go, sir! my husband will know how to deal with one like you. Out of my sight, I say!"

The brutality of this reception of Alvan nerved Clotilde. She went up to him, and laying her hand on his arm, feeling herself almost his equal, said: "Let us go: come. I will not bear to hear you so spoken to. No one shall treat you like that when I am near."

She expected him to give up the hopeless task, after such an experience of the commencement. He did but clasp her hand, assuring the Frau von Rüdiger that no word of hers could irritate him. "Nothing can make me forget that you are Clotilde's mother. You are the mother of the lady I love, and may say what you will to me, madam. I bear it."

"A man spotted with every iniquity the world abhors, and I am to see him holding my daughter by the hand!—it is too abominable! And because there is no one present to chastise him, he dares to address me and talk of his foul passion for my daughter. I repeat: that which you have to do is to go. My ears are shut. You can annoy, you can insult, you cannot move me. Go." She stamped: her aspect spat.

Alvan bowed. Under perfect self-command, he said: "I will go at once to Clotilde's father. I may hope that with a reasonable man I shall speedily come to an understanding."

She retorted: "Enter his house, and he will have you driven out by his lacqueys."

"Hardly: I am not of those men who are driven from houses," Alvan said, smiling. "But, madam, I will act on your warning, and spare her father, for all sakes, the attempt; seeing that he does not yet know whom he deals with. I will write to him."

"Letters from you will be flung back unopened."

"It may, of course, be possible to destroy even my patience, madam."

"Mine, sir, is at an end."

"You reduce us to rely on ourselves; it is the sole alternative."

"You have not waited for that," rejoined Frau von Rüdiger. "You have already destroyed my daughter's reputation by inducing her to leave her father's house and hesitate to return. Oh! you are known for your dealings with women as well as men. We know

you. We have, we pray to God, little more to learn of you. You! ah—thief!"

"Thief!" Alvan's voice rose on her's like the clapping echo of it. She had up the whole angry pride of the man in arms, and could discern that she had struck the wound in his history; but he was terrible to look at, so she made the charge supportable by saying,

"You have stolen my child from me!"

Clotilde raised her throat, shrewish in excitement. "False! He did not. I went to him of my own will, to run from your heartlessness, mother—that I call mother!—and be out of hearing of my father's curses and threats. Yes, to him I fled, feeling that I belonged more to him than to you. And never will I return to you. You have killed my love; I am this man's own because I love him only; him ever! him you abuse, as his partner in life for all it may give!—as his wife! Trample on him, you trample on me. Make black brows at your child for choosing the man, of all men alive, to worship and follow through the world, I do. I am his. I glory in him."

Her gaze on Alvan said: 'Now!' Was she not worthy of him now? And would they not go forth together now? Oh! now!

Her gaze was met by nothing like the brilliant counterpart she merited. It was as if she had offered her beauty to a glass, and found a reflection in dull metal. He smiled calmly from her to her mother. He said: "You accuse me of stealing your child, madam. You shall acknowledge that you have wronged me. Clotilde, my Clotilde! may I count on you to do all and everything for me? Is there any sacrifice I could ask that would be too hard for you? Will you at one sign from me go or do as I request you?"

She replied, in an anguish over the chilling riddle of his calmness: "I will," but sprang out of that obedient consent, fearful of overacting her part of slave to him before her mother, in a ghastly apprehension of the part he was for playing to the same audience. "Yes, I will do all, all that you command. I am yours. I will go with you. Bid me do whatever you can think of, all except bid me go back to the people I have hitherto called mine—not that!"

"And that is what I have to request of you," said he, with his calm smile brightening and growing more foreign, histrionic, unreadable to her. "And this greatest sacrifice that you can perform for me, are you prepared to do it? Will you?"

She tried to decipher the mask he wore: it was proof against her imploring eyes. "If you can ask me—if you can positively wish it—yes," she said. "But think of what you are doing. Oh, Alvan, not back to them! Think!"

He smiled insufferably. He was bent on winning a parent-blest bride, an unimpeachable wife, a lady handed to him instead of taken, one of the world's polished silver vessels.

"Think that you are doing this for me!" said he. "It is for my sake. And now, madam, I give you back your daughter. You see she is mine to give, she obeys me, and I—though it can be only for a short time—give her back to you. She goes with you purely because it is my wish: do not forget that. And so, madam, I have the honour," he bowed profoundly.

He turned to Clotilde and drew her within his arm. "What you have done in obedience to my wish, my beloved, shall never be forgotten. Never can I sufficiently thank you. I know how much it has cost you. But here is the end of your trials. All the rest is now my task. Rely on me with your whole heart. Let them not misuse you: otherwise do their bidding. Be sure of my knowing how you are treated, and at the slightest act of injustice I shall be beside you to take you to myself. Be sure of that, and be not unhappy. They shall not keep you from me for long. Submit a short while to the will of your parents: mine you will find the stronger. Resolve it in your soul that I, your lover, cannot fail, for it is impossible to me to waver. Consider me as the one fixed light in your world, and look to me. Soon, then! Have patience, be true, and we are one!"

He kissed cold lips, he squeezed an inanimate hand. The horribly empty sublimity of his behaviour appeared to her in her mother's contemptuous face.

His eyes were on her as he released her and she stood alone. She seemed a dead thing; but the sense of his having done gloriously in mastering himself to give these worldly people of hers a lesson and proof that he could within due measure bow to their laws and customs, dispelled the brief vision of her unfitness to be left. The compressed energy of the man under his conscious display of a great-minded deference to the claims of family ties and duties, intoxicated him. He thought but of the present achievement and its just effect: he had cancelled a bad reputation among these people from whom he was about to lead forth a daughter for Alvan's wife, and he reasoned by the grandeur of his exhibition of generosity—which was brought out in strong relief when he delivered his retiring bow to the Frau von Rüdiger's shoulder—that the worst was over; he had to deal no more with silly women: now for Clotilde's father! Women were privileged to oppose their senselessness to the divine fire: men could not retreat behind such defences; they must meet him on the common ground of men, where this constant battler had never yet encountered a reverse.

Clotilde's cold staring gaze, a little livelier to wonderment than

to reflection, observed him to be scrupulous of the formalities in the diverse character of his parting salutations to her mother, her sister, and the lady of the house. He was going—he could actually go and leave her! She stretched herself to him faintly; she let it be seen that she did so as much as she had force to make it visible. She saw him smiling incomprehensibly, like a winner of the field he left to the enemy. She could get nothing from him but that insensible round smile, and she took the ebbing of her poor effort for his rebuff.

"You that offered yourself in flight to him who once proposed it, he had the choice of you and he abjured you. He has cast you off!"

She phrased it in speech to herself. It was incredible, but it was clear: he had gone.

The room was vacant; the room was black and silent as a dungeon.

"He will not have you: he has handed you back to them the more readily to renounce you."

She framed the words half aloud in a moan as she glanced at her mother heaving in stern triumph, her sister drooping, Madame Emerly standing at the window.

The craven's first instinct for safety, quick as the cavern lynx for light, set her on the idea that she was abandoned: it whispered of quietness if she submitted.

And thus she reasoned: Had Alvan taken her, she would not have been guilty of more than a common piece of love-desperation in running to him, the which may be love's glory when marriage crowns it. By his rejecting her and leaving her he rendered her not only a runaway, but a castaway. It was not natural that he should leave her; not natural in him to act his recent part; but he had done it; consequently she was at the mercy of those who might pick her up. She was, in her humiliation and dread, all of the moment, she could see to no distance; and judging of him, feeling for herself, within that contracted circle of sensation—sure, from her knowledge of her cowardice, that he had done unwisely—she became swayed about like a castaway in soul, until her distinguishing of his mad recklessness in the challenge of a power greater than his own grew present with her as his personal cruelty to the woman who had flung off everything, flung herself on the tempestuous deeps, on his behalf. And here she was, left to float or founder! Alvan has gone. The man raging over the room, abusing her "infamous lover, the dirty Jew, the notorious thief, scoundrel, gallowsbird"—&c., &c., frightful epithets, not to be transcribed—was her father. He had come, she knew not how. Alvan had tossed her to him.

Abuse of a lover is ordinarily retorted on in the lady's heart by the brighter perception of his merits; but when the heart is weak,

the creature suffering shame, her lover the cause of it, and seeming cruel, she is likely to lose all perception and bend like a flower pelted. Her cry to him: "If you had been wiser, this would not have been!" will sink to the inward meditation: "If he had been truer!"—and though she does not necessarily think him untrue for charging him with it, there is already a loosening of the bonds where the accusation has begun. They are not broken because they are loosened: still the loosening of them makes it possible to cut them with less of a snap and less pain.

Alvan had relinquished her to brave the tempest in a frail small boat, and he certainly could not have apprehended the furious outbreak she was exposed to. She might so far have exonerated him had she been able to reflect; but she whom he had forced to depend on him in blind reliance, now opened her eyes on an opposite power exercising material rigours. After having enjoyed extraordinary independence for a young woman, she was treated like a refractory child, literally marched through the streets in the custody of her father, who clutched her by the hair—Alvan's beloved golden locks!—and held her under terror of a huge forester's weapon that he had seized at the first tidings of his daughter's flight to the Jew. He seemed to have a grim indifference to exposure; contempt, with a sense of the humour of it: and this was a satisfaction to him founded on his practical observance of two or three maxims quite equal to the fullest knowledge of women for rightly managing them; preferable; inasmuch as they are simpler, and, by merely cracking a whip, bring her back to the post, instead of wasting time by hunting her as she likes to run. Police were round his house. The general chattered and shouted of the desperate lawlessness and larcenies of that Jew—the things that Jew would attempt. He dragged her indoors, muttering of his policy in treating her at last to a wholesome despotism. This was the medicine for her—he knew her! Whether he did or not, he knew the potency of his physic. He knew that osiers can be made to bend. With a frightful noise of hammering he himself nailed up the window-shutters of the room she was locked in hard and fast, and he left her there and roared across the household that any one holding communication with the prisoner should be shot like a dog. This was a manifestation of power in a form more convincing than the orator's.

She was friendless, abused, degraded, benighted in broad daylight, abandoned by her lover. She sank on the floor of the room, conceiving with much strangeness of sentiment under these hard stripes of misfortune, that reality had come. The monster had hold of her. She was isolated, fed like a dungeoned captive. She had nothing but our natural obstinacy to hug, or seem to do so when wearifulness reduced her to cling to the semblance of it only. "I marry Alvan!"

was her iterated answer to her father, on his visits to see whether he had yet broken her; and she spoke with the desperate firmness of weak creatures that strive to nail themselves to the sound of it. He listened and named his time for returning. The tug between rigour and endurance continued for about forty hours. She then thought, in an exhaustion: "Strange that my father should be so fiercely excited against this man! Can he have reasons I have not heard of?". Her father's unwonted harshness suggested the question of her quailing nature, which was beginning to have a movement to kiss the whip. The question set her thinking of the reasons she knew. She saw them involuntarily from the side of parents, and they wore a sinister appearance; in reality her present scourging was due to them as well as to Alvan's fatal decision. Her misery was traceable to his conduct and his judgement—both bad. And yet all this while he might be working to release her, near upon rescuing! She swung round to the side of her lover against these executioner parents, and scribbled to him as well as she could under the cracks in her window-shutters, urging him to appear. She spent her heart on it. A note to her friend, the English lady, protested her love for Alvan, but with less abandonment, with a frozen resignation to the loss of him —all around her was so dark! By and by there was a scratching at her door. The maid whom she trusted brought her news of Alvan: outside the door and in the maid and mistress knelt. Hope flickered up in the bosom of Clotilde: the whispers were exchanged through the partition.

"Where is he?"

"Gone."

"But where?"

"He has left the city."

Clotilde pushed the letter for her friend under the door: that one for Alvan she retained, stung by his desertion of her, and thinking practically that it was useless to aim a letter at a man without an address. She did not ask herself whether the maid's information was honest, for she wanted to despair, as the exhausted want to lie down.

She wept through the night. It was one of those nights of the torrents of tears which wash away all save the adamantine within us, if there be aught of that besides the breathing structure. The reason why she wept with so delirious a persistency was that her nature felt the necessity for draining her of her self-pitifulness, knowing that it nourished the love whereby she was tormented. They do not weep thus who have a heart for the struggle. In the morning she was a dried channel of tears, no longer self-pitiful, careless of herself, as she thought: in other words, unable any further to contend. Reality was too strong! This morning her

sisters came to her room imploring her to yield:—if she married Alvan, what could be their prospects as the sisters-in-law of such a man?—her betrothed sister Lotte could not hope to espouse Count Walburg:—Alvan's name was infamous in society; their house would be a lazar-house, they would be condemned to seclusion. A favourite brother followed with sympathy that set her tears running again, and arguments she could not answer:—how could he hold up his head in his regiment as the relative of the scandalous Jew democrat?—he would have to leave the service, or be duelling with his brother officers every other day of his life, for rightly or wrongly Alvan was abhorred, and his connection would be fatal to them all, perhaps to her father's military and diplomatic career principally: the head of their house would be ruined. She was compelled to weep again by having no other reply. The tears were now mixed drops of pity for her absent lover and her family; she was already disunited from him when she shed them, feeling that she was dry rock to herself, heartless as many bosoms drained of self-pity will become. Incapable of that any further, she leaned still in that direction and had a languid willingness to gain outward comfort. To be caressed a little by her own kindred before she ceased to live was desirable after her heavy scourging. She wished for the touches of affection, knowing them to be selfish, but her love of life and hard views of its reality made them seem a soft reminder of what life had been. Alvan had gone. Her natural blankness of imagination read his absence as an entire relinquishment: it knelled in a vacant chamber. He had gone; he had committed an irretrievable error, he had given up a fight of his own vain provoking, that was too severe for him: he was not the lover he fancied himself, or not the lord of men she had fancied him. Her excessive misery would not suffer a picture of him, not one clear recollection of him, to stand before her. He who should have been at hand had gone, and she was fearfully beset, almost lifeless; and being abandoned, her blank night of imagination felt that there was nothing left for her save to fall upon those nearest. She gave her submission to her mother. In her mind, during the last wrestling with a weakness that was alternately her love and her cowardice, the interpretation of the act ran: "He may come, and I am his *if* he comes: and if not I am bound to my people." He had taught her to rely on him blindly, and thus she did it inanimately, while cutting herself loose from him. In a similar mood the spiritual waverer vows to believe if the saint will appear. However, she submitted. Then there was joy in the family, and she tasted their caresses.

Chapter IX.

After his deed of loftiness Alvan walked to his hotel, where the sight of the room Clotilde had entered that morning caught his breath. He proceeded to write his first letter to General von Rüdiger, repressing his heart's intimations that he had stepped out of the friendly path, and was on a strange and tangled one. The sense of power in him was leonine enough to promise the forcing of a way whithersoever the path: yet did that spectre of her figure across the room haunt him with searching eyes.

The letter despatched, Alvan paced his chamber with the ghost of Clotilde. He was presently summoned to meet Count Walburg and another intimate of the family in the hotel down-stairs. These gentlemen brought him no message from General von Rüdiger: their words were directed to extract a promise from him that he would quit his pursuit of Clotilde, and of course he refused; they hinted that the general might have official influence to get him expelled the city, and he referred them to the proof; but he looked beyond the words at a new something of extraordinary and sinister aspect revealed to him in their manner of treating his pretensions to the hand of the lady. He had not yet perfectly seen the view the world took of him, because of his armed opposition to the world; nor could he rightly reflect on it yet, being too anxious to sign the peace. He felt as it were a blow startling him from sleep. They tasked themselves to be strictly polite; they did not undervalue his resources for commanding respect between man and man. The strange matter was behind their bearing, which indicated the positive impossibility of the union of Clotilde with one such as he, and struck at the curtain covering his history. He could not raise it to thunder his defence of himself, or even allude to the implied contempt of his character; with a boiling gorge he was obliged to swallow both the history and the insult, returning them the equivalent of their courtesies, though it was on his lips to thunder heavily.

A second endeavour, in an urgent letter before nightfall, to gain him admission to head-quarters met the same repulse as the foregoing. The bearer of it was dismissed without an answer.

Alvan passed a night of dire disturbance. The fate of the noble Genoese conspirator, slipping into still harbour water on the step from boat to boat, and borne down by the weight of his armour in the moment of the ripeness of his plot at midnight, when the signal for action sparkled to lighten across the ships and forts, had touched him in his boy's readings, and he found a resemblance of himself to Fieschi, stopped as he was by a base impediment, tripped ignominiously, choked by the weight of the powers fitting him for battle.

A man such as Alvan, arrested on his career by an opposition to his enrolment of a bride!—think of it! What was this girl in a life like his? But, oh! the question was no sooner asked than the thought that this girl had been in this room illuminated the room, telling him she might have been his own this instant, confounding him with an accusation of madness for rejecting her. Why had he done it? Surely women, weak women, must be at times divinely inspired. She warned him against the step. But he, proud of his armoury, went his way. He choked, he suffered the torture of the mailed Genoese going under; worse, for the drowner's delirium swirls but a minute in the gaping brain, while he had to lie all night at the mercy of the night.

He was only calmer when morning came. Night has little mercy for the self-reproachful, and for a strong man denouncing the folly of his error, it has none. The bequest of the night was a fever of passion; and upon that fever the light of morning cleared his head to weigh the force opposing him. Great enemies, great undertakings, would have revived him as they had always revived and fortified. But here was a stolid small obstacle, scarce assailable on its own level; and he had chosen that it should be attacked through its own laws and forms. By shutting a door, by withholding an answer to his knocks, the thing reduced him to hesitation. And the thing had weapons to shoot at him; his history, his very blood, stood open to its shafts; and the sole quality of a giant which he could show to front it was the breadth of one for a mark.

These direct perceptions of the circumstances were played on by the fever he drew from his Fieschi bed. Accuracy of vision in our crises is not so uncommon as the proportionate equality of feeling: we do indeed frequently see with eyes of just measurement while we are conducting ourselves like madmen. The facts are seen, and yet the spinning nerves will change their complexion; and without enlarging or minimizing, they will alternate their effect on us immensely through the colour presenting them—now sombre, now hopeful: doing its work of extravagance upon perceptibly plain matter. The fitful colour is the fever. He must win her, for he never yet had failed—he had lost her by his folly! She was his—she was torn from him! She would come at his bidding—she would cower to her tyrants! The thought of her was life and death in his frame, bright heaven and the abyss. At one beat of the heart she swam to his arms, at another he was left straining over darkness. And whose the fault? He rose out of his amazement crying it with a roar, and foreignly beholding himself. He pelted himself with epithets; his worst enemies could not have been handier in using them. From Alvan to Alvan they signified such an earthquake in a land of splendid structures as shatters to dust the pride of the works of men. He was down among them, lower than the herd, rolling in vulgar

epithets that, attached to one like him, became of monstrous distortion. O fool! dolt! blind ass! tottering idiot! drunken masquerader! miserable Jack Knave, performing suicide with that blessed coxcomb air of curling a lock!—Clotilde! Clotilde! Where has one read a story of a man who had the jewel of jewels in his hand, and flung it into the deeps, thinking that he flung a pebble? Fish, fool, fish! and fish till Doomsday! There's nothing but your fool's face in the water to be got to bite at the bait you throw, fool! Fish for the flung-away beauty, and hook your shadow of a Bottom's head! What impious villain was it refused the gift of the gods, that he might have it bestowed on him according to his own prescription of the ceremonies? They laugh! By Orcus! how they laugh! The laughter of the gods is the lightning of death's irony over mortals. Can they have a finer subject than a giant gone fool?

Tears burst from him: tears of rage, regret, self-lashing. O for yesterday! He called aloud for the recovery of yesterday, bellowed, groaned. A giant at war with pigmies, having naught but their weapons, having to fight them on his knees, to fight them with the right hand while smiting himself with the left, has too much upon him to keep his private dignity in order. He was the same in his letters—a Cyclops hurling rocks and raising the seas to shipwreck. Dignity was cast off; he came out naked. Letters to Clotilde, and to the baroness, to the friend nearest him just then, Colonel von Tresten, calling them to him, were dashed to paper in this naked frenzy, and he could rave with all the truth of life that to have acted the idiot, more than the loss of the woman, was the ground of his anguish. Each antecedent of his career had been a step of strength and success. The loss of the woman by his personal act towered above him like a wrathful vanishing of his guardian goddess in a cloud, for a sign of strength and success departed. The woman was but a fragment of the tremendous wreck; the woman was utterly diminutive, yet she was the key of the reconstruction; the woman won, he would be himself once more: and feeling that, his passion for her swelled to full tide and she became a towering splendour whereat his eyeballs ached, she became a melting armful that shook him to big bursts of tears.

The feeling of the return of strength was his love in force. The giant in him loved her warmly. Her sweetness, her archness, the opening of her lips, their way of holding closed, and her brightness of wit, her tender eyelashes, her appreciating looks, her sighing, the thousand varying shades of her motions and her features interflowing like a lighted water, swam to him one by one like so many handmaiden messengers distinctly beheld of the radiant indistinct whom he adored with more of spirit in his passion than before this tempest. A giant going through a giant's contortions, fleshly as the race of giants, and gross, coarse, dreadful, likely to be horrible when whipped

and stirred to the dregs, Alvan was great-hearted; he could love in his giant's fashion, love and lay down life for the woman he loved, though the nature of the passion was not heavenly, or for the friend —who would have to excuse him often, or for the public cause— which was to minister to his appetites. He was true man, and if he could not quit his huge personality to pipe spiritual music during a storm of trouble, being a soul wedged in the gnarled wood of the standing giant oak and giving mighty sound of timber at strife rather than the angelical cry, he suffered, as he loved, to his depths. We have not to plumb the depths; he was not heroic, but hugely man.

As it happened cruelly for Alvan, the woman who had become the radiant indistinct in his desiring mind was one whom he knew to be of a shivery steadfastness. His plucking her from another was neither wonderful nor indefensible; they two were suited as no other two could be; the handsome boy who had gone through a form of plighting with her was her slave, and she required for her mate a master: she felt it and she sided to him quite naturally, moved by the sacred direction of the acknowledgment of a mutual fitness. Twice, however, she had relapsed on the occasions of his absence, and owning his power over her when they were together again, she sowed the fatal conviction that he held her at present, and that she was a woman only to be held at present, by the palpable grasp of his physical influence. Partly it was correct, not entirely, seeing that she kept the impression of a belief in him even when she drifted away through sheer weakness, but the conviction was the single positive view he had of her, and it was fatal, for it begat a devil of impatience.

"They are undermining her now—now—now!"

He started himself into busy frenzies to reach to her, already indifferent to the means, and waxing increasingly reckless as he fed on his agitation. Some faith in her, even the little she deserved, would have arrested him: unhappily he had less than she, who had enough to nurse the dim sense of his fixity, and sank from him only in her heart's faintness, but he, when no longer flattered by the evidence of his mastery, took her for sand. Why, then, had he let her out of his grasp? The horrid echoed interrogation, flashed a hideous view of the woman. But how had he come to be guilty of it? he asked himself again; and, without answering him, his counsellors to that poor wisdom set to work to complete it: Giant Vanity urged Giant Energy to make use of Giant Duplicity. He wrote to Clotilde, with one voice quoting the law in their favour, with another commanding her to break it. He gathered and drilled a legion of spies, and showered his gold in bribes and plots to get the letter to her, to get an interview—one human word between them.

His friend Colonel von Tresten was beside him when he received

the enemy's counter-stroke. Count Walburg and his companion brought a letter from Clotilde—no reply; a letter renouncing him.

Briefly, in cold words befitting the act, she stated that the past must be dead between them; for the future she belonged to her parents; she had left the city. She knew not where he might be, her letter concluded, but henceforward he should know that they were strangers.

Alvan held out the deadly paper when he had read the contents; he smote a forefinger on it and crumpled it in his hand. That was the dumb oration of a man shocked by the outrage upon passionate feeling to the state of brute. His fist, outstretched to the length of his arm, shook the reptile letter under a terrible frown.

Tresten saw that he supposed himself to be perfectly master of his acts because he had not spoken and had managed to preserve the ordinary courtesies.

"You have done your commission," the colonel said to Count Walburg, whose companion was not disposed to go without obtaining satisfactory assurances, and pressed for them.

Alvan fastened on him. "You adopt the responsibility of this?" He displayed the letter.

"I do."

"It lies."

Tresten remarked to Count Walburg: "These visits are provocations."

"They are not so intended," said the count, bowing pacifically. His friend was not a man of the sword, and was not under the obligation to accept an insult. They left the letter to do its work.

Big natures in their fits of explosiveness must be taken by flying shots, as dwarfs peep on a monster, or the Scythian attacked a phalanx. Were we to hear all the roarings of the shirted Heracles, a world of comfortable little ones would doubt the unselfishness of his love of Dejaneira. Yes, really: they would think it was not a chivalrous love: they would consider that he thought of himself too much. They would doubt, too, of his being a gentleman! Partial glimpses of him, one may fear, will be discomposing to easy tunics. There was a short black eruption. Alvan controlled it to ask hastily what the baroness thought and what she had heard of Clotilde. Tresten made sign that it was nothing of the best.

"See! my girl has hundreds of enemies, and I, only I, know her and can defend her—weak, base, shallow trickster, traitress that she is!" cried Alvan, and came down in a thundershower upon her: "Yesterday—the day before—when? just now, she was mine, swore it to me, here, in this room; gave herself—and now!" He bent, and immediately straightening his back, addressed Colonel

von Tresten as her calumniator, "Say your worst of her, and I say I will make of that girl the peerless woman of earth! I! in earnest! it's no dream. She can be made . . . . Oh God! the beast has turned tail! I knew she could. There's three of beast to one of goddess in her, and set her alone, and let her be hunted and I not by, beast it is with her! cowardly skulking beast—the noblest and very bravest under my wing!—Incomprehensible to you, Tresten? But who understands women? You hate her. Do not. She's a riddle, but no worse than the rest of the tangle. She gives me up? Pooh! She writes it. She writes anything. And that vilest, I say, I will make more enviable, more———. Clotilde!" he thundered her signature in an amazement, broken suddenly by the sight of her putting her name to the letter. She had done that, written her name to the renunciation of him! no individual could bear the sight of such a crime, and no suffering man could be appeased by a single victim to atone for it. Her sex must be slaughtered; he raged against the woman; she became that ancient poisonous thing, *the woman;* his fury would not distinguish her as Clotilde, though the name had startled him, and it was his knowledge of the particular sinner which drew down his curses on the sex. He twisted his body, hugging at his breast as if he had her letter sticking in his ribs. The letter was up against his ribs, and he thumped it, crushed it, patted it; he kissed it, and flung it, stamped on it, and was foulmouthed. Seeing it at his feet, he bent to it like a man snapped in two, lamenting, bewailing himself, recovering sight of her fragmentarily. It stuck in his ribs, and in scorn of the writer, and sceptical of her penning it, he tugged to pull it out, and broke the shaft, but left the rankling arrow-head:—she had traced the lines, and though tyranny racked her to do that thing, his agony followed her hand over the paper to her name, which fixed and bit in him like the deadly toothed arrowhead called asp, and there was no uprooting it. The thing lived; her deed was the woman; there was no separating them: witness it in love murdered.

O that woman! She has murdered love. She has blotted love completely out. She is the arch-thief and assassin of mankind—the female Apollyon. He lost sight of her again in the prodigious iniquity covering her sex with a cowl of night, and it was what women are, what women will do, the one and all alike simpering simulacra that men find them to be, soulless, clogs on us, blood-suckers; until a feature of the particular sinner peeped out on him, and brought the fresh agony of a reminder of his great-heartedness. "For that woman—Tristen, you know me—I would have sacrificed for that woman fortune and life, my hope, my duty, my immortality. She knew it, and she—look!" he unwrinkled the letter carefully for it to be legible, and clenched it in a ball:—"Signs her name, signs her name, her name!—God of heaven! it would be incredible in a

holy chronicle—signs her name to the infamous harlotry! See: 'Clotilde von Rüdiger.' It's her writing; that's her signature: 'Clotilde' in full. You'd hardly fancy that, now? But look;" the colonel's eyelids were blinking, and Alvan dinted his finger-nail under her name; "There it is: *Clotilde:* signed shamelessly. Just as she might have written to one of her friends about bonnets, and balls, and books!—Henceforward *strangers,* she and I?" His laughter, even to Tresten, a man of camps, sounded profane as a yell beneath a cathedral dome. "Why, the woman has been in my hands—I released her, spared her, drilled brain and blood, ransacked all the code, to do her homage and honour in every mortal way; and we two strangers! Do you hear that, Tresten? Why—if you had seen her!—she was lost, and I, this man she now pierces with ice, kept hell down under bolt and bar—worse, I believe, broke a good woman's heart!—that never a breath should rise that could accuse her on suspicion, or in malice, or by accident, justly, or with a shadow of truth. '*I think it best for us both.*' So she thinks for me! She not only decides, she thinks; she is the active principle; 'tis mine to submit.—A certain presumption was in that girl always. —Ha! do you hear me? Her letter may sting, it shall not dupe. Strangers? Poor fool! You see plainly she was nailed down to write the thing. This letter is a flat lie. She can lie—Oh! born to the art! born to it!—lies like a Saint tricking Satan! But she says she has left the city. Now to find her!"

He began marching about the room with great strides. "I'll have the whole Continent up; her keepers shall have no rest; I'll have them by the Law Courts, and by stratagem, and, if law and cunning fail, force. I have sworn it. I have done all that honour can ask of a man; more than any man, to my knowledge, would have done, and now it's war. I declare war on them. They will have it! I mean to take that girl from them—snatch or catch! The girl is my girl, and if there are laws against my having my own, to powder with the laws! Well, and do you suppose me likely to be beaten? Then Cicero was a fiction, and Cæsar a people's legend. Not if they are history, and eloquence and commandership have power over the blood and souls of men. First, I write to her!"

His friend suggested that he knew not where she was. But already the pen was at work, the brain pouring as from a pitcher.

He had cooled to the happy assurance of his authority over her, all the giants of his system being well in action, and when that is the case with a big nature it is at rest, or such is the condition of repose granted it in life.

On the morrow he was off to batter at doors which would have expected rather the summons of an armed mob at his heels than the strange cry of the radical man maltreated by love.

GEORGE MEREDITH.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE Porte, at least, has good reason to be grateful to Mr. Parnell. He has given a new lease of life to the Turkish Empire, and has transferred the centre of English interest from Dulcigno to Dublin. The Irish question has now been brought forward in such a shape, and with such cogency, that it will not retire into the background until some settlement of it has been devised. Meanwhile it will be a matter of comparative indifference to the public whether the condition of South-eastern Europe be threatening or tranquil. The first point to be decided is the policy that ministers will immediately pursue towards Ireland, and this at the moment at which we write is doubtful. Two or three important facts are, however, certain. We know that there has been a crisis in the Cabinet; that the cause of the crisis was the proposal to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland; that if the ministerial difficulties are temporarily at an end, it is because that proposal is abandoned; that if it is made again, those difficulties will be renewed; and that if it is insisted on, there will be important changes in the composition of the Government. The policy of coercion involves considerations not only of expediency, but of principle, and that is the reason why it is unflinchingly opposed by men who think as Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain think. It is in the nature of things that the links which unite the members of a Liberal administration should be always weaker than those which hold together Conservative politicians, and this will be increasingly the case, during many years to come, in proportion as the Radical party organizes itself. If it were a question whether an Irish Land Bill should be introduced next session or the session after; whether some of its provisions should be more or less Liberal; whether certain safeguards against the spoliation of landlords should or should not be enacted; the minority in the Cabinet might yield to the majority, without any sacrifice of conviction. But these are not the matters which now press for settlement, and which divide the opinion of ministers. During a long series of years Ireland has been governed by methods which experience has proved to be unsuccessful. Whenever periodical disturbances—the result of various causes, some temporary, some permanent, some inherent in the political and social conditions of the country, some incidental to the year—have presented themselves in Ireland, the practice with both parties in the State has been to resort to exceptional measures, to pass coercion Bills, to proclaim that state of siege with which Cavour said any one could govern. This policy has had a fair trial. Its

miscarriage is demonstrable and is complete. Is it not possible, and if possible, is it not wise, to reverse it now, and practically to proclaim the commencement of a new order of things in Ireland? Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, and those who agree with them, say that it is. They take their stand upon the fact of an admitted failure; and are at least resolved to break with the regime that has been fertile in blunder and misfortune. If there is an alternative course, as they believe there is, they demand that it shall have a trial.

Let it be plainly understood that the objections to coercion are not theoretical or fanciful. Experience, we say, shows that the action which it is now suggested to take is not adequate to the emergency. If it had contributed at any time, or could contribute now, towards the solution of the Irish difficulty, there would be much to be said in its favour. But we know that this is not the case. It is exactly the reverse. Exceptional measures, coercion, suspension of Habeas Corpus, and the rest of it, do not tend to remove or diminish, but to complicate and exasperate, the difficulty. You may summarily deprive as many persons as you will of their liberty; but the business of governing Ireland still remains.

So stands the case, and if he will only examine it for a few moments even the thorough-going partizan of coercion must admit that most of the practical arguments are against him. If there was a "clear demonstration," as Mr. Gladstone put it, that the operation of the law in its normal state was insufficient for the present crisis, that assassinations, outrages, and other crimes of violence were being committed in alarming or unprecedented number, that constitutional authority had completely collapsed, there would be fair grounds for the institution of coercive measures. But this is not so. The law in its existing shape may be made instrumental in affording peace and security to disturbed districts. The protection given by the Government to the native labourers who went to assist Captain Boycott in getting in his crops, immediately produced a reassuring effect. Agrarian murders and outrages have not been frequent. In troublous times it is natural to view every incident through the disturbing and exaggerating medium of fear. A gesture, a sound, a hot word, a menacing letter, each assumes the character of an assault intended and accomplished. How would coercion deal with these? Public opinion is not assuredly ripe for wholesale arrests, for the imprisonment of the inhabitants of entire districts in Ireland —which is what suspension of Habeas Corpus would render possible and probable — in many cases on the flimsiest pleas and the shallowest suspicion. Moreover, who and what, according to the champions of coercion, are at the bottom of these Irish troubles? Mr. Parnell and his agitation. Then obviously the first duty of the Executive would be to seize and incarcerate Mr. Parnell. But how

is it possible that it should do this when preparations are being made to prosecute him in the Court of Queen's Bench, Dublin? Nor is there any reason to believe that suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act is the instrument naturally qualified to deal with the present phases of Irish disaffection and disturbance. The precedent of the Westmeath Act can scarcely be cited, for the reason that the conditions which existed in Ireland in 1871 do not exist now. At that time the whole country was honeycombed with secret societies. There is no evidence to show that these organizations exist or are operative in 1880. There are two other reasons which seem to be nearly conclusive against the procedure that its more alarmed counsellors are forcing upon the Government. In the first place, it is difficult to say that all those things which are the subject of complaint in Ireland involve direct breaches of the law. The tradesmen who refused to supply Captain Boycott with goods, the labourers who declined to work for him, were certainly within their legal right. If it be replied that, though this may be so, the influences which were brought to bear upon them imply a wide-spread system of wholesale terrorism and intimidation, the obvious answer is that it is just such a system as this with which the arbitrary abridgment of personal liberty in Ireland can ever hope successfully to grapple. If the state of things that now prevails were the result of a definite and systematic organization, it would be a different affair. Then it might be practicable, as it was nine years ago, to arrest the leaders of this organization upon suspicion, and thus, by striking at the centre, to paralyse the outlying parts. The Land League is not an organization in the sense in which Fenianism was an organization; it is directed to different ends; it works by wholly opposite methods. Life and property are insecure in Ireland not because there is any deep or mysterious conspiracy against them, but because there is a sentiment of sullen disaffection and discontent diffused among the Irish people, the consequences of well-ascertained causes, and justified by too indisputable facts. Secondly, it is clear that many of the offences now committed in Ireland are not agrarian at all. Thus the man who shot young Mr. Wheeler the other day was unquestionably animated by the ordinary motives of personal vindictiveness.

All that can be done with safety in these circumstances is to assert the power of the existing law with resolution and vigour, and while doing that as seriously and as promptly as is consistent with thoroughness, to elaborate measures which may prove permanently remedial. The attack that the Irish peasantry are now making on the present system of Irish land tenure is too general and too impalpable to be suppressed by special coercive legislation. If the Habeas Corpus Act be suspended, there will be absolutely no

limit to the arrests which the Executive may adduce some reason more or less good for making. The suspicion in one case will not be stronger than it is in a hundred other cases. It will be as difficult to imprison an entire peasantry as it is to impeach a whole nation. And imagine the effects of promiscuous incarceration at such a time upon the Irish people. The Government has declared, responsible statesmen of both parties have admitted, that the present system of Irish land tenure is intolerable. No one, except a few reactionary fanatics, denies that the law is bound to remove the grievances which it now sanctions. Surely this is not the moment to select for applying a policy to Ireland that will produce a sentiment of bitter alienation from the law, as widespread as it will be deeply rooted?

If, then, as is allowed, the relations of landlord and tenant on the other side of St. George's Channel are responsible for much or most that is unsatisfactory in the condition of the country; if it is imperatively necessary that they should be readjusted; if the legislature is pledged to address itself to the business of this readjustment without delay, it cannot be wise to take a step which will produce in Ireland such profound and general anger against the English Government as to cause the Irish people to condemn by anticipation, and to regard with suspicion, whatever reforms that Government may concede. The resort to exceptional law is itself a reflection upon the character of the normal law; in this case its effect will be to aggravate in perpetuity the difficulties with which the normal law will have to contend.

But let us look at the matter in another light. It is agreed that exceptional powers are to be granted, and the Habeas Corpus Act suspended, Parliament must be convened, and the necessary statute obtained. Now the first effect of this proceeding would be so considerable a modification in the personnel of the Government, that it would no longer be the same administration which took office seven months ago. It is no secret that if the Cabinet should decide in favour of suspension, Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain would resign, and that Sir Charles Dilke and probably one or two other subordinate members of the Government would follow. Mr. Gladstone would of course be able to fill their places. Would he be able to secure for himself and his colleagues the support which the presence of Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Charles Dilke now guarantees to him? It is extremely doubtful. At least half the ministerial majority in the House of Commons is Radical, and considers itself incompletely represented in the Administration already. The great feature at the general election was the success of the Radical candidates, while it is a matter of demonstration that without the assistance and organization of Radicalism the greatest Liberal victory ever known

would not have been won. Mr. Gladstone's reconstituted Cabinet might be in itself excellent. But it would not command, however loyally the displaced or retired ministers gave it their support, the confidence of the House of Commons, and would not satisfy the country. In the nature of things it would be impossible to delay the catastrophe, and the final dissolution of the Government would be merely a question of time. But there is another matter to be considered. Supposing all this to have taken place. Supposing, that is, the fatal resolution to have been arrived at; the Radical ministers to have resigned, and an immediate meeting of Parliament to be fixed; would the practical difficulty be at an end? By no means. It would, indeed, be only just beginning. The House of Commons might at once take the Irish Coercion Bill into consideration; or the Government, foreseeing the obstacles which it was likely to encounter with regard to that measure, might give priority to certain proposals for changing the procedure of the chamber. It is believed that the latter alternative would be adopted, and that the first thing which would be done would be to submit proposals for the introduction of the *clôture*. If the latter course was followed it is certain that it would be resisted not less resolutely and systematically than the former. The Conservative opposition would make common cause with the Irish members, and all the familiar devices of obstruction would be resorted to on a larger scale than has ever yet been witnessed. If, on the other hand, the Coercion Bill were introduced without any preliminary procedure, it would be met with an opposition quite as vehement. Every inch of ground would be fought over, and it would be hopeless to think of passing the measure before Christmas.

There are other objections equally practical and pertinent to an application to Parliament for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It would enormously increase and complicate the difficulties with which members will have to contend in the matter of their Irish Land Bill. With Ireland under military law Mr. Parnell and his followers would refuse to be content with anything less than a measure which it is certain the English Parliament would not grant. The Bill would be received in a spirit not of conciliation but of embittered distrust, and its fate would not be doubtful. It would be defeated, and the condition of Ireland would meanwhile go from bad to worse. Or supposing that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act succeeded in giving to Ireland the semblance of tranquillity, and suppressing the agrarian agitation; is it not sure that in this event the Conservatives would declare that the argument for Irish reform had disappeared, that there was salvation in the principle of *quieta non movere*, even though this were but another name for slumbering revolution, and that nothing would be done till there was a new outbreak. This

is what has always happened hitherto in regard to Irish affairs, and there is too much reason to believe that if the opportunity presented itself it would happen again.

The true and abiding remedy for Irish troubles lies not in extraordinary measures of repression, but in just measures of reform. It is, indeed, just conceivable that when Parliament meets in January —and there is little doubt it will—new forms of Irish disturbances may have developed themselves, and that they will have to be dealt with by new and exceptional methods. But that this will be the case there is no probability now. Should such a contingency be realised, it may be imperative to introduce a Bill of the kind that the fanatics of coercion would have fain witnessed six weeks ago. But it will be distinctly understood that this measure is conditional on, and preliminary to, a bold, comprehensive, and drastic Land Bill. That is the great business of the immediate future, and on their capacity and determination to settle it the honour and reputation of the Cabinet depend. Ireland and England alike expect them to do so. If there is one point on which more than another the opinion of the constituencies of the United Kingdom expressed itself at the last general election it was that of Irish policy. Even the Conservatives declared their conviction that the time for abandoning what Lord Beaconsfield once called the "principles of Cromwell" had arrived, and some representatives of the then Government let it be understood, though they did not officially make any categorical statement of the fact, that they would not apply to Parliament for power to re-enact the Peace Preservation Act. There was not a Liberal candidate of any importance who did not devote some portion of his electoral speeches to the Irish land question. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Forster, Mr. Bright, Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain alike proclaimed that it must be the subject of speedy legislation. The issue was placed before the country in the clearest and the most emphatic manner; and when the result of the appeal to the nation was an overwhelming Liberal majority, it was, amongst other reasons, because the Liberal leaders had pledged themselves to improve the relations of Irish peasants and Irish proprietors. We are, therefore, satisfied that the Government in discharging this promise will have the support of the English people at large. To what extent will it have the support of Parliament, and what are the prospects of any measure on the subject which may be brought forward in the second chamber of the legislature?

As it happens, we are not without definite data for forming an opinion on these matters. We know something of the lines on which the Bill must proceed—that is, we know what is the minimum which its provisions must satisfy. It must give fixity of tenure, must ensure fair rents, and give the tenant free sale of his interest

in his holding. It must be comprehensive, definite, and precise. The Land Act of 1870 has been a partial failure because it did not satisfy these two last conditions. It was vague and negative where it should have been positive and particular; it relied too much, in some of its clauses, upon the validity of unwritten custom; it extended, for instance, the Ulster usage without saying what the Ulster usage was; it conferred benefits, but it opened the door for litigation. These evils will all of them have to be avoided, and something is gained when a recognition of this necessity, as well as of the necessity of the Bill itself, is made by a variety of representative proprietors, Conservative as well as Liberal. It is thus certain that there will be a considerable disposition even on the part of the Conservative Irish landlords in the House of Lords to regard with favour, or at least to think before they oppose, any measure which the Government may introduce. So long as the law continues in its present shape, not only has the Irish tenant a grievance but the Irish owner is generally at a loss. Fixity of tenure, it is said, carries with it the principle of confiscation. That may or may not be the case; but the Irish landlord is already beginning to feel that he may encounter worse evils than measures of territorial reform even though they imply the principle of confiscation. If the land ceases to have a marketable value, if his farms remain indefinitely unlet, if instead of getting diminished rents he gets no rents at all, it will be meagre consolation to him to be told that at least he has resisted the insertion of the "thin end of the wedge." Of course to a certain extent any Irish Land Bill must involve a violation of the common saws of political economy. If there is a difficulty, supply and demand are the two terms in the equation which ought to settle it. Even amongst the rigid economists of the Radical School there is likely to be some objection to the measure which the Government are bound to introduce. But after all, what is political economy? What are its commandments, and what are their ultimate sanctions? The laws of political economy are broad deductions from historical experience, and from the social state of nations at various epochs. Where mention is made of the correlatively regulating influence of supply and demand, what is meant is that given an equality of conditions there will be equality of results. But in Ireland the equality of conditions does not exist. In England a man may make his choice between agriculture and trade; in Ireland agriculture alone is practically open to him. The economic doctrine of supply and demand presupposes the fact of industrial competition, and in Ireland the materials for the industrial competition are not forthcoming.

But though the opposition to the Bill will be resolute and protracted, though it may involve one or two secessions from Mr. Glad-

stone's Cabinet, it is not impossible, it is not even, we think, improbable, that after having gone through the House of Commons it may be accepted by the House of Lords. During the next few weeks we must expect to hear many rumours of coalition between the Moderate Liberals and Whigs and the Conservatives. The idea has, of course, some plausibility about it, and there may seem no reason why the report should not be verified sooner or later by the event. The Duke of Argyll and Lord Selborne naturally regard the proposal of the ministerial legislation for Ireland with something more than coldness, and there are many new members of the Liberal party who are as little enthusiastic on the subject. But when it comes to be a question of common action between the Liberal malcontents and the Opposition, much depends on the temper that is likely to animate the Conservative party in the House of Commons. Now, there is reason to believe that Sir Stafford Northcote will not retain next session even the pale shadow of authority which he wielded six months ago. The aspiring spirits who sit below the gangway, and to whom Lord Beaconsfield as he was thirty years since, and Lord Salisbury as he is now, are the two great models of Tory statesmanship, are rapidly shaking off the restraining influences of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer. They are all aflame for the fray; they thirst for political bloodshed; they have resolved to throw the counsels of Conservatism to the winds. Sir Stafford Northcote may protest, but as vainly as Phaethon endeavoured to curb the coursers of the sun. Lord Beaconsfield may approve or disapprove, but there is not the slightest probability that he will interfere, and, as a matter of fact, there can be no doubt that his secret sympathies are on the side of the defiant and intrepid *frondeurs*. This, however, is not the attitude which is likely to secure the adhesion of the disaffected Liberals. If the Conservatives wished to detach any section of its supporters from the Government, they ought to set to work in a very different way. They should do or say nothing which could expose them to the charge of violent and reactionary strategy. They should merge the partisan in the dispassionate politician—who has no personal objection to Mr. Gladstone or the Government, but who is concerned above all things for the principles of English statesmanship and the welfare of the country. There is no doubt that this is exactly the aspect which the most conspicuous section of the opposition will not present and will not care to present. It would be difficult for them to devise any other more effective mode of helping the Government. In proportion as the stars of Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill wax, and that of Sir Stafford Northcote wanes, the popular feeling in favour of ministers will grow stronger and steadier.

But so far as the Irish Land Bill of the Government is concerned,

the practically important question is, What will the House of Lords do? Nine months ago Lord Beaconsfield demonstratively proclaimed that he was in favour of a policy of combat. The signs of the times, he said, pointed in the direction of an attack on the landed system, and now he was determined to act upon the *obsta principiis* maxim. As we have seen, there are considerations which may well induce him to alter his programme, and it may be confidently predicted that if the Tory leader does not on reflection believe the field of action to be happily chosen, he will abstain from giving his adversaries serious battle. It is not only to tenants but to landlords themselves that the coming measure will furnish relief. Moreover, the consequences might be of an exceedingly inconvenient character if the House of Lords were to throw out the ministerial Land Bill, and political results of as anti-Conservative a character as it is possible to conceive might ensue. The existence of Mr. Gladstone's Government would be staked upon the success of the measure. If the Bill were rejected by the Peers, there can be no doubt that the Minister would appeal to the country. And when the great struggle came, when the dissolution was announced, and we were in the midst of the second general election that would have taken place during a period of eighteen months, what is the issue which would be before the constituencies? The electors would be in effect asked to pronounce whether the House of Lords was to be permitted in future to dominate and control the House of Commons. No more dangerous question from the Conservative point of view could be possibly presented to the electors to decide. It is the part, as it is the constant object and aim of true Conservatism, to avoid raising great constitutional issues, and never to propound problems whose solution affects the organic arrangements of an historic polity. Lord Beaconsfield knows the wisdom of this as well as any one. For these reasons we are disposed to think that Lord Beaconsfield and his followers in the Peers will take heed seriously to themselves how they dispatch any Irish Land Bill which may be introduced. The difficulties in the way of passing such a measure are enormous, but the dangers of rejecting it are greater still.

November 25th, 1880.